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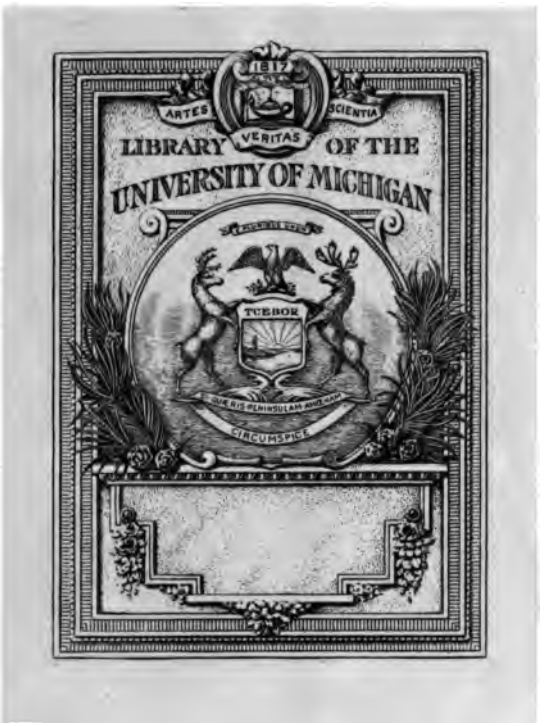
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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1778.

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LONDON:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1779.

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PREFACE.

HAVING now arrived at the concluſion of our Twentieth Volume, we ſhould have been diſpoſed to have celebrated this year as a ſort of jubilee, and ſeaſon of ſelf-congratulation, if the awful aſpect of the times had not forbidden every emotion bordering upon levity, and afforded matter of the moſt ſerious conſideration and reflection to every member of the community. No circumſtance of time, nor ſtate of affairs, can, however, repreſs our gratitude, or reſtrain our acknowledgements to the Publick, for that continued favour, which, as it has during ſo many years, conſtantly increaſed with our labours, ſo it has alone enabled us to encounter the arduous taſk of appearing annually before them in ſo many ſucceſſive publications, upon each of which, their former eſteem, and future approbation, were, of courſe, in ſome degree hazarded.

The importance and magnitude of our hiſtorical buſineſs have unhappily riſen to nearly the higheſt pitch at which they ſeem capable of arriving. We relate events, in which every member of this wide and divided empire is deeply intereſted; in which many thouſands are immediately and perſonally concerned; and wherein its beſt blood is too copiouſly ſhed. The incidents are numberleſs, and the parties concerned in every incident numerous. It is

not

not eaſy to ſteer a ſafe courſe of hiſtory, through the rage of civil conteſt, and amidſt the animoſity and malignity of contending factions. Under theſe circumſtances, we are obliged to as much caution as will not be injurious to truth. And whilſt publick affairs continue of ſuch extent and importance, and that materials of all kinds both political and military grow upon us in the manner they do at preſent, we ſhall be much more ſolicitous to fulfil our duty, and preſerve our reputation with the Publick, by a due attention to the matter which we lay before them, than at all concerned as to the inconſequential circumſtance of a later or earlier publication.

Our Publiſher has made an obſervation to us, which he ſays eſcapes moſt readers, who have not ſome acquaintance with what is technically termed the buſineſs of the preſs. He ſays, that the Hiſtorical Article is at preſent ſwelled to ſuch an extent, that if it were printed ſeparately, and in the common mode of publication, it would fill a volume of nearly the ſame ſize, with that in which it is now included; whilſt from the circumſtance of cloſe printing, and its being conſidered only as a comparatively ſmall part of a diffuſe and large work, the dimenſions which it would acquire in its natural growth, are not perceived in its preſent contracted ſtate. Under this conſideration, the quantity of matter, independent of any merit in the arrangement or compoſition, may account, if it does not atone, for the lateneſs of our publication this year.

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1777.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of American affairs in the year 1776. *Preparation in Canada for the armament on Lake Champlain. State of the American force. Engagement near the isle Valicour. Arnold retires; pursuit; overtaken; burns his vessels. Crown Point destroyed and abandoned. General Carleton lands there with the army. Motives for not attacking Ticonderoga. General Carleton returns with the army to Canada. Situation of affairs to the southward. General Lee taken. Perseverance of the Congress. Measures for renewing their armies. Lands allotted for serving during the war. Money borrowed. Address to the people. Petitions from the inhabitants of New York, and from those of Queen's county in Long Island, to the Commissioners. Critical state of Philadelphia. Congress retire to Baltimore. Divisions in Pensylvania. Desertions. Surprize at Trenton. Lord Cornwallis returns to the Jerseys. Prevented from attacking the enemy at Trenton by impediments of situation. General Washington quits his camp, and attacks Colonel Mawhood, near Princetown. Lord Cornwallis returns from the Delaware to Brunswick. Americans over-run the Jerseys. British and Auxiliary forces keep possession of Brunswick and Amboy, during the remainder of the winter. Indian war. Articles of confederation and perpetual union between the thirteen revolted Colonies.*

THE efforts to remove those obstacles that had restrained the progress of the British arms on the side of Canada, in the summer of 1776, were equal to the importance of the objects in view, and the greatness of the difficulties which were to be surmounted.

The weight and execution of the naval equipment, fell of courſe upon the officers and men of that department, whoſe ability, zeal, and perſeverance in the perfor-mance, can never be too much applauded. The taſk was indeed arduous. A fleet of above thirty fighting veſſels, of different kinds and ſizes, all furniſhed with cannon, was to be little leſs than created; for though a few of the largeſt were reconſtructions, the advantage derived from thence depended more upon the uſe of materials which the country did not afford, than upon any ſaving as to time, or leſſening of labour. When to this is added, the tranſporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the rapids of St. Thereſe and St. John's, 30 long-boats, a number of flat boats of conſiderable burthen, a gondola, weighing 30 tons, with above 400 battoes, the whole preſented a complexity of labour and difficulty, which ſeemed ſufficient to appal even the ſpirit of Britiſh ſeamen. However it muſt be allowed that the labour did not fall ſolely on them. The ſoldiers had their part; and what is to be lamented, the peaſants and farmers of Canada were taken from their ploughs, and compelled by power to bear a ſhare in toils, from whence they could derive no honour or advantage.

Though the equipment was compleated in about three months, the nature of the ſervice, as well as the eagerneſs of the commanders and army, required, if it had been poſſible, a ſtill greater diſpatch. The winter was faſt approaching, two inland ſeas to be paſſed, the unknown force of the enemy on each to be ſubdued, and the ſtrong poſts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, defended and ſupported by an army, to be encountered ſword in hand. To add to theſe impediments, the communication between the Lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the paſſage of thoſe veſſels of force, which, after being ſucceſsful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And if all thoſe difficulties were ſurmounted, and Lake George paſſed, there ſtill remained a long and dangerous march through intricate foreſts, extenſive moraſſes, and an uncleared country, ſtill in a ſtate of nature, before they could reach Albany, which was the firſt poſt to the ſouthward that could afford them reſt and accommodation.

The ſpirit of the commanders roſe in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. The objects in view were great, the glory to be acquired tempting, and the deſire of their attainment ſeemed to leſſen or remove obſtacles, which to a cold or luke-warm ſpeculation would have appeared inſuperable. If the Lakes could be recovered, and Albany poſſeſſed, before the ſeverity of the winter ſet in, the northern army would hold a principal ſhare in the honour of bringing the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. It was conceived that they could then pour deſtruction at will, into the heart either of the middle or the northern colonies, each of which would be expoſed to them in its moſt tender and defenceleſs part. Whilſt the poſſeſſion of Hudſon's river would eſtabliſh and ſecure their communication with General Howe, it would equally ſever and diſconnect the ſouthern and northern

thern provinces, leaving thereby the latter to ſink under the joint weight of both armies, or to accept of ſuch terms as they could obtain, without the participation of the others. Nor could General Waſhington attempt to hold any poſt in New York or the Jerſeys, with ſuch a ſuperiority of force as already oppreſſed him in front, and General Carleton's army at his back. The ſucceſſes of their fellows on the ſide of New York, increaſed the impatience, and excited the jealouſy of this army, every one apprehending that the war would be brought to an end, before he could have an opportunity of ſharing in the honour of that happy event.

With all this ardour, and the moſt unremitting induſtry, it was not until the month of October, that the fleet was in a condition to ſeek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The force was very conſiderable with reſpect to the place and ſervice, extraordinary in regard to the little time ſpent in its formation, and ſuch as, a very few ages ago, would have been deemed formidable even upon the European ſeas. The ſhip Inflexible, which may be conſidered as Admiral, had been re-conſtructed at St. John's, from whence ſhe ſailed in 28 days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One ſchooner mounted 14, and another 12, ſix pounders. A flat-bottomed radeau carried ſix 24, and ſix 12 pounders, beſides howitzers; and a gondola, 7 nine pounders. Twenty ſmaller veſſels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried braſs field pieces from 9 to 24 pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Some long-boats were furniſhed in the ſame manner. About an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Thoſe we have taken notice of, were all intended for, or appertaining to battle; we omit the vaſt number deſtined for the tranſportation of the army, with its ſtores, artillery, baggage and proviſions.

The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above 700 prime ſeamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the tranſports, who after having rivalled thoſe belonging to the ſhips of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The guns were ſerved by detachments of men and officers belonging to the corps of artillery. In a word, no equipment of the ſort was ever better appointed, or more amply furniſhed with every kind of proviſion neceſſary for the intended ſervice.

The enemy's force was in no degree equal, either with reſpect to the goodneſs of the veſſels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal. Senſible, though they were, of the neceſſity of preſerving the dominion of the Lakes, and aided in that deſign by the original force in their hands, with a great advantage in point of time for its increaſe, their intentions in that reſpect were counteracted by many eſſential, and ſome irremediable deficiencies. They wanted timber, artillery, ſhip-builders, and all the materials neceſſary for ſuch an equipment. Carpenters, and all others concerned in the buſineſs of ſhipping, were fully engaged at the ſea ports

in the conſtruction and fitting out of privateers, whilſt the remoteneſs, and difficulty of communication, rendered the ſupply of bulky materials extremely tedious. When we conſider the difficulties on their part, we think it not juſt to deny the Americans the praiſe, of having combated, and in part overcome them, with an aſſiduity, perſeverance, and ſpirit, which did not in the leaſt fall ſhort of what had been employed againſt them. For their fleet amounted to 15 veſſels of different kinds, conſiſting of two ſchooners, one ſloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal ſchooner mounted 12 ſix and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to ſupport upon a new element, that renown which he had acquired on land in the Canada expedition.

General Carleton was too full of zeal, and too anxious for the event, not to head the Britiſh armament, and having proceeded up the Lake, diſcovered the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgment, being very advantageouſly poſted, and forming a ſtrong line, to defend the paſſage between the iſland of Valicour and the weſtern main. Indeed they had at the beginning placed themſelves with ſo much ſkill behind the iſland, that an accident only diſcovered their poſition. The King's ſquadron, without this ſeaſonable diſcovery, would have left them behind; an event, which if it had happened, might have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences. It is ſaid, that the unexpected ſight of a three maſted ſhip of ſuch force, upon the Lake, threw the enemy into the utmoſt, and moſt viſible conſternation. It does not ſeem, however, probable, that a matter of ſuch public notoriety in Canada, ſhould have been ſo long with-held from them.

Oct. 11. 1776.

A warm action enſued, and was vigorouſly ſupported on both ſides for ſome hours; but the wind being unfavourable, ſo that the ſhip Inflexible, and ſome other veſſels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, the weight of the action fell upon the ſchooner Carleton and the gun-boats, which they ſuſtained with the greateſt firmneſs, ſuch extraordinary efforts of reſolution being diſplayed both by men and officers, as merited and received the higheſt applauſe from their commanders. It is to be preſumed, that when ſo much praiſe was due and given to the conduct and valour of a ſuperior force on our ſide, the enemy muſt not have acted their part amiſs.

The detachment belonging to the corps of artillery, were highly diſtinguiſhed, and did moſt eſſential ſervice in the gun-boats. But the ſame impediments ſtill continuing, which prevented their being ſeconded by the other veſſels, Captain Pringle, with the approbation of the General, thought it neceſſary for the preſent, to withdraw thoſe that were engaged from the action. At the approach of night, he brought the whole fleet to anchor in a line, and as near as poſſible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat.

In this engagement the beſt ſchooner belonging to the enemy was burnt, and a gondola carrying three or four guns ſunk, from whence we may form ſome reaſonable conjecture of the execution done

done upon their other veſſels. Being now fully ſenſible of their inferiority, they took the opportunity which the darkneſs of the night afforded, of endeavouring to eſcape from their preſent imminent danger, hoping to obtain ſhelter and protection at Crown Point. Arnold concerted and executed this deſign with ability, and fortune ſeemed at firſt ſo favourable to his purpoſe, that they were out of ſight by the next morning. The chace being, however, continued without intermiſſion both on that and the ſucceeding day, the wind, and other circumſtances peculiar to the navigation of the Lake, which had been at firſt in favour of the Americans, became at length otherwiſe, ſo that they were overtaken and brought to action a few leagues ſhort of Crown Point, about noon on the 13th.

A very warm engagement enſued, and continued about two hours, during which thoſe veſſels that were moſt a-head, puſhed on with the utmoſt ſpeed, and paſſing Crown Point, eſcaped to Ticonderoga; but two gallies and five gondolas which remained with Arnold made a deſperate reſiſtance. During this action, the Waſhington galley, with Waterburg, a Brigadier General, and the ſecond in command, on board, ſtruck, and was taken. Arnold, at length, finding it was impoſſible to withſtand the ſuperiority of force, ſkill, and weight of metal, with which he was overborne, and finding himſelf but ill ſeconded by the Captains of ſome of his veſſels, determined that his people ſhould not become priſoners, nor the veſſels a prey to the enemy. He executed this deſign with equal reſolution and dexterity, and run the Congreſs galley, in which himſelf was, with the five gondolas, on ſhore in ſuch a manner, as to land his men ſafely and blow up the veſſels, in ſpite of every effort that was uſed to prevent both.

Loſs and defeat were ſo far from producing their uſual effect with reſpect to Arnold, that his conduct in this command raiſed his character ſtill higher than it was before with his countrymen. They ſaid that he not only acted the part of a brave ſoldier, but that he alſo amply filled that of an able naval commander. That the moſt experienced ſeaman could not have found a greater variety of reſources, by the dexterity of manœuvre, evolution, and the moſt advantageous choice of ſituation, to compenſate for the want of force, than he did; that when his veſſels were torn almoſt to pieces, he retreated with the ſame reſolution that he fought, and by the happieſt and moſt critical judgment, prevented his people and them from falling into the hands of the enemy. But they chiefly gloried in the dangerous attention he paid to a nice point of honour, in keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till ſhe was in flames, leſt the enemy ſhould have boarded and ſtruck it.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly deſtroyed, a galley, and three ſmall veſſels being all that eſcaped to Ticonderoga. The enemy, upon the rout of their fleet, having ſet fire to the houſes, and deſtroyed every thing which they could not carry off, at Crown Point, evacuated that place, and

retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. Gen. Carleton took poſſeſſion of the ruins, where he was ſoon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, and, beſides ſeveral reconnoitring parties, puſhed on at one time ſtrong detachments on both ſides of the Lake, who approached within a ſmall diſtance of Ticonderoga, at the ſame time that veſſels appeared within cannon ſhot of the works, to examine the nature of the channel, and found its depth, little doubt can be entertained that he had it in contemplation to attempt that place. The ſtrength of the works, the difficulty of approach, the countenance of the enemy, and the ignorance of their number, with other cogent reaſons, prevented this deſign from taking place.

It was evident that this poſt could not be forced in its preſent ſtate, without a very conſiderable loſs of blood, whilſt the benefit ariſing from ſucceſs would be comparatively nothing. The ſeaſon was now too far advanced to think of paſſing Lake George, and of expoſing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhoſpitable, and impracticable wilds to the ſouthward. As Ticonderoga could not be kept during the winter, the moſt that could be expected from ſucceſs, would be the reduction of works, more indebted to nature than art for their ſtrength, and perhaps the taking of ſome cannon; whilſt the former would be reſtored, and the latter replaced by the enemy, before the army could interrupt their proceedings in the enſuing ſummer. But if the defence ſhould be obſtinate, although the army were in the end ſucceſsful, it would probably thereby be ſo much weakened, that all proſpect of advantage in the future campaign would, in a great meaſure, be annihilated. The difficulty, perhaps impoſſibility, of keeping open the communication with Canada, and ſubſiſting the army during the winter was obvious. General Carleton therefore reimbarked the army without making any attempt, and returning to Canada, cantoned them for the winter in the beſt manner the country afforded.

It is fit that we ſhould now turn our attention to the important tranſactions in the South. We ſaw towards the concluſion of the laſt campaign, that Lord Cornwallis had not only overrun the Jerſeys, but that the Delaware was the only apparent obſtacle, which ſeemed capable of retarding the progreſs of his army, in the reduction of Philadelphia and the adjoining provinces. The American army was indeed no more. It is ſaid that the greateſt number which remained embodied did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men. This was all that remained of an army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted, as it is ſaid, to at leaſt twenty-five thouſand. There are ſome who repreſent it as having been at that time much ſtronger. The term of their engagement being expired, which, along with the obligation of duty, diſcharged all apprehenſion of diſgrace, there was no keeping together, at the heel of a ruinous campaign, troops broken and diſpirited, equally unnacuſtomed to ſubordination, and to a long abſence from their countries and families.

milies. Thoſe ſmall bodies, who from perſonal attachment, local circumſtances, or a ſuperior perſeverance and bravery, ſtill continued with the Generals Waſhington and Lee, were too inconſiderable in force, to demand much attention on the one ſide, or to inſpire confidence on the other; whilſt the ſupport to be derived from new levies, not yet formed, was too remote and precarious, to afford much preſent conſolation to the Americans.

Dec. 13th. In this critical ſituation of their affairs, the capture of Gen. Lee ſeemed to render them ſtill more hopeleſs. That officer, at the head of all the men which he could collect or keep together, being on his march to join General Waſhington, who had aſſembled the Penſylvania militia to ſecure the banks of the Delaware, was, from the diſtance of the Britiſh cantonments, betrayed into a fatal ſecurity, by which, in croſſing the upper part of New Jerſey from the North river, he fixed his quarters, and lay careleſsly guarded, at ſome diſtance from the main body. The operation of zeal, or deſire of reward in an inhabitant, having communicated this ſituation to Col. Harcourt, who commanded the light horſe, and had then made a deſultory excurſion at the head of a ſmall detachment to obſerve the motions of that body, he conducted his meaſures with ſuch addreſs and activity, and they were ſo well ſeconded by the boldneſs and rapidity of motion which diſtinguiſh that corps, that the guard was evaded, the centries ſeized without noiſe, the quarters forced, and Lee carried off, though all that part of the country was in his favour, and that ſeveral guarded poſts, and armed patrols, lay in the way.

The making of a ſingle officer priſoner, in other circumſtances would have been a matter of little moment; but in the preſent ſtate of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military ſkill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater grievance than the lack of diſcipline in the ſoldiers, the loſs of a commander, whoſe ſpirit of enterprize was directed by great knowledge in his profeſſion acquired by actual ſervice, was of the utmoſt importance, and the more diſtreſſing, as there was little room to hope it could be ſoon ſupplied.

The rejoicing in Great Britain on this occaſion was equal at leaſt to the dejection of the Americans. It was conjectured, that ſome perſonal animoſities between this General and ſeveral officers in the army, as well as perſons of power at court, contributed not a little to the triumph and exultation of that time.

The capture of Gen. Lee was alſo attended with a circumſtance, which has ſince been productive of much inconvenience to both ſides, and of much calamity to individuals. A cartel, or ſomething of that nature, had ſome time before been eſtabliſhed for the exchange of priſoners between the Generals Howe and Waſhington, which had hitherto been carried into execution, ſo far as time and other circumſtances would admit. As Lee was particularly obnoxious to government, it was ſaid, and is ſuppoſed, that Gen. Howe was

tied down by his inſtructions from parting with him upon any terms, if the fortune of war ſhould throw him into his power. Gen. Waſhington not having at this time any priſoner of equal rank with Lee, propoſed to exchange ſix field officers for him, the number being intended to balance that deſparity; or if this was not accepted, he required that he ſhould be treated and conſidered ſuitably to his ſtation, according to the practice eſtabliſhed among poliſhed nations, and the precedent already ſet by the Americans in regard to the Britiſh officers in their hands, until an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange.

To this it was anſwered, that as Mr. Lee was a deſerter from his Majeſty's ſervice, he was not to be conſidered as a priſoner of war, that he did not at all come within the conditions of the cartel, nor could he receive any of its benefits. This brought on a fruitleſs diſcuſſion, whether Gen. Lee, who had reſigned his half pay at the beginning of the troubles, could be conſidered as a deſerter, or whether he could with juſtice be excluded from the general benefits of a cartel, in which no particular exception of perſon had been made; the affirmative in both theſe poſitions being treated by Waſhington with the utmoſt indignation.

In the mean time Lee was confined in the cloſeſt manner, being watched and guarded with all that ſtrictneſs and jealouſy, which a ſtate criminal of the firſt magnitude could have experienced in the moſt dangerous political conjuncture. This conduct not only ſuſpended the operation of the cartel, but induced retaliation on the other ſide, and Colonel Campbell, who had hitherto enjoyed every degree of liberty conſiſtent with his condition, and had been treated with great humanity by the people of Boſton, was now thrown into a dungeon, and treated with a rigour equal to the indulgence he had before experienced. Thoſe officers who were priſoners in the ſouthern colonies, though not treated with equal rigour, were, however, abridged of their parole liberty, and deprived of other comforts and ſatisfactions, which had hitherto rendered their condition uncommonly eaſy. It was at the ſame time declared, that their future treatment ſhould in every degree be regulated by that which Gen. Lee experienced, and that their perſons ſhould be anſwerable, in the utmoſt extent, for any violence that was offered to him.

This was not the only inſtance in which the Congreſs manifeſted a firm and undaunted reſolution. In the midſt of the dangers with which they were environed, far from giving way to any thing like unconditional ſubmiſſion, they made no overtures towards any kind of accommodation. On the other ſide none were made to them. They prepared to renew the war, and to repair their ſhattered forces with all diligence. They were now convinced of the inefficacy of temporary armies, engaged only for a ſhort term, and calculated merely to repel a ſudden invaſion, when oppoſed to the conſtant war of a powerful enemy, and the inceſſant efforts of regular forces. It could never be hoped, with new men thus changed every year, to make

make any effectual ſtand againſt veteran troops, and their preſent critical ſituation afforded too alarming an experience, of the fatal conſequences which might attend that period of utter imbecility, between the extinction of the old army, and the eſtabliſhment of the new. To guard againſt this evil in future, which could not be remedied for the preſent, they iſſued orders about the middle of September, for the levying of 88 battalions, the ſoldiers being bound by the terms of enliſtment to ſerve during the continuance of the war.

The number of battalions which each colony was by this ordinance appointed to raiſe and ſupport, may be conſidered as a pretty exact political ſcale of their comparative ſtrength, framed by thoſe who were intereſted in its correctneſs, and well acquainted with their reſpective circumſtances. Maſſachuſett's Bay and Virginia were the higheſt on this ſcale, being to furniſh 15 battalions each; Penſylvania came next, and was rated at twelve; North Carolina 9, Connecticut and Maryland 8 each, New York, and the Jerſeys, the latter conſidered as one government, were, in conſequence of their preſent ſituation, ſet no higher than 4 battalions each.

The liberality of the Congreſs in its encouragement to the troops, was proportioned to the neceſſity of ſpeedily compleating the new army. Beſides a bounty of twenty dollars to each ſoldier at the time of enliſting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the ſurvivors, and to the repreſentatives of all who were ſlain in action, in different ſtated proportions, from 500 acres, the allotment of a Colonel, to 150, which was that of an Enſign; the private men, and non-commiſſioned officers, were to have 100 acres each. As a bar to the thoughleſſneſs and prodigality incident to ſoldiers, and to prevent the moſt worthleſs and undeſerving from obtaining for trifles, thoſe rewards due to the brave for their blood and ſervices, all theſe lands were rendered unalienable during the war, no aſſignment or transfer being to be admitted at its concluſion.

The Congreſs had before, as an encouragement to their forces by ſea and land, decreed that all officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, who were or might be diſabled in action, ſhould receive, during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank in the ſervice, at the time of meeting with the misfortune. Notwithſtanding theſe encouragements, it ſeems, as if the condition of ſerving during the indefinite term of the continuance of the war, was not generally agreeable, to a people ſo little accuſtomed to any kind of ſubordination or reſtraint; ſo that in the month of November, the Congreſs found it neceſſary to admit of another mode of enliſtment for the term of three years, the ſoldiers under this compact receiving the ſame bounty in money with the others, but being cut out from any allotment of lands.

With all theſe encouragements given by the Congreſs, the buſineſs of recruiting went on, however, but heavily; and it muſt not be imagined, that the army actually raiſed, did at any time bear any proportion in effective men to that which was voted.

The holding out a promiſe of lands

lands as an inducement to fill up their armies, was probably intended to counteract the effect of a ſimilar meaſure which had ſome time before been adopted on the ſide of the crown, large grants of *vacant* lands, to be diſtributed at the cloſe of the troubles, having been promiſed in its name to the Highland emigrants, and ſome other new troops raiſed in America, as a reward for their expected zeal and loyalty in the reduction of the rebellious colonies. A meaſure which tended more to increaſe and excite the animoſity of the people, than any other perhaps which could have been propoſed in the preſent circumſtances. For they univerſally conſidered the term *vacant*, as ſignifying *forfeited*, which being an effect of the treaſon laws yet unknown in America, excited the greater horror; the people being well aware from the experience of other countries, that if the ſweets of forfeiture were once taſted, it would be equally happy and unuſual, if any other limits, than thoſe which nature had aſſigned to their poſſeſſions, could reſtrain its operation.

The annual ſupplies raiſed in the different colonies by their reſpective aſſemblies, being inſufficient to provide for the extraordinary expences of ſo large an army, together with the other numerous contingencies, inſeparable from ſuch a war, the Congreſs found it neceſſary to negociate a loan to anſwer theſe purpoſes. They accordingly paſſed a reſolution to borrow five millions of dollars, at an intereſt of four per cent. the faith of the united ſtates being pledged to the lenders for the payment both of principal and intereſt.

As the ſituation of their affairs became extremely critical, and the preſervation of Philadelphia to all appearance hopeleſs, at the time that Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Jerſeys, and that the Britiſh forces had taken poſſeſſion of the towns and poſts on the Delaware, the Congreſs publiſhed an addreſs Dec. 10th. to the people in general, but more particularly to thoſe of Penſylvania and the adjacent ſtates. The general objects of this piece, were to awaken the attention of the people, remove their deſpondency, renew their hopes and ſpirits, and confirm their intentions of ſupporting the war, by ſhewing that no other means were left for the preſervation of thoſe rights and liberties for which they originally contended. But it was particularly and immediately intended to forward the completion of the new army, and to call out the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries to the defence of Philadelphia.

For theſe purpoſes they enumerated the cauſes of the troubles, the ſuppoſed grievances they had endured, the late oppreſſive laws which had been paſſed againſt them, dwelt much upon the contempt with which all their petitions and applications for redreſs had been treated; and to ſhew that no alternative but war, or a tame reſignation of all that could be dear to mankind remained, they aſſerted, that even the boaſted Commiſſioners for giving peace to America had not offered, nor did

yet

yet offer, any terms but pardon on abſolute ſubmiſſion. From this detail and theſe premiſes they deduced the neceſſity of the act of independency, aſſerting, that it would have been impoſſible for them to have defended their rights againſt ſo powerful an aggreſſor, aided by large armies of foreign mercenaries, or to have obtained that aſſiſtance from other ſtates which was abſolutely neceſſary to their preſervation, whilſt they acknowledged the ſovereignty, and confeſſed themſelves the ſubjects of that power, againſt which they had taken up arms, and were engaged in ſo cruel a war.

They boaſted of the ſucceſs that had in general attended their cauſe and exertions, contending that the preſent ſtate of weakneſs and danger, did not proceed from any capital loſs, defeat, or from any defect of valour in their troops, but merely from the expiration of the term of thoſe ſhort enliſtments, which had in the beginning been adopted from an attention to the eaſe of the people. They aſſured them that foreign ſtates had already rendered them eſſential ſervices, and had given the moſt poſitive aſſurances of further aid. And they excited the indignation and animoſity of the people, by expatiating upon the unrelenting, cruel, and inhuman manner, in which, they ſaid, the war was carried on, not only by the auxiliaries, but even by the Britiſh forces themſelves.

Complaints of this kind held a diſtinguiſhed place in all the American publications of that time. Some of them indeed contained nothing elſe, but details of rapes, rapine, cruelty and murder. Though theſe accounts were undoubtedly highly exaggerated, it is, however, to be apprehended, that too much room was afforded for complaints of that nature. The odium began with the Heſſians, and has ſince ſtuck cloſely to them, though the Britiſh troops were far from eſcaping a ſhare of the imputation. The former, naturally fierce and cruel, ignorant of any rights but thoſe of deſpotiſm, and of any manners, but thoſe eſtabliſhed within the narrow precinct of their own government, were incapable of forming any diſtinction between ravaging and deſtroying an enemy's country, where no preſent benefit was intended but plunder, nor no future advantage expected but that of weakening the foe, and the reducing of a malecontent people, (who, though in a ſtate of rebellion, were ſtill to be reclaimed, not deſtroyed) to a due ſenſe of obedience to their lawful ſovereign.

It has been ſaid, that in order to reconcile them to ſo new and ſtrange an adventure, ſome idea had been held out to them in Germany, that they ſhould obtain large portions of the lands which they were to conquer in America, and that this notion, however abſurd, made them at firſt conſider the ancient poſſeſſors as their natural enemies; but that when they found their error, they conſidered the moveable plunder of the country, not only as a matter of right, but an inadequate recompence for undertaking ſuch a voyage, and engaging in ſuch a war.

Military rapine may be eaſily accounted for without any recourſe to ſuch a deception. It had been obſerved from the beginning, that the moſt mortal antipathy ſubſiſted between

between the Americans and Heſſians. The former, contending themſelves for freedom, and filled with the higheſt notions of the natural rights of mankind, regarded with equal contempt and abhorrence, a people, whom they conſidered as the moſt ſordid of all mercenary ſlaves, in thus reſigning all their faculties to the will of a petty deſpot, and becoming the ready inſtruments of a cruel tyranny. They reproached them with the higheſt poſſible degree of moral turpitude, in thus engaging in a domeſtic quarrel, in which they had neither intereſt or concern, and quitting their homes in the old world to butcher a people in the new, from whom they never had received the ſmalleſt injury; but who, on the contrary, had for a century paſt afforded an hoſpitable aſylum to their harraſſed and oppreſſed countrymen, who had fled in multitudes to eſcape from a tyranny, ſimilar to that under which theſe were now acting, and to enjoy the bleſſings of a liberty moſt generouſly held out to them, of which theſe mercenaries would impiouſly bereave the German as well as Engliſh Americans.

Such ſentiments, and ſuch reproaches, did not fail to increaſe their natural ferocity and rapaciouſneſs; and it is ſaid that they continued in a courſe of plunder, until they at length became ſo encumbered and loaded with ſpoil, and ſo anxious for its preſervation, that it grew to be a great impediment to their military operations.

However diſagreeable this conduct was, and contrary to the nature of the Britiſh commanders, it was an evil not eaſily to be remedied. They could not venture to hazard the ſucceſs of the war, in ſo diſtant a ſituation, and ſuch precarious and critical circumſtances, by quarreling with auxiliaries, who were nearly as numerous and powerful as their own forces. Allowances were neceſſarily to be made for a difference of manners, opinions, and even ideas of military rules and ſervice. Without opening any general ground of diſlike or quarrel, it required all the conſtancy, and all that admirable equanimity of temper which diſtinguiſh General Howe's character, to reſtrain the operation of thoſe picques, jealouſies, and animoſities, the effects of national pride, emulation, and a difference of manners, which no wiſdom could prevent from ſpringing up in the two armies.

It was ſcarcely poſſible that the devaſtation and diſorders practiſed by the Heſſians, ſhould not operate in ſome degree in their example upon the Britiſh troops. It would have been difficult to have puniſhed enormities on the one ſide, which were practiſed without reſerve or apprehenſion on the other. Every ſucceſsful deviation from order and diſcipline in war, is certainly and ſpeedily followed by others ſtill greater. No relaxation can take place in either without the moſt ruinous conſequences. The ſoldier, who at firſt ſhrinks at trifling exceſſes, will in a little time, if they paſs without queſtion, proceed, without heſitation, to the greateſt enormities.

From hence ſprung the clamour raiſed in America of the deſolation which was ſpread through the Jerſeys, and which by taking in friends and moderate men, as well as enemies, did great injury to the

the royal cauſe, uniting the latter more firmly, and urging to activity, or detaching, many of the former. Nor could the effect be confined to the immediate ſufferers; the exaggerated details which were publiſhed of theſe enormities, ſerving to imbitter the minds of men exceedingly through all the colonies. Theſe accounts being alſo tranſmitted to Europe, ſeemed in ſome degree to affect our national character; in France particularly, where the people in general, through the whole courſe of this conteſt, have been ſtrongly American, they were readily received and willingly credited. Among other enormities which received the cenſure of our neighbours in that country, the deſtruction of the public library at Trenton, and of the college and library at Princetown, together with a celebrated orrery made by Rittenhouſe, ſaid to be the beſt and fineſt in the world, were brought as charges of a Gothic barbarity, which waged war even with literature and the ſciences.

In about a month after the taking of New York, the inhabitants of that city and iſland, preſented a petition to Lord and General Howe, the commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to the colonies, ſigned by Daniel Horſemanden, Oliver De Lancy, and 946 others, declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgment of the *Conſtitutional Supremacy* of Great-Britain over the colonies; and praying, that in purſuance of the former declarations iſſued by the Commiſſioners, that city and county might be reſtored to his Majeſty's peace and protection.

This petition to the Commiſſioners was followed by another to the ſame purpoſe, from the freeholders and inhabitants of Queen's County in Long Iſland. It was obſerved of theſe petitions, that the acknowledgment of the Conſtitutional Supremacy in one, and of the Conſtitutional Authority, of Great-Britain in the other, were very guardedly expreſſed, all mention of parliament being omitted, and the great queſtion of unconditional ſubmiſſion left totally at large. It is alſo remarkable, that though the inhabitants of York Iſland and Queen's County, beſides raiſing a conſiderable body of troops for the King's ſervice, and eſtabliſhing a ſtrong militia for the common defence, had given every other teſtimony of their loyalty which could be expected or wiſhed, yet theſe petitions were not attended to, nor were they reſtored to thoſe rights which they expected in conſequence of the declarations, as well as of the late law for the appointment of Commiſſioners.

The critical ſituation of Philadelphia, which a night or two's froſt would have laid open to the Britiſh forces, obliged the Congreſs, about the cloſe of the year, to conſult their own ſafety by retiring to Baltimore, in Maryland. In this ſtate of external danger, the diſſentions which ſprung up among themſelves were not leſs alarming to the Americans. We have formerly ſhewn that the declaration of independency had met with a ſtrong oppoſition in Philadelphia, not only from thoſe who were called or conſidered as Tories, but from many, who in all other matters had been among the moſt forward in oppoſing the claims of the crown and parliament. The carrying

carrying of the queſtion by a great majority throughout the province, was far from leſſening the bitterneſs of thoſe who oppoſed it, amongſt whom were moſt of the Quakers, a great and powerful body in that colony; ſo that the diſcontented in this buſineſs, forgetting in the preſent their ancient animoſity, with all its operating cauſes, coaleſced with the Tories or loyaliſts, whom they had formerly perſecuted, and conſidered as betrayers, and inveterate enemies of their country, thus compoſing all together a very formidable party.

In conſequence of this diſſention, and of the ill ſucceſs of the rebellious arms during the greater part of the campaign, which diſpoſed many to look to their ſafety, a Mr. Galloway, the family of Allens, with other leading men, either in Penſylvania or the Jerſeys, ſome of whom had been members of the Congreſs, fled to the Commiſſioners at New York, to claim the benefits of the general pardon which had been offered; expecting, as matters then ſtood, to return ſpeedily home in triumph. Theſe were, however, much leſs troubleſome and dangerous to the Americans, than thoſe who kept their ground, who were ſo numerous and powerful, that upon the approach of the Britiſh forces to the Delaware, they prevented the order for fortifying the city of Philadelphia from being carried into execution. This eccentric and alarming movement in the ſeat of life and action, obliged General Waſhington, weak as he was, to detach three regiments, under the command of Lord Stirling, effectually to quell the oppoſition of that party, and to give efficacy to the meaſure of fortifying the city. This deciſive conduct anſwered all its purpoſes, except that of fortifying the city, a deſign which ſeems to have been abandoned as not practicable, or not neceſſary at that time.

As the ſeaſon grew too ſevere to keep the field, and the froſts were not yet ſufficiently ſet in for the paſſage of the Delaware, it became neceſſary towards the middle of December to put the Britiſh and auxiliary forces under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonments, forming an extenſive chain from Brunſwick on the Rariton to the Delaware, occupying not only the towns, poſts, and villages, which came within a liberal deſcription of that line, but thoſe alſo on the banks of the Delaware for ſeveral miles, ſo that the latter compoſed a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Penſylvania.

Things were now in ſuch a ſituation, that there ſeemed to be as little probability of interrupting the deſigns, or endangering the ſecurity on the one ſide, as of renewing the ſpirit, or retrieving the weakneſs, on the other. In this ſtate of affairs, a bold and ſpirited enterprize, which ſhewed more of brilliancy than real effect in its firſt appearance, became capable in its conſequences of changing in a great meaſure the whole fortune of the the war. Such extraordinary effects do ſmall events produce, in that laſt and moſt uncertain of human deciſions.

Colonel Rall, a brave and experienced officer, was ſtationed with a brigade of Heſſians, conſiſting of three battalions, with a few Britiſh light-horſe, and 50 chaſſeurs, amounting in the whole to

14 or

14 or 1500 men, at Trenton, upon the Delaware, being the higheſt poſt which the royal army occupied upon that river. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles lower down the river; and at Burlington, ſtill lower, and within twenty miles of Philadelphia, a third body was poſted. The corps at Trenton, as well as the others, partly from the knowledge they had of the weakneſs of the enemy, and partly from the contempt in which they held him, conſidered themſelves in as perfect a ſtate of ſecurity, as if they had been upon garriſon duty in their own country, in a time of the profoundeſt peace. It is ſaid, and ſeems probable, that this ſuppoſed ſecurity, increaſed that licence and laxity of diſcipline, of which we have before taken notice, and produced an inattention to the poſſibility of a ſurprize, which no ſucceſs or ſituation can juſtify in the vicinity of an enemy, however weak or contemptible.

Theſe circumſtances, if they really exiſted, ſeem not to have eſcaped the vigilance of General Waſhington. But, excluſive of theſe, he fully ſaw and comprehended the danger to which Philadelphia and the whole province would be inevitably expoſed, as ſoon as the Delaware was thoroughly covered with ice, if the enemy, by retaining poſſeſſion of the oppoſite ſhore, were at hand to profit of that circumſtance, whilſt he was utterly incapable of oppoſing them in the field.

To ward off this danger, he with equal boldneſs and ability formed a deſign to prevent the enemy, by beating up their quarters; intending to remedy the deficiency of force by the manner of applying it; by bringing it nearly to a point; and by attacking unexpectedly and ſeparately thoſe bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. If the deſign ſucceeded only in part, it might, however, induce the enemy to contract their cantonments, and to quit the vicinity of the river, when they found it was not a ſufficient barrier to cover their quarters from inſult and danger; thus obtaining that ſecurity for Philadelphia, which, at preſent, was the principal object of his attention.

For this purpoſe, General Waſhington took the neceſſary meaſures for aſſembling his forces (which conſiſted moſtly of drafts from the militia of Penſylvania and Virginia) in three diviſions, each of which was to arrive at its appointed ſtation on the Delaware, as ſoon after dark, and with as little noiſe, as poſſible, on the night of Chriſtmas day. Two of theſe diviſions were under the command of the Generals Erwing and Cadwallader, the firſt of which was to paſs the river at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other ſtill lower towards Bordentown. The principal body was commanded by Mr. Waſhington in perſon, aſſiſted by the Generals Sullivan and Green, and conſiſted of about 2500 men, provided with a train of 20 ſmall braſs field pieces.

With this body he arrived at M'Kenky's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, hoping to be able to paſs the diviſion and artillery over by midnight, and that it would then be no difficulty to reach that place long before daylight, and effectually to ſurprize Rall's brigade.

gade. The river was, however, ſo incumbered with ice, that it was with great difficulty the boats could make their way through, which, with the extreme ſeverity of the weather, retarded their paſſage ſo much, that it was near four o'clock before it was compleated. They were ſtill equally delayed and incommoded in the march by a violent ſtorm of ſnow and hail, which rendered the way ſo ſlippery, that it was with difficulty they reached the place of deſtination by eight o'clock.

The detachment had been formed in two diviſions immediately upon paſſing the river, one of which, turning to the right, took the lower road to Trenton, whilſt the other, with General Waſhington, proceeded along the upper, or Pennington road. Notwithſtanding the delays they met, and the advanced ſtate of daylight, the Heſſians had no knowledge of their approach, until an advanced poſt, at ſome diſtance from the town, was attacked by the upper diviſion, the lower, about the ſame time, driving in the outguards on their ſide. The regiment of Rall, having been detached to ſupport the picket which was firſt attacked, was thrown into diſorder by the retreat of that party, and obliged to rejoin the main body. Colonel Rall now bravely charged the enemy, but being ſoon mortally wounded, the troops were thrown into diſorder after a ſhort engagement, and driven from their artillery, which conſiſted only of ſix battalion braſs field pieces. Thus overpowered, and nearly ſurrounded, after an ineffectual attempt to retreat to Princetown, the three regiments of Rall, Loſsberg, and Knyphauſen, found themſelves under the unfortunate neceſſity of ſurrendering priſoners of war.

As the road along the river-ſide to Bordentown led from that part of Trenton moſt remote from the enemy, the light horſe, chaſſeurs, a conſiderable number of the private men, with ſome few officers, made their eſcape that way. It is alſo ſaid, that a number of the Heſſians who had been out marauding in the country, and accordingly abſent from their duty that morning, found the ſame refuge, whilſt their crime was covered under the common misfortune.

The loſs of the Heſſians in killed and wounded was very inconſiderable, not exceeding 30 or 40 at the moſt; that on the other ſide was too trifling to be mentioned; the whole number of priſoners amounted to 918. Thus was one part of General Waſhington's project crowned with ſucceſs; but the two others failed in the execution, the quantity of ice being ſo great, that the diviſions under Erwing and Cadwallader, found the river, where they directed their attempts, impaſſable. If this had not been the caſe, and that the firſt, in purſuance of his inſtructions, had been able to have poſſeſſed the bridge over Trenton Creek, not one of thoſe who made their way to Bordentown could have eſcaped. But if the deſign had taken effect in all its parts, and the three diviſions had joined after the affair at Trenton, it ſeems probable that they would have ſwept all the poſts on the river before them.

As things were, General Waſhington could not proceed any further in the proſecution of his deſign. The force he had with him

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was far from being able even to maintain its ground at Trenton, there being a ſtrong body of light infantry within a few miles at Princetown, which by the junction of Donop's brigade, or other bodies from the neareſt cantonments, would have ſoon overwhelmed his little army. He accordingly repaſſed the Delaware the ſame evening, carrying with him the priſoners, who, with their artillery and colours, afforded a day of new and joyful triumph at Philadelphia.

This ſmall ſucceſs wonderfully raiſed the ſpirits of the Americans. It is an odd, but a general diſpoſition in mankind, to be much more afraid of thoſe whom they do not know, than of thoſe with whom they are acquainted. Difference of dreſs, of arms (though leſs uſeful), of complexion, beard, colour of the hair or eyes, with the general manner, air, and countenance, have at different times had ſurpriſing effects upon brave, diſciplined, and experienced armies. The Heſſians had hitherto been very terrible to the Americans; and the taking of a whole brigade of them priſoners, ſeemed ſo incredible, that at the very time they were marching into Philadelphia, people were contending in different parts of the town, that the whole ſtory was a fiction, and indeed that it could not be true. The charm was now, however, diſſolved, and the Heſſians were no longer terrible. In the mean time General Waſhington was reinforced by ſeveral regiments from Virginia and Maryland, as well as with ſeveral new bodies of the Penſylvania militia, who, with thoſe of that province already under his command, were much diſtinguiſhed in the hard ſervice of the enſuing winter campaign.

The ſurprize at Trenton did not excite leſs amazement in the Britiſh and auxiliary quarters, than it did joy in thoſe of the Americans. Blame was looſely ſcattered every where. That three old eſtabliſhed regiments, of a people who make war their profeſſion, ſhould lay down their arms to a ragged and undiſciplined militia, and that with ſcarcely any loſs on either ſide, ſeemed an event of ſo extraordinary a nature, that it gave full ſcope to the operation of conjecture, ſuſpicion, cenſure, and malignity, as different tempers were differently affected.

The General was blamed for laying ſo extenſive a chain of cantonments; Rall was condemned for marching out of the town to meet the enemy; and the character of the Heſſians, in general, did not riſe in the opinion of their allies.

As to the firſt, the General had foreſeen the objection, but he depended upon the weakneſs of the enemy, the good diſpoſition of the inhabitants, the conſiderable force which was ſtationed in the advanced poſts, and was beſides influenced by a deſire to cover and protect the county of Monmouth, where a great number of the people were well affected to the royal cauſe. It may be added, that perhaps no line of cantonment or poſts can be contrived ſo compact and ſecure, as not to admit the poſſibility of an impreſſion in ſome one part, by a force much inferior to the aggregate power of the defenſive.

With reſpect to Colonel Rall,

if the charge againſt him was well founded, his miſconduct ſprung from an error, which was generally prevalent among the officers and men both of the Britiſh and Heſſian forces. The fact is, that from the ſucceſſes of the preceding campaign, and the vaſt ſuperiority which they perceived in themſelves in every action, they had held the Americans in too great contempt both as men and as ſoldiers; and were too apt to attribute thoſe advantages to ſome extraordinary perſonal virtue and excellence, which were in reality derived from the concurrence of a number of other, and very different cauſes; from military ſkill, experience, and diſcipline; from the ſuperior excellence of their ſmall arms, artillery, and of all other engines, furniture, and ſupplies, neceſſary for war; and ſtill more particularly, to a better ſupply, and a more dexterous and effective uſe of bayonets, which gave them a great ſuperiority over the Americans, who were poorly furniſhed with this kind of arms, and were by no means expert in the uſe of them.

The alarm now ſpread, induced the Britiſh and auxiliary troops immediately to aſſemble, and General Grant, with the forces at Brunſwick and that quarter, to advance ſpeedily to Princetown; whilſt Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New York in his way to England, found it neceſſary to defer his voyage, and return poſt to the defence of the Jerſeys. They were not now without an enemy to encounter, for General Waſhington, encouraged by the reinforcements he had received, had again paſſed the Delaware, and was with his whole force at Trenton.

Lord Cornwallis marched immediately to attack the enemy, whom he found in a ſtrong poſition, formed at the back of Trenton Creek, being in poſſeſſion of the bridge and other paſſages, which were well covered with artillery. After ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in the approach, a cannonade enſued on both ſides, which continued until night. A brigade of the Britiſh troops lay that night at Maidenhead, ſix miles from Trenton, and another upon its march from Brunſwick, conſiſting of the 17th, the 40th, and 55th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, were at Princetown, about the ſame diſtance beyond Maidenhead. Jan. 2, 1777.

In this ſituation on both ſides, General Waſhington, who was far from intending to riſque a battle, having taken the neceſſary precaution of keeping up the fires, and every other appearance of ſtill occupying his camp, and leaving ſmall parties to go the rounds, and guard the bridge and the fords, withdrew the reſt of his forces in the dead of night, and with the moſt profound ſilence. They marched with ſuch expedition towards Princetown, that though they took a large circuit by Allenſtown, partly to get clear of the Trenton, or Aſſumpink Creek, and partly to avoid the brigade which lay at Maidenhead, their van fell in at ſunriſe the next morning with Colonel Mawhood, who had juſt begun his march. That officer not having the ſmalleſt idea of their force, the foggineſs of the morning, or circumſtances of the ground, preventing him from ſeeing its extent, conſidered it only as the attempt of ſome flying

ing party to interrupt his march, and having eaſily diſperſed thoſe by whom he was firſt attacked, puſhed forwards without further apprehenſion. But in a little time, he not only found that the 17th regiment which he led, was attacked on all ſides by a ſuperior force, but that it was alſo ſeparated and cut off from the reſt of the brigade, whilſt he diſcovered, by the continued diſtant firing, that the 55th, which immediately followed, was not in better circumſtances.

In this trying and dangerous ſituation, the brave commander, and his equally brave regiment, have gained immortal honour. After a violent conflict, and the greateſt repeated exertions of courage and diſcipline, they at length, by dint of bayonet, forced their way through the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, and purſued their march to Maidenhead undiſturbed. The 55th regiment was little leſs preſſed, and finding it impoſſible to continue its march, with great reſolution made good its retreat, and returned by the way of Hillſborough to Brunſwick. The 40th regiment, which was ſtill at Princetown when the action began, ſuffered leſs than the others, and retired by another road to the ſame place. The enemy acknowledged that nothing could exceed the gallant behaviour of the corps under Mawhood.

Though the number killed, conſidering the nature and warmth of the engagements, was not ſo conſiderable as might have been expected; yet, upon the whole, the three regiments ſuffered ſeverely; their loſs in priſoners amounting to about 200; the killed and wounded were much fewer. The Americans had many more killed, among whom were ſome brave officers, particularly a General Mercer, belonging to Virginia, who was much eſteemed and lamented.

It cannot eſcape the obſervation of any perſon who has attended to the circumſtances of this war, that the number ſlain on the ſide of the Americans, has in general greatly exceeded that in the royal army. Though every defect in military ſkill, experience, judgment, conduct, and mechanical habit, will in ſome degree account for this circumſtance, yet perhaps it may be more particularly attributed to the imperfect loading of their pieces in the hurry of action, than to any other cauſe; a defect, of all others, the moſt fatal; the moſt difficult to be remedied in a new army; and to which even veterans are not ſufficiently attentive. To this may alſo be added the various make of their ſmall arms, which being procured, as chance or opportunity favoured them, from remote and different quarters, were equally different in ſize and bore, which rendered their being fitted with ball upon any general ſcale impracticable.

This active and unexpected movement, with its ſpirited conſequences, immediately recalled Lord Cornwallis from the Delaware, who was, not without reaſon, alarmed for the ſafety of the troops and magazines at Brunſwick. The Americans, ſtill avoiding a general action, and ſatisfied with their preſent advantages, croſſed the Millſtone river, without any further attempt. In a few days, however, they overrun Eaſt Jerſey as well as the Weſt, ſpreading themſelves over the Rariton,

even into Eſſex county, where, by ſeizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, they became maſters of the coaſt oppoſite to Staten Iſland. Their principal poſts were taken and ſtrengthened with ſo much judgment, that it was not practicable to diſlodge them. The royal army retained only the two poſts of Brunſwick and Amboy, the one ſituated a few miles up the Rariton, the other on a point of land at its mouth, and both holding an open communication with New York by ſea.

Thus by a few well concerted and ſpirited actions, was Philadelphia ſaved, Penſylvania freed from danger, the Jerſeys nearly recovered, and a victorious and far ſuperior army, reduced to act upon the defenſive, and for ſeveral months reſtrained within very narrow and inconvenient limits. Theſe actions, and the ſudden recovery from the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs and diſtreſs, to become a formidable enemy in the field, raiſed the character of General Waſhington, as a commander, very high both in Europe and America; and with his preceding and ſubſequent conduct, ſerve all together, to give a ſanction to that appellation, which is now pretty generally applied to him, of the American Fabius.

Nor was this change of affairs to be attributed to any error in the Britiſh Generals, or fault in the troops which they commanded; but depended entirely upon the happy application of a number of powerful and concurring circumſtances, which were far beyond their reach or controul. Though many of theſe were foreſeen and pointed out, by thoſe who from the beginning, either oppoſed in public, or regretted in private, this war, and that others are now obvious to every body, it may not, however, be amiſs to ſpecify ſome of thoſe cauſes which clogged it with particular difficulties.

Among the principal of theſe may be conſidered the vaſt extent of that continent, with its unuſual diſtribution into great tracts of cultivated and ſavage territory; the long extent of ſea coaſt in front, and the boundleſs waſtes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording reſource or ſhelter in all circumſtances; the numberleſs inacceſſible poſts, and ſtrong natural barriers, formed by the various combinations of woods, mountains, rivers, lakes, and marſhes. All theſe properties and circumſtances, with others appertaining to the climates and ſeaſons, may be ſaid to fight the battles of the inhabitants of ſuch countries in a defenſive war. To theſe may be added others leſs local. The unexpected union, and unknown ſtrength of the colonies; the judicious application of that ſtrength, by ſuiting the defence to the nature, genius, and ability, of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country, thereby rendering it a war of poſts, ſurprizes, and ſkirmiſhes, inſtead of a war of battles. To all theſe may be added, the people's not being bridled by ſtrong cities, nor fettered by luxury to thoſe which were otherwiſe, ſo that the reduction of a capital had no effect upon the reſt of the province, and the army could retain no more territory than what it occupied, which was again loſt as ſoon as it departed to another quarter.

During the remaining winter, and the whole of the ſpring, the army under Lord Cornwallis continued much ſtraitened at Brunſwick and Amboy, the troops undergoing, with the greateſt perſeverance and reſolution, the hardſhips of a moſt ſevere and unremitting duty, whilſt their ranks were thinned by a continued ſeries of ſkirmiſhes, which were productive of no real advantage on either ſide, other than that of inuring the Americans to military ſervice. In a word, every load of forage which was procured, and every article of proviſion, which did not come from New York, was ſought or purchaſed at the price of blood.

The conſequences of the late military outrages in the Jerſeys were ſeverely felt in the preſent change of circumſtances. As ſoon as fortune turned, and the means were in their power, the ſufferers of all parties, the well diſpoſed to the royal cauſe, as well as the neutrals and wavering, now roſe as a man to revenge their perſonal injuries and particular oppreſſions, and being goaded by a keener ſpur, than any which a public cauſe, or general motive, could have excited, became its bittereſt and moſt determined enemies. Thus the whole country, with too few exceptions, became hoſtile; thoſe who were incapable of arms, acting as ſpies, and keeping a continual watch for thoſe who bore them; ſo that the ſmalleſt motion could not be made, without its being expoſed and diſcovered, before it could produce its intended effect. Such were the untoward events, that in the winter damped the hopes of a victorious army, and nipped the laurels of a foregoing proſperous campaign.

We have formerly had occaſion to ſhew, the bad ſucceſs which invariably attended the repeated attempts that had been made, of calling off the attention and force of the ſouthern colonies from the ſupport of the general alliance to their own immediate defence, by involving them effectually in civil war and domeſtic contention, either through the means of the well affected in general, the Regulators and Highland emigrants in the Carolinas, or of the Negroes in Virginia. We have alſo taken ſome ſmall notice, of the charges made by the inſurgents in ſome of theſe provinces againſt their governors, of endeavouring to bring the ſavages down to further thoſe deſigns.

The failure in theſe attempts, was not ſufficient to damp the zeal of the Britiſh agents among the Indian nations, nor to render them hopeleſs of ſtill performing ſome eſſential ſervice, by engaging theſe people to make a diverſion, and to attack the ſouthern colonies in their back and defenceleſs parts. The Indians, ever light in act and faith, greedy of preſents, and eager for ſpoil, were not difficultly induced, by a proper application of the one, and the hope of the other, concurring with their own natural diſpoſition, to forget the treaties which they had lately confirmed or renewed with the coloniſts, and to engage in the deſign.

It was held out to them, that a Britiſh army was to land in Weſt Florida, and after penetrating through the Creek, Chickeſaw, and Cherokee countries, and being joined by the warriors of thoſe nations, they were jointly to invade the Carolinas and Virginia,

whilſt another formidable force by ſea and land, was to make a powerful impreſſion on the coaſts. Circular letters to the ſame import, were ſent by Mr. Stuart, the principal agent for Indian affairs, to the inhabitants of the back ſettlements, requiring all the well-affected, as well as all thoſe, who were willing to preſerve themſelves and their families from the inevitable calamities and deſtruction of an Indian war, to be in readineſs to repair to the royal ſtandard, as ſoon as it was erected in the Cherokee country, and to bring with them their horſes, cattle, and proviſions, for all of which they were promiſed payment. They were likewiſe required, for their preſent ſecurity, and future diſtinction from the King's enemies, to ſubſcribe immediately to a written paper, declaratory of their allegiance.

The ſcheme was ſo plauſible, and carried ſuch a probability of ſucceſs, that it ſeemed to have had a very extenſive operation upon the diſpoſition of the Indians, and to have prepared them in a great meaſure for a general confederacy againſt the colonies. Even the ſix nations, who had before agreed to the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality, now committed ſeveral ſmall acts of hoſtility, which were afterwards diſowned by their elders and chiefs. The Creek Indians, more violent, began the ſouthern war with all their uſual barbarity, until finding that the expected ſuccours did not arrive, they, with a foreſight uncommon among Indians, ſtopped ſuddenly ſhort, and repenting of what they had done, were, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, eaſily excuſed; and being afterwards applied to for aſſiſtance by the Cherokees, returned for anſwer, that they, the latter, had plucked the thorn out of their foot, and were welcome to keep it.

But the Cherokees fell upon the adjoining colonies with determined fury, carrying, for a part of the ſummer, ruin and deſolation wherever they came, ſcalping and ſlaughtering the people, and totally deſtroying their ſettlements. They were ſoon, however, checked, and ſeverely experienced, that things were much altered, ſince the time of their former warfare upon the ſame ground, and that the martial ſpirit now prevalent in the colonies, was extended to their remoteſt frontiers. They were not only repulſed or defeated in every action, by the neighbouring militia of Virginia and the Carolinas, but purſued into their own country, where their towns were demoliſhed, their corn deſtroyed, and their warriors thinned in repeated engagements, until the nation was nearly exterminated, and the wretched ſurvivors were obliged to ſubmit to any terms preſcribed by the victors; whilſt the neighbouring nations of Indians were ſilent and paſſive ſpectators of their calamities.

Nor was this Indian war more fortunate, with reſpect to its effect on the well-affected in thoſe quarters; who are not only ſaid, to a man, to have expreſſed the utmoſt averſion to the authors, and abhorrence of the cruelty of that meaſure, but that ſome of the chief leaders of the tories, avowed a recantation of their former principles, merely upon that account.

It was in the midſt of the buſtle and danger of the war, and when the

the ſcale of Fortune ſeemed to hang heavily againſt them, by the defeat on Long Iſland, and the reduction of New York, at a time when a great and invincible force by ſea and land, carried diſmay and conqueſt wherever it directed its courſe, that all the members of the Congreſs ventured to ſign that remarkable treaty of perpetual compact and union between the thirteen revolted colonies, which lays down an invariable ſyſtem of rules or laws, for their government in all public caſes with reſpect to each other in peace or war, and is alſo extended to their commerce with foreign ſtates. This piece, which may be conſidered as a moſt dangerous ſupplement to the declaration of independency, was publiſhed under the title of articles of confederation and perpetual union between the thirteen ſpecified ſtates, and has ſince received, as the neceſſary forms would permit, the ſeparate ratification of each colony. Such was in general the ſtate of affairs in America at the cloſe of the year 1776.

Oct. 4.

CHAP. II.

State of affairs previous to the meeting of parliament. New peers. Change in the department for the education of the Royal Brothers. Extraordinary augmentation of the peerage in Ireland. Diſtreſſes of the Weſt-India iſlands. Depredations of the American cruizers. Conduct obſerved in the French and Spaniſh ports. Armaments. Several men of war commiſſioned. Preſs. Diſpute between the city of London and the Admiralty. Account of John the Painter; he burns the hemp-houſe at Portſmouth; ſets fire to ſome houſes at Briſtol. Speech from the throne. Addreſſes. Amendments moved. Great debates.

THE interval that elapſed during the receſs of parliament, was not much checkered with ſuch domeſtic events as could greatly excite the attention of the public. As war ſeemed now as inevitable as it was fully provided for, the narrow alternative which was lodged in the hands of the Commiſſioners affording little room for other expectation, the attention of the nation was ſuſpended for the preſent, and people only looked forward to the conſequences of that event. Thoſe who approved of hoſtility, ſaw their deſires now gratified to the utmoſt, and thoſe who differed with them in opinion found it uſeleſs to repine. Thus, all former ſubjects of debate and diſcuſſion being ſwallowed up in the final deciſion, public affairs ſeemed to be ſcarcely thought of, and a degree of ſtillneſs prevailed among the people, perhaps unequalled in any country or age, during the rage of a foreign or domeſtic warfare.

War is ſeldom unpopular in this country; and this war was attended with ſome circumſtances which ſeldom have accompanied any other. The high language of authority, dignity and ſupremacy, which had filled the mouths of many for ſome years, fed the va-

nity of thoſe who could not eaſily define, or who perhaps had never fully conſidered, the extent of the terms, or of the conſequences which they were capable of producing; and the flattering idea of leſſening the national burthens, by an American revenue, whilſt it was fitted to the comprehenſion of the meaneſt capacity, was not leſs effective in its operation upon thoſe of a ſuperior claſs and order. To the powerful principles of national pride and avarice, was added a laudable diſpoſition to ſupport thoſe national rights which were ſuppoſed to be invaded, and a proper indignation and reſentment to that ingratitude and inſolence which were charged upon the Americans, and to which only the preſent troubles were attributed by thoſe, who were moſt active in fomenting the principles of hoſtility, which at that time prevailed, far more than they had done at the beginning of this conteſt.

In ſuch circumſtances, it is not to be wondered at, if a majority of the people gave at leaſt a kind of tacit approbation to the war; but as it was not attended with national antipathy or rivalſhip, eſtabliſhed enmity, or even a preſent competition for glory, they did not feel themſelves ſo much intereſted in its ſucceſs, or altogether ſo anxious about its conſequences, as they would in thoſe of another nature. On the other hand, that great body of the people, who had at all times reprobated the meaſures which led to the preſent troubles, and who conſidered them as not leſs dangerous to the conſtitution, than ruinous to the power and glory of the nation, could not be ſuppoſed ſanguine in their wiſhes for a ſucceſs, which they deemed liable to more fatal conſequences than any loſs or defeat. The great diſtance of the ſeat of war, alſo rendered its effects leſs intereſting. For diſtance produces in ſome degree the effect of time with reſpect to ſenſibility; and the ſlaughter, cruelties, and calamities, which would wring the heart if they happened in the next county, are ſlightly felt at three or four thouſand miles diſtance. The diſtance alſo prevented all apprehenſion of immediate danger; the expences of the conteſt were not yet ſenſibly felt; and the bulk of mankind never think of remote conſequences.

From theſe, and other cauſes, a general, and perhaps blameable, careleſsneſs and indifference prevailed throughout the nation. Nor was it eaſily rouſed from this drowſy apathy, which like all other habits was confirmed by time. For when at length, the American cruizers, not only ſcoured the Atlantic ocean, but ſpreading their depredations through the European ſeas, brought alarm and hoſtility home to our doors; when the deſtruction which befell the homeward bound richly laden Weſt-India fleets, poured equal ruin upon the planters in the iſlands and the merchants at home; when an account of the failure of ſome capital houſe in the city, was almoſt the news of every morning; even in that ſtate of public loſs and private diſtreſs, an unuſual phlegm prevailed, and the ſame tranquil countenance and careleſs unconcern was preſerved, by thoſe who had not yet partaken of the calamity. A circumſtance which is not ſufficiently accounted

for,

for, even from the vaſt numbers who thought themſelves officially, or by connection bound, to give a countenance to the war as a favourite court meaſure, nor the ſtill greater of thoſe who profited by its continuance.

In this ſtate of public affairs and diſpoſition at large, adminiſtration had acquired ſuch an appearance of ſtability, as ſeemed to render them, for ſome conſiderable time to come, ſuperior to the frowns of fortune. Supported by an irreſiſtible majority in parliament, they were already armed with every power which they were capable of deſiring or wiſhing for the eſtabliſhment of their American ſyſtem; whilſt, as the nation was now too deeply engaged in their meaſures to be capable of retracting, it would be found equally difficult to commit the proſecution of them to any other hands. Thus the power which produced the meaſures, was inſured during their continuance. All apprehenſion from the oppoſition of an ill united minority had been long worn off; and it ſeemed now rather neceſſary to give a colour and ſanction to their proceedings, by recording the vaſt ſuperiority which decided every queſtion in their favour, than as at all capable of counteracting, or even impeding their deſigns.

In this ſtrong ſtate of ſecurity, no changes took place among the miniſters. Though the force of government in the Houſe of Lords ſeemed to require no addition, ſeveral new Peers were called up a few days before the

May 14. 1776. receſs. The Marquis of Carmarthen (ſon to the Duke of Leeds) was created Baron Oſborne; Lord Polwarth (ſon to the Earl of Marchmont) Baron Hume; Lord Mount Stuart (ſon to the Earl of Bute) Baron Cardiff; Sir Edward Hawke, Baron Hawke; Mr. Onſlow, Baron Cranley; Sir Jeffery Amherſt, Baron Amherſt; Sir Brownlow Cuſt, Baron Brownlow; Mr. George Pitt, Baron Rivers; Mr. Rider, Baron Harrowby; and Mr. Foley, Baron Foley. The Ducheſs of Hamilton and Argyll was created Baroneſs Hamilton, with deſcent to her heirs male. Her preſent huſband, the Duke of Argyll, had ſome time before obtained the Engliſh barony of Sundridge.

Of theſe new creations, two were only anticipations of honour, the Marquis of Carmarthen and Mr. Onſlow being already in immediate ſucceſſion to the peerage. Some exceptions were taken in diſcourſes and writings, on the granting of Engliſh baronies to the Scotch nobility, or the immediate ſucceſſors in their titles, with a view of enabling them to fill ſeats in parliament. It was urged as a very diſputable meaſure, and conſidered by many as an evaſion, if not direct violation of the conditions of union between the two kingdoms; yet many conſider it as a proceeding, which may in time be productive rather of ſecurity than danger to the conſtitution. For whatever influence may at preſent operate upon thoſe who hold themſelves under an immediate obligation upon that account, it will of courſe wear away in a little time with them or their ſucceſſors; and the more numerous they grow, the leſs liable to management; ſo that they may become in ſome degree a ballance to the ſixteen Peers,

who

who under the name and form of an election, are avowedly nominated, and virtually appointed by the Miniſter, and accordingly conſidered as a dead weight in the ſcale of the crown.

28th. Within a few days after the receſs, an unexpected change took place in the department for the education of the royal brothers, the Prince of Wales and the Biſhop of Oſnaburgh, the Earl of Holderneſſe, Governor, the Biſhop of Cheſter, Preceptor, Mr. Smelt, Sub-Governor, and the Rev. Mr. Jackſon, Sub-Preceptor, having all reſigned their reſpective employments. This meaſure has been attributed to ſome diſagreement between the Governor and Preceptor; but it ſeems as if the cauſes were not thoroughly known. As no new arrangement was in readineſs, it alſo ſeems as if the court was not prepared for the event.

Lord Bruce was firſt appointed Governor, with a promiſe of being created Earl of Ayleſbury, a title which he had for ſome time coveted. But this office not ſuiting his temper or inclination, he in a few days reſigned, when his

June 8th. brother, the Duke of Montague, was appointed Governor to the Princes; Dr. Hurd, Biſhop of Litchfield, Preceptor; Colonel Hotham, Sub-Governor; and the Rev. W. Arnold, Sub-Preceptor. Lord Bruce obtained his earldom, the government of Windſor, which had been held by the Duke of Montague, and was called to the privy council; the Marquis of Carmarthen, who was married to Lord Holderneſſe's daughter, was appointed a Lord of the bed-chamber; and towards the cloſe of the year, upon the death of Dr. Drummond, the Biſhop of Cheſter was promoted to the metropolitan ſee of York.

Though the government of Ireland was not yet diſpoſed of, means were uſed to ſmooth the way for the future Viceroy. A great promotion in point of rank, and an enormous augmentation as to number, took place in the peerage of that country. Five Viſcounts were advanced to earldoms, ſeven Barons to be Viſcounts, and no leſs than eighteen new Barons created, in the courſe of one day.

July 2d. Towards the end of November, the Earl of Buckinghamſhire was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom.

The melancholy prognoſtications, which at the time had been treated rather as chimerical, and the exaggeration of party, than a well founded deduction drawn from reaſon and a knowledge of the ſubject, relative to the calamities in which the American troubles would involve the Weſt-India Iſlands, began already to be too ſenſibly fulfilled. Several of the moſt eſſential neceſſaries of life, particularly the articles of ſuſtenance uſed for the ſupport of the negroes, as well as of the poor and laborious whites, had riſen from three to four times their cuſtomary price. Staves, which in the next degree to food were an object of the greateſt neceſſity, were not to be procured in a ſufficient quantity at any price. Other wants and diſtreſſes multiplied, and would have been more ſenſibly felt, had not the dread of famine abſorbed all leſſer conſiderations. The prizes taken from the Americans, and diſpoſed of in thoſe iſlands, prevented theſe diſ-

treſſes from being perfectly ruinous.

As there are ſeaſons in which misfortunes ſeem to be epidemical, ſo in this period of diſtreſs, a conſpiracy and inſurrection of the Negroes in Jamaica, though happily diſcovered in good time, and eaſily cruſhed in the bud, yet in its conſequences helped much to increaſe the general calamities both at home and in the iſlands. As the ſmall military force in Jamaica had been weakened for the American ſervice, and that the departure of a great fleet of merchantmen, amounting to about 120 ſail, with a part of the ſmall ſquadron on that ſtation to be their convoy, would render the iſland ſtill more naked and defenceleſs, the Negroes fixed upon that time for carrying their deſign into execution.

The fleet which was to have ſailed in July, was detained in conſequence of the diſcovery of the plot, for about a month, when the ſhips were loaded and juſt ready for the ſea; a detention, which though an immediate heavy loſs and expence to the owners, was productive of much greater misfortune. For they not only met with bad weather which ſcattered the ſhips and laid them open to danger, but the Americans thereby gained time to equip their privateers, and ſeize the critical ſtations for intercepting their paſſage. Some blame was alſo thrown upon the convoy; but however it was, many ſhips of that rich fleet fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor was the trade from the other iſlands more fortunate. So that though the Americans did not begin their diſtant depredations till late in the year, the Britiſh loſs in captures during 1776, excluſive of tranſports and government ſtore-ſhips, was eſtimated conſiderably higher than a million ſterling.

In the mean time the French and Spaniſh ports in Europe, began, ſome time before the cloſe of the year, to ſwarm with American privateers, and to be crowded with their Engliſh prizes, which were at firſt openly ſold without any colour of diſguiſe. On remonſtrances from this court, a little more decorum was obſerved; ſome check was given to the open and avowed ſale of prizes; but the practice ſtill continued. In the preſent unhappy ſtate of affairs, it was thought neceſſary for a while to ſuſpend the aſſertion of the national dignity. At no time had that dignity ſuffered ſuch an eclipſe. In the Weſt Indies, the American depredations were carried on to a much greater extent, and much more avowedly countenanced in all the French colonies. Even French ſhips took American commiſſions; and with few, and ſometimes no American ſeamen on board, carried on a war upon the Britiſh commerce with impunity. In the mean time the King's ſhips, on their parts, took an infinite multitude of prizes from the Americans, moſtly indeed of ſmall value; but they proved a very timely relief to the ſuffering iſlanders.

The American declaration of independency, afforded an opportunity to thoſe to triumph much in their ſagacity, who had at all times urged and ſupported the moſt coercive meaſures, and who now inſiſted that this had been the grand object and operative motive with the colonies during the whole conteſt, and the real ſource of all the

the preſent troubles. The knowledge of the fact, with theſe and other reaſonings upon it, had alſo an effect upon many others, in reconciling them to the preſent meaſures, and leading them to conſider the diſagreeable ſituation of public affairs, rather as ariſing from an inevitable neceſſity, than proceeding from any error in their ſuperintendence or conduct. It will be eaſily conceived that the great loſſes ſuſtained by the capture of Britiſh ſhips, and which trade otherwiſe ſuffered by the prodigious riſe of inſurance, (that upon homeward bound Weſt India ſhips now amounting to 23 l. per cent.) muſt have exceedingly embittered the minds of the ſufferers againſt the Americans; nor could it be without effect upon the temper of the nation in general.

The great armaments, which were continually increaſing, in the French and Spaniſh ports, the avowed diſpoſition of thoſe ſtates with reſpect to Portugal, and many other ſuſpicious appearances, afforded very ſufficient grounds of alarm to the miniſters during the receſs. The cauſe and effect increaſed with the ſeaſon, until at length, towards the approach of winter, the political horizon appeared not a little gloomy.

In theſe circumſtances, ſixteen additional ſhips of the line were ſuddenly put into commiſſion, and

Oct. 25th. a proclamation iſſued, by which the reward to able ſeamen for entering in the navy was increaſed to five pounds per man. This was followed by another proclamation, recalling all ſeamen who were in any foreign ſervice; by two others, laying an embargo on the exportation of proviſions from Great Britain and Ireland; and by a fifth, enjoining the obſervance of a general faſt.

An hot preſs had attended the proclamation for the bounty to ſeamen. As the public conduct of the city of London in political matters, has for ſeveral years paſt, in various inſtances, drawn upon it the moſt marked and unequivocal indications of the reſentment and indignation of government, ſo the preſent occaſion afforded an opportunity for a ſquabble between that body and the admiralty.

The Lord Mayor claimed an exemption for the watermen of his barge. The city claimed an exemption from preſſing within its juriſdiction. The court of King's Bench held that theſe claims did not appear to them ſupported by adequate proof. This diſpute continued very hotly for a time, and ended without any definitive deciſion on ſeveral of the moſt material points of law. However, the right of preſſing ſeemed to grow in ſtrength, and all ideas of local or perſonal exemptions, to loſe ground very conſiderably.

Towards the cloſe of the year, and in the beginning of the enſuing, much confuſion, apprehenſion, and ſuſpicion was excited, by the machinery of a wretched enthuſiaſt and incendiary, ſince well known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whoſe real name was James Aitken. This man, who was born in Edinburgh, and bred a painter, poſſeſſing an extraordinary ſpirit of rambling, with a ſtrong propenſity to vice, had paſſed in the courſe of a few years thro' an uncommon variety of thoſe ſcenes, which attend the moſt profligate and abandoned ſtate of

a vagabond life. A kind of life, for which a manual trade, however followed, affords the moſt perfect opportunity and cover.

Among his other exploits he had paſſed through ſeveral marching regiments of foot, from each of which he deſerted as ſoon as opportunity ſerved, after receiving the bounty money. In his various peregrinations through the different parts of England, he alternately committed highway robberies, burglaries, petty thefts, rapes, and worked at his trade, as occaſion invited, villainy prompted, or fear or neceſſity operated. Whether it proceeded from the apprehenſion of puniſhment, or that the original bent of his genius led him to new ſcenes of action, whatever was the operative motive, he ſhipped himſelf off for America, where he continued for two or three years. His being of a melancholy ſolitary nature, which neither ſought for aſſociates in crimes, nor admitted of partners in pleaſure, as it contributed much to his preſervation for ſo long a time from the juſtice of thoſe laws which he was conſtantly breaking, ſerved equally to throw in utter darkneſs all thoſe parts of his life, which he did not himſelf think fitting or neceſſary to communicate. His tranſactions in America are accordingly unknown, any further, than that he traverſed, and worked at his trade in ſeveral of the colonies.

As his pilgrimage on that continent, was in the beginning and during the progreſs of the preſent troubles, it may well be imagined, that the violence of the language and ſentiments held in political matters, by that order of the people with whom he lived and converſed, gave birth to that madneſs of enthuſiaſm in him, which afterwards became ſo dangerous. He accordingly returned to England with the moſt deadly antipathy to the government and nation, and ſoon after, if not originally, adopted the deſign, of ſubverting in his own ſingle perſon, that power which he ſo much abhorred.

The ſcheme was as deteſtable, as could even be expected from the villainous character of the framer. It was to deſtroy the maritime force of this country, as well as its internal ſtrength and riches, by ſetting fire to the royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns, with their ſhipping of whatever ſort, ſo far as it could poſſibly be done. In the proſecution of this atrocious deſign, he traverſed the kingdom to diſcover the ſtate of the ſeveral docks, and the nature of the watch by which they were guarded, which he in general found to be as lax and inſufficient as he could have wiſhed. He alſo took wonderful pains in the conſtruction of fireworks, machines, and combuſtibles, for the purpoſe, but was ſtrangely unſucceſsful in all his attempts of this nature.

It was owing to this unaccountable failure in his machines, that the nation was ſaved from receiving ſome dreadful, if not irretrievable ſhock. One of them, which extinguiſhed of its own accord, without any human interference, was found ſeveral weeks after it had been laid, in the center of a prodigious quantity, of one

one of the moſt combuſtible ſubſtances, in the great hemp houſe at Portſmouth. He, however, ſucDec. 7th. ceeded, in ſetting fire to the rope houſe in that yard, and had an opportunity, for ſeveral miles in his flight to London, to feaſt the malignity of his nature, in the contemplation of that dreadful conflagration which he had excited, and which from its prodigious appearance, he imagined had ſpread to all the magazines, buildings, and docks. The fire was happily ſubdued, with no other loſs than that of the rope houſe and its contents.

The incendiary ſtill purſued his deſign, but failed in his attempts upon the royal docks, and narrowly eſcaped being taken at Plymouth. The city of Briſtol was at that time greatly divided between the too numerous parties of Tories and Whigs, as they were called, the former of which eagerly ſupported, and the latter as highly deteſted, the preſent court meaſures againſt America. The former carried up an addreſs of congratulation upon the late ſucceſſes of his Majeſty's arms, which the latter condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms, repreſenting it as an act highly indecent, unchriſtian, and impious, to exhibit any marks of triumph and rejoicing in the ſlaughter and deſtruction of their fellow-ſubjects.

In this ſtate of party and political diſunion among the inhabitants, John the Painter, in the month of January, 1777, attempted firſt to burn the ſhipping, and afterwards the city itſelf. A deep and narrow chaſm, which is nearly dry when the tide is out, fronts a great part of the quay in Briſtol, which is generally crowded with a prodigious number of veſſels, all lying ſo cloſe together, and ſo free from water in that ſeaſon, that the firſt thing which ſtrikes the attention of a ſtranger, is a ſurprize how they could be ſo lodged, and the ſecond, a conviction of the fatal and irremediable conſequences both to the ſhipping and the city, which a fire muſt inevitably produce. The incendiary failing in his attempt to ſet two or three of thoſe veſſels on fire, found ſo ſtrict a watch kept afterwards, that he was obliged to change his mode of operation, and to ſecure the deſtruction of the ſhips by beginning with the houſes. After ſome failures in his attempts this way, in which, as in all others, the finding of his ineffective apparatus afforded full evidence of the atrociouſneſs of the deſign, he at length ſucceeded ſo far as to ſet fire to ſome warehouſes in the vicinity of the quay, ſix or ſeven of which were conſumed.

Theſe facts and circumſtances afforded a full ſcope, to all the rage and virulence of party to blaze out in their utmoſt violence. The moſt bigotted and furious, and conſequently the moſt ignorant, on the one ſide, attributed them to the diſaffection, the republican and American principles, of the other; whilſt thoſe on an equal ſcale of underſtanding and prejudice on that, were fully convinced, that they were malicious acts or inventions of the Tories, merely for the purpoſe of calumniating and blackening their adverſaries.

The reign of the incendiary was not much longer. He was taken up ſoon after his departure from

from Briſtol, upon ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances, and behaved with great boldneſs, art, and an uncommon government in point of ſpeech, upon his ſeveral examinations, refuſing peremptorily to anſwer any queſtions, which admitted even of a doubt in the remoteſt tendency, that the anſwer could by any conſtruction be wreſted to his own crimination; nor was he at all diſconcerted or embarraſſed by the appearance, or the queſtions propoſed to him, by ſome of the Lords, and other principal officers of the admiralty.

He was, however, with all his art and caution, circumvented by the means of another painter, who being either an American, or having lived on that continent, found means thereby, and by pretending to ſympathize in his misfortunes, and to hold principles ſimilar to his own, to obtain his confidence in priſon; until at length, being inſtructed and aſſiſted for the purpoſe, he fulfilled his intent, by drawing from him the whole hiſtory of his crimes. Upon his trial at Portſmouth, notwithſtanding the ſhock which the appearance and evidence of his pretended friend muſt have given him, he behaved with the ſame boldneſs and addreſs which he had hitherto manifeſted; made a good defence, ſhrewd obſervations upon the nature of the evidence, and the acknowledged baſeneſs of the witneſs, and received ſentence of death with the moſt perfect indifference. He ſent for one of the principal naval officers of Portſmouth, either going to, or at the place of execution, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and alſo gave ſome cautions, with reſpect to the future preſervation of the royal yards from ſimilar dangers.

Such was in general the ſtate of public affairs, during the receſs, and for ſome time after the meeting of parliament. The ſpeech from the throne ſeemed to breath indignation and reſentment. It would have afforded much ſatisfaction that the troubles which had ſo long diſtracted the colonies had been at an end; and that the unhappy people, recovered from their deluſion, had delivered themſelves from the oppreſſion of their leaders, and returned to their duty; but ſo daring and deſperate (it was ſaid) was the ſpirit of thoſe leaders, whoſe object had always been dominion and power, that they had openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country; that they had rejected, with circumſtances of indignity and inſult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of the royal commiſſion; and had preſumed to ſet up their rebellious confederacies for independent ſtates. Much miſchief was foreſeen from the growth of this rebellion, if it was ſuffered to take root, not only with reſpect to the ſafety of the loyal colonies, and to the commerce of theſe kingdoms, but to the general ſyſtem of Europe. One great advantage would, however, be derived, from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly underſtood; it would produce unanimity at home, founded on a general conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of our meaſures.

Oct. 31ſt. 1776.

The

The two houſes were informed of the recovery of Canada, and of the ſucceſſes on the ſide of New York, which, notwithſtanding the unavoidable delays that retarded the commencement of the operations, were of ſuch importance, as to afford the ſtrongeſt hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequences; but that, notwithſtanding this fair proſpect, another campaign muſt, at all events, be prepared for.

Amicable aſſurances were ſtill received from other courts; endeavours were uſed to conciliate the differences between Spain and Portugal; and though a continuance of the general tranquillity was hoped, it was, however, thought expedient, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, that we ſhould be in a reſpectable ſtate of defence at home. The great conſequent expence was regretted; but no doubt was entertained, that the importance of the objects under conſideration, would procure a chearful grant of the neceſſary ſupplies.

It declared, that his Majeſty could have no other object in this arduous conteſt than the true intereſts of all his ſubjects; and it aſſerted, that no people ever enjoyed more happineſs, or lived under a milder government, than the revolted provinces; that their boaſted improvements in every art, their numbers, their wealth, their ſtrength by ſea and land, were irrefragable proofs of it. The ſpeech concluded with a declaration, that his Majeſty's deſire was to reſtore to them the bleſſings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every Britiſh ſubject, which they had fatally and deſperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

The addreſſes were framed in the uſual manner, and, according to the practice of late years, produced great debates, and propoſed amendments, of a clear contrary nature, in both houſes. That of the Commons, beſides confirming, repeating and adopting, all the poſitions in the ſpeech, attributes the circumſtances of inſult and indignity, which accompanied the rejection, by the American leaders, of the means of reconciliation graciouſly held out to them by his Majeſty, to their reſentment of his firm and conſtant adherence to the maintenance of the conſtitutional rights of parliament, diveſted of every poſſible view of any ſeparate intereſts of the crown; and expreſſes the ſtrongeſt ſentiments of gratitude for that attachment to the parliamentary authority of Great Britain, which had thus provoked the inſolence of the chiefs of the rebellion.

Lord John Cavendiſh moved an amendment, which was of greater length than the original addreſs. In this piece, (which included a comprehenſive view of the miniſterial conduct with reſpect to America,) after a declaration of the moſt earneſt zeal for his Majeſty's true intereſt, and the real glory of his reign, and the deepeſt concern, at beholding the minds of a very large, and lately loyal and affectionate part of his people, entirely alienated from his government; it was inferred, that ſuch an event, as the diſaffection and revolt of a whole people, could not have taken place, without

out ſome conſiderable errors in the conduct obſerved towards them.

Theſe errors were imputed, to the want of ſufficient information being laid before parliament, and to the repoſing of too great a degree of confidence in Miniſters; who, though by duty obliged, and by office enabled, to ſtudy and to know the temper and diſpoſition of his Majeſty's American ſubjects, and to purſue the moſt ſalutary meaſures, had totally failed in all. To this miſplaced confidence, and want of parliamentary information, was attributed, the purſuit of ſchemes formed for the reduction and chaſtiſement of a ſuppoſed inconſiderable party of factious men, and which had driven thirteen large provinces to deſpair. That every Act of Parliament which had been propoſed as a means of procuring peace and ſubmiſſion, had become a new cauſe of hoſtility and revolt; until we are almoſt inextricably involved in a bloody and expenſive civil war; which, beſides exhauſting at preſent the ſtrength of all his Majeſty's dominions, expoſing our allies to the deſigns of their and our enemies, and leaving this kingdom in a moſt perilous ſituation, threatens, in its iſſue, the moſt deplorable calamities to the whole Britiſh race.

It lamented, that in conſequence of the credit given to the repreſentation of Miniſters, no hearing had been afforded to the reiterated complaints and petitions of the colonies, nor any ground laid for removing the original cauſe of thoſe unhappy differences, which took their riſe from queſtions relative to parliamentary proceedings, and can be ſettled only by parliamentary authority. That, by this fatal omiſſion, the Commiſſioners nominated for the apparent purpoſe of making peace, were furniſhed with no legal powers, but that of giving or with-holding pardons at their pleaſure, and that for relaxing the ſeverities of a ſingle penal Act of Parliament; leaving the whole foundation of this unhappy controverſy juſt as it ſtood in the beginning.

It repreſented in ſtrong colours, the fatal conſequences of not ſending out the Commiſſioners for ſeven months after the time, that their ſpeedy departure had been announced by the ſpeech from the throne; by which neglect, it ſays, the inhabitants of the colonies, apprized that they were put out of the protection of government, and ſeeing no means provided for their entering into it, were furniſhed with reaſons but too colourable for breaking off their dependency on the crown of this kingdom.

It gave an aſſurance, that the Houſe, by removing their confidence from thoſe who had in ſo many inſtances groſly abuſed it, would endeavour to reſtore to parliament the confidence of all the people. To anſwer this end, it was propoſed to make enquiries into the grievances of the colonies, into the conduct of Miniſters with regard to them, the cauſes, that the commerce of this kingdom had been left expoſed to the repriſals of the colonies, at the very time when their ſeamen and fiſhermen, being indiſcriminately prohibited from the peaceful exerciſe of their occupations, and declared open enemies, muſt have been expected, with a certain aſſurance, to betake themſelves to plunder, and to

wreak their revenge on the commerce of Great Britain.

It obſerved, that a wiſe, moderate, and provident uſe of the late advantages gained in arms, might be productive of happy effects: and gave an aſſurance, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their part, to enable his Majeſty to take full advantage of any diſpoſition to reconciliation, which might be the conſequence of the miſeries of war, by laying down real permanent grounds of connection between Great Britain and her colonies, on principles of liberty and terms of mutual advantage.

It concluded with the following declaration, which contained high and liberal ſentiments. "We ſhould look with the utmoſt ſhame and horror, on any events that ſhould tend to break the ſpirit of any large part of the Britiſh nation: to bow them to an abject unconditional ſubmiſſion to any power whatſoever; to annihilate their liberties, and to ſubdue them to ſervile principles and paſſive habits, by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms; becauſe, amidſt the exceſſes and abuſes which have happened, we muſt reſpect the ſpirit and principles operating in theſe commotions. Our wiſh is to regulate, not to deſtroy them; for though differing in ſome circumſtances, thoſe very principles evidently bear ſo exact an analogy with thoſe which ſupport the moſt valuable part of our own conſtitution, that it is impoſſible, with any appearance of juſtice, to think of wholly extirpating them by the ſword, in any part of his Majeſty's dominions, without admitting conſequences, and eſtabliſhing precedents, the moſt dangerous to the liberties of this kingdom."

A ſimilar amendment to the addreſs of the Lords was moved for by the Marquis of Rockingham, and both were ſupported with great force and animation, and the debates in both Houſes, long, various, and intereſting. In theſe, the ſpeech from the throne, which was conſidered merely as the act of the Miniſter, was taken to pieces without ceremony, and treated in all its parts with unuſual aſperity.

It was aſked, where thoſe mighty leaders were found, whom the Americans obeyed ſo implicitly, and who governed them with ſo deſpotic a rule? They had no grandees amongſt them; — their ſoil is not productive of nobility. No people upon earth, in an equal ſtate of improvement, with ſo great an extent of country, ſo diffuſive a commerce with mankind, and in poſſeſſion of ſo large a ſhare of ſubſtantial perſonal property, were ſo nearly in a ſtate of equality. There were not many large, and there were no over-grown fortunes among them. Mr. Hancock, was a plain merchant, of fair character, and conſiderable ſubſtance in Boſton; he poſſeſſed no ſuper-eminence over his brethren, nor authority over the people, till the preſent troubles called him into both. Mr. Waſhington poſſeſſed ſuch a landed eſtate, as ſeveral very private gentlemen in every county in England poſſeſs, which enables them to exhibit ſuch a degree of hoſpitality, as procures them reſpect and regard in their own diſtricts, without their being heard of or known beyond thoſe limits.

limits. Others, who now figure in the field or the Congreſs, were, and would have continued, ſtill more obſcure. By what magic is it then, that thoſe people, who are repreſented as violent republicans, as levellers in principle, who are ſaid to abhor all thoſe diſtinctions which cuſtom and authority have eſtabliſhed in other parts of the world, ſhould all at once have changed their nature, and, what is perhaps ſtill more extraordinary, have ſubdued their prejudices, ſo as to reſign all their faculties of thinking, and powers of acting, to a few unknown deſpots?

The anſwer, they ſaid, was obvious, and was merely this, that the aſſertion was falſe; and that it was at the ſame time ſo palpably abſurd, as not to merit a ſerious refutation. The Americans had been driven by oppreſſion to a vindication of their rights; and, at length, by our invincible perſeverance, in the madneſs and injuſtice of our conduct, to a defence of them by arms. In this ſituation, driven together by common danger and calamity, and compelled to the laſt reſource of which human nature is capable, they were under the ſame neceſſity, which all people (even ſavages, in their original ſtate of nature and equality) ever have been, and muſt ever continue to be, in ſimilar circumſtances, of creating leaders, to conduct their public affairs, and to command their armies. Theſe leaders, can have no other powers than what the people think fitting and neceſſary to intruſt them with. Their repreſentatives in the Provincial aſſemblies, are elected annually; the general Congreſs expires with the year. At that period, all power returns again to the people at large, who again delegate it in ſuch proportions, and to ſuch perſons, as they think proper. Thus, thoſe ſuppoſed tyrants, who are repreſented as trampling equally upon all laws, and upon the necks of the people, as governing them with rods of ſcorpions, and practiſing upon them a deſpotiſm, ſcarcely known in the oldeſt eſtabliſhed tyrannies, are no other, than their own public officers and ſervants, appointed at their will, and removeable at their pleaſure. With what face then has the Miniſter approached Parliament, or ventured to inſult Majeſty, with ſo unqualified and ſhameleſs an impoſition.

In the ſame ſpirit, ſaid they, of impoſing upon, and with the additional deſign of irritating the nation, it is advanced, that the Americans have rejected, with circumſtances of indignity and inſult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the commiſſion. This falſehood, they ſaid, was engrafted upon a ſimilar one of the preceding ſeſſion, by which it was held out, that terms of accommodation would be referred to the conſideration of parliament. Though this was neither deſigned nor effected, yet to nouriſh the deluſion of the people, a ſolitary clauſe was thrown into the capture act, empowering the crown to appoint Commiſſioners to grant pardons; a matter to which it was as fully competent, without, as with an Act of Parliament. Thus, the boaſted means of conciliation, which the Americans had ſo ungratefully and contumaciouſly rejected, were nothing more than

a naked offer of pardon, upon terms, the very idea of which are abhorrent to the nature of every ſubject of this free government. The Miniſters well knew that they would never voluntarily accept the terms of unconditional ſubmiſſion, and they intentionally drove them, though they dare neither avow the deſign nor the motives, to the only remaining alternative of reſiſtance, and its ſcarcely avoidable conſequence, the declaration of independence. To prevent, however, the poſſibility of any change of diſpoſition, the effect of any alleviating circumſtances, and to render them totally enraged and deſperate, the commiſſion, ſuch as it was, and the Commiſſioners, were detained for ſeveral months, until the whole ſyſtem of irritation and puniſhment of the penal laws, including (what they called) the indiſcriminate injuſtice and cruelty of the Capture Act, by which they were declared enemies, put out of the protection of the law, and their property held out as a common ſpoil, had full time and ſcope for their operation. Nor could any ſubmiſſion, however general and unconditional, mitigate their calamities, as there were no perſons upon the ſpot, who had authority to receive it if offered, nor to relax or ſuſpend the ſeverity of the laws in favour of thoſe who returned to their duty. Yet now the nation are to be ſtill miſled, and farther inflamed, by holding out an idea, that equitable and gracious means of conciliation had been propoſed to the Americans, and by them rejected with the moſt unparalleled ſcorn and inſolence.

The poſition in the ſpeech, that no people ever enjoyed greater happineſs, or lived under a milder government, than the revolted colonies, in ſupport of which their improvement in arts, their number, their wealth, and their ſtrength by ſea and land, were brought in proof, was ſaid to imply a virtual and moſt juſt cenſure on the conduct of adminiſtration. Upon what principle of wiſdom or policy was ſuch a people forced into rebellion? This power and greatneſs, which compoſed a part of our own, and which was not to be equalled in the hiſtory of colonization by any other people, owed its growth to the juſt and equal ſyſtem of the Engliſh laws and conſtitution, and to the bleſſings of a mild and equitable government. Why was this admirable ſyſtem of wiſdom and equity, which produced ſuch noble, nay wonderful effects, departed from? The ſpeech holds out, that the preſent meaſures are intended to reſtore the bleſſings of law and liberty to America. Why were thoſe bleſſings interrupted? Will their being offered at the point of the bayonet increaſe their value? Why was the fair fabrick which had been the work of ſo many ages deſtroyed, in order to reeſtabliſh that by the ſword, which prudence and good government, had already ſeemed to fix for ever?

The amicable and pacific ſentiments attributed to other powers, at the time that all Europe was armed in ſuch a manner, as beſpoke the moſt immediate deſign or apprehenſion of hoſtility, was equally animadverted on, and repreſented as a part of that principle of deception and impoſition, which, as they affirmed, run through the whole. In this inſtance, the Miniſter's

niſter's actions gave the moſt direct and unqualified contradiction to his words. At the very time, that he was holding out this deluſive appearance of ſecurity to parliament, the whole nation was alarmed and thrown into confuſion, and its commerce ruined, by the unexpected iſſue of preſs warrants, together with the unuſual circumſtances of rigour and violence with which they were carried into execution. Here his conduct is open and undiſguiſed, and removes at once that veil of deception which involves his declarations.

The expectation of unanimity from the preſent ſituation of affairs, was treated as a matter of unbecoming levity, as well as of diſreſpect to thoſe to whom it was directed. Was ever any thing more truly ridiculous, (ſaid the Oppoſition) than the calling for unanimity in meaſures, becauſe thoſe meaſures had been uniformly productive of all the miſchiefs which had been foreſeen and predicted? As we have uniformly oppoſed, ſaid they, the whole train of theſe deſtructive meaſures, in explaining the motives of our conduct, we have as conſtantly ſtated their natural conſequences, which amounted to an exact prediction of all thoſe evils that have enſued. No prophecies were ever more accurately fulfilled. And now, when the empire is ſevered, America for ever loſt, when diſtraction prevails at home, and ruin ſurrounds us without, the Miniſter, with a degree of facetiouſneſs and humour, which might obtain credit in another place, and upon other occaſions, takes it for granted, that we ſhall now be unanimous, in the ſupport of that ruinous ſyſtem, and the proſecution of thoſe deſtructive meaſures, which have already brought on all our calamities.

It was inſiſted, that nothing could ſave this country, from ſtill more fatal conſequences than thoſe which it had already experienced, but an immediate recal of the armies from America, a repeal of all the penal and obnoxious laws againſt that people, and a full reſtoration of their charters and rights. That theſe meaſures, operating upon the eſtabliſhed habits, and upon the natural affection of the Americans, might ſtill prove the means of reuniting the ſevered parts of the empire. But that if irritation, a bitterneſs proceeding from the loſſes they have ſuſtained, and the cruelties they ſuffered, with a reliſh for the novel ſweetneſs of power and command, and a knowledge of their ſtrength, ſhould operate ſo far on the ſide of the Americans, as to render this conſummation (which of all others was the moſt devoutly to be wiſhed) impracticable, if ſuch was found to be our unhappy ſituation, nothing in that caſe was left to be done, upon any principle of ſound reaſon and right policy, but immediately to acknowledge their independence, and by concluding a commercial and federal treaty of union with them, again to collect together ſuch ſmall part as could yet be retained of thoſe glorious advantages, which in the high career of our pride, injuſtice and madneſs, we had ſcattered abroad.

It availed nothing now, they ſaid, to reflect upon what we were, or what we had loſt; we muſt conform ourſelves with prudence to our preſent ſituation, or

get into a worſe. Unwiſe conduct, and evil counſels, generally brought on their own puniſhment. We muſt now ſubmit, however diſagreeable to our feeling, to that chaſtiſement which we have too juſtly merited. The more we ſtruggle, and the longer we perſiſt in the obſtinacy of error, the greater ſhall we find the meaſure of our puniſhment; nor will it in a little time be circumſcribed within any rule of proportion.

They ſtrongly aſſerted, that a war with the whole Houſe of Bourbon, in conjunction with our late friends and fellow ſubjects the Americans, muſt be the inevitable, and not diſtant, conſequence of a perſeverance in our preſent meaſures. Our ally, Portugal, whom we were bound by every tie to protect, was already menaced with immediate danger. If we even ſubmitted to the degradation in the eyes of all Europe, of ſacrificing our ally, our faith, and our intereſt, to preſent apprehenſion of danger, that would afford no permanent ſecurity, as the preſent conduct of France and Spain, the nature of their preparations, and the ſupport which they already afforded the Americans, ſufficiently ſhewed the part which they would take in our unhappy civil contention.

Were we now then in a condition, when we found ourſelves unable, with all the aſſiſtance we could derive from our mercenary auxiliaries, only to reduce our own revolted ſubjects, to encounter the whole force of the Houſe of Bourbon, united with that of the Americans? Our national defence by ſea and land lay now in America, and in a great meaſure at the mercy of thoſe two powers. Was this then a ſeaſon, with an accumulating debt, a decreaſing revenue, an exhauſture of our reſources, with divided councils, and a diſtracted people at the verge of political deſpair, to engage in ſo arduous a conteſt? In ſo dire and calamitous a ſituation, a ſpeedy reconciliation, upon any terms, with the colonies, was the only means left of political ſalvation. Grievous and painful though the loſs of America would be, it was not, however, the upſhot of calamity. The queſtion of the Americans being our friends, or being in confirmed enmity, and in compact with our natural enemies, went perhaps to that of our exiſtence as a ſtate.

Upon theſe and many other grounds, they reprobated the propoſed addreſſes in both houſes, which they charged with ſubſcribing to the ill-founded panegyricks which the Miniſters had compoſed upon themſelves in the ſpeech, with involving the nation in a continuance of the ſame ruinous meaſures which had occaſioned all its calamities, and with giving a parliamentary ſanction to a number of miſrepreſentations and fallacies, calculated merely to amuſe, deceive, miſlead, or inflame the people. Whilſt they contended, that the amendments would afford that time and opportunity to parliament, which their duty, a proper regard to their own dignity, and the alarming ſtate of public affairs, all equally demanded, for enquiring diligently into the ſtate of the nation, tracing the ſources of our preſent calamities, and for conſidering and deviſing all poſſible means of averting the innumerable dangers

gers with which we were ſurrounded.

On the other ſide, the ſpeech was defended in all its parts; its veracity, prudence, juſtice, and magnanimity, being equally ſupported and applauded. It was affirmed to be replete with the ſtrongeſt marks of ſound policy and royal wiſdom, as well as with indubitable proofs of the greateſt paternal regard and tenderneſs, for the proſperity, happineſs, and freedom, of all the ſubjects of this empire, however remote or ſeparated. The amendment to the addreſs was oppoſed, as bringing matters forward, which, for the preſent, formed no part of the buſineſs before parliament. If Miniſters had neglected their duty; if they ſuffered themſelves to be deceived; or if they miſled parliament; theſe, or any of them, might be proper objects of enquiry at a ſuitable and convenient ſeaſon. But this was neither the time, nor could thoſe matters be the proper ſubject of the preſent addreſs. The only queſtion now before them, that was worthy of debate, was very ſimple in its nature, comprizable in a ſmall compaſs, and eaſily decided. It was only, whether we choſe to reſign all the benefits which we derived from our colonies, all thoſe fruits, to which our vaſt expenditure of blood and treaſure in their nurture and defence, gave us a moſt legal and equitable right, and by truckling to the defiance and inſult hurled at us by the Americans, cut off at once the ſources of our power and opulence, and ſubmit of conſequence to a degradation from that rank which we now hold in the political ſyſtem of mankind, or whether, by a full exertion of our power, whilſt yet in ſtrength and vigour, we preſerve all thoſe advantages, aſſert our ancient glory, reſtore the ſupreme and indiviſible authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, and bring our ungrateful and rebellious ſubjects to a due ſenſe of their duty and dependence.

Theſe, ſaid they, are the great objects under the conſideration of parliament. The declaration of independency has done away all other queſtions on the American ſubject. Taxation, legal rights, charters, and acts of navigation, are now no more. That whirlpool has ſwallowed them all within its vortex. It was only through the ſtrength derived from her colonies, that this nation was enabled to hold a firſt place among the greateſt powers in Europe. Take them away, and ſhe ſinks into nothing. Her very exiſtence, as an independent nation, will be at ſtake. It is only now then to be determined, whether, without an effort, we ſhall ſubmit inglorioufly to inevitable ruin, or whether, by a vigorous exertion, we retain our uſual power and ſplendor.

It was not, however, doubted, that, even independently of motives of intereſt and ſafety, the unparalleled baſeneſs and ingratitude of the Americans, with the daring inſolency of their conduct, would rouſe the Britiſh ſpirit in ſuch a manner, that it would take ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for their chaſtiſement. But, notwithſtanding that the atrociouſneſs of their crimes would nearly juſtify any ſeverity of puniſhment, it was ſtill wiſhed, that when brought to a proper knowledge of their duty and condition, they ſhould be

treated with lenity; far from the inſinuation held out in the amendment, of reducing them to a ſervile or abject ſubmiſſion.

Some of the young Lords were ſevere upon the factious ſpirit which prevailed here, as well as in America; attributing it to the former, that the latter had been brought into action. And it was inſiſted, that as the oppoſition had hitherto avowedly formed their conduct, upon an opinion, that the Americans had never deſigned, or even aimed at independency, and had reprobated every idea of that nature, with an abhorrence equal to that ſhewn on their ſide, they were now bound, in conformity with their own words and principles, to ſupport, with the utmoſt vigour, thoſe meaſures which were neceſſary for their reduction. That this was the ground of unanimity held out in the ſpeech, and which had been treated with ſuch ridicule and aſperity, though no concluſion could be fairer drawn, whilſt it was ſuppoſed they acted upon any line of conſiſtency. That their unanimity now in ſupport of government, was the ſmalleſt reparation which they could make to the nation, for the countenance they had unhappily given, and the ſhare they conſequently held in fomenting the preſent diſturbances. And that it was to be hoped, they would now, by candidly confeſſing their error, convince the world they were only miſtaken, and not intentionally wrong.

The ideas of deſpondency, which were held out on the other ſide, were ſaid to be as chimerical, as the alarming repreſentation of public affairs, to which they belonged, was unfounded. The happy ſucceſs which had already attended our arms in America, afforded ſufficient room for the ſtrongeſt hopes, that the troubles there would be ſpeedily terminated. That they would probably prove a ſource of happineſs on all ſides, as they would afford an opportunity for fixing the government of the colonies on a permanent baſis, and finally ſettling all thoſe queſtions which had hitherto been the cauſe of debate. That nothing was wanting to bring affairs to this wiſhed-for criſis, but unanimity here, and vigour in America. That the enſuing campaign, ſuppoſing every obſtacle which could take place, would undoubtedly be concluſive in its effect. And that in this ſtate of things it could not be conceived, how any friend to the intereſts of this country, could wiſh to weaken the hands of government, or heſitate a moment in agreeing to the addreſs, when the meaſures to which it was intended to give a ſanction, were the only means to ſave the Britiſh empire from certain ruin and deſtruction.

The appearances of danger from foreign powers, were in part denied; in part palliated. It was ſaid, that the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of amity continued to be received from France; that the differences between Spain and Portugal were likely to be accommodated; and that our arming, induced other powers alſo to arm, from motives merely of prudence and caution. They alſo recurred to the old doctrine, that it being directly contrary to the intereſt, it could not be ſuppoſed conſonant to the deſire of France or Spain, that any powerful independent ſtate ſhould be eſtabliſhed in America. Such an

event muſt interfere with their commercial intereſts in both worlds; the idea of independence might become contagious, and ſpread to their own colonies; and they might be immediately endangered by the power and ambition of a new and riſing ſtate. If any ſiniſter deſigns were, however, lurking, they had not eſcaped, they ſaid, the penetrating eyes of our Miniſters, who, by their preſent ſpirited preparation, had put it out of the power of any inſidious rival, or enemy, to take us by ſurprize, or to convert the ſituation of our affairs to their advantage. A conduct replete with ſuch wiſdom, that it merited the warmeſt approbation, inſtead of captious enquiries, and a diſpoſition to draw unfavourable concluſions.

The Miniſter took ſome pains in the Houſe of Commons, to reconcile the apparent contradiction which had been alledged, between the aſſurances of amity held out in the ſpeech, and the preſent ſudden armament. He avowed the paſſage and the meaſure by acknowledging his advice to both; and aſſerted, that the one was ſtrictly true, and both perfectly conſiſtent. It was not deemed prudent to rely ſo far upon any aſſurances, as to be off our guard; and as other powers were arming, it was determined we ſhould be prepared for all events.

Such was the ſtate of warfare between the two parties. The numbers in favour of miniſtry continued nearly as uſual; but it was obſerved, that the ſpirit of the debate on their ſide viſibly ſlackened. The addreſſes were not defended with the accuſtomed animation in either houſe. The great and almoſt uniform ſucceſſes of the campaign, having produced no effect whatever towards a pacification, had ſomewhat damped the expectations which had been generally formed from a ſyſtem of coercion. The armament in our ports announced more apprehenſions from foreign powers, than were removed by the declarations, or the arguments, of the Miniſters on the ſubject. A great and growing expence was foreſeen. It was admitted, that the reduction of America was no longer to be conſidered as the work of a campaign.

On the other hand, though the advantages obtained in America had not produced all the effect that was expected by ſanguine expectants, yet it appeared abſurd to deſert the purſuit of a great object in the very midſt of victory. Beſides, the declaration of independency ſeemed a great bar to accommodation. Without doors, it produced the full effect propoſed by the ſpeech, by adding greatly to the alienation of the people at large from the Americans, their cauſe, and their pretenſions. Miniſtry certainly derived from thence no ſmall degree of ſtrength throughout the nation.

The queſtion upon the amendment being put in the Houſe of Commons, the motion was rejected by a majority of 242, to 87, being almoſt three to one. The main queſtion being then brought forward, the original addreſs was carried in nearly the ſame proportion, the numbers being 232, to 83.

The majority in the Houſe of Lords was, as uſual, ſtill greater, the

the amendment being rejected by 91 Lords, including nine proxies, to 26 Lords only, who ſupported the motion upon a diviſion. The propoſed amendment was entered at full length as a proteſt, and ſigned by fourteen Peers.

CHAP. III.

Debates upon a proclamation iſſued in America by the Commiſſioners. Motion for a reviſal of the American laws by Lord John Cavendiſh. Motion rejected by a great majority. Seceſſion. Arguments urged for and againſt the propriety of a partial ſeceſſion. 45,000 ſeamen voted. Debate on naval affairs. Supplies for the naval and the land ſervice. Receſs.

IN a few days after the preſenting of the addreſſes, a declaration from Lord Howe and his brother, which had been iſſued in America ſoon after the taking of New York, addreſſed to the people at large of that continent, and calculated to induce ſeparate bodies of them, independently of the Congreſs, to negociate with the Commiſſioners upon terms of conciliation, made its firſt appearance here in one of the common papers of the morning. It was remarked, that although the uſual Gazette had been publiſhed the evening before, and an extraordinary one, giving an account of the taking of New York, on the preceding day, neither of theſe had taken any notice of this public inſtrument.

In this proclamation the Commiſſioners acquaint the Americans, with his Majeſty's being graciouſly pleaſed to direct a reviſion of ſuch of his royal inſtructions, as may be conſtrued to lay an improper reſtraint upon the freedom of legiſlation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the reviſal of all ſuch acts, by which his ſubjects there may think themſelves aggrieved.

Nov. 6th. This piece being brought into the houſe by Lord John Cavendiſh, he ſeemed to conſider it as a news-paper forgery, and, in that light, a moſt daring impoſition upon the public; ſuppoſing, that if it had been authentic, its firſt public appearance muſt have been either on their own journals or in the Gazette. He therefore called upon the Miniſters, to be ſatisfied as to the authenticity of the paper.

The Miniſters acknowledged that ſuch a proclamation had been publiſhed, and that they did not doubt but the paper now read was a true copy of it. The noble propoſer expreſſed his aſtoniſhment both at the contents of the declaration, and the accidental manner in which a matter of that moment and nature came to the knowledge of the Houſe. He obſerved, that in the whole courſe of the American buſineſs, the Miniſters had treated parliament with a degree of indignity, and marks of contempt, which were not only before unknown, but which no credulity could have believed poſſible, whilſt the ſhadow or name of the conſtitution remained, and the relative ſituation of Miniſters in this country was remembered. They were, he ſaid, in every inſtance treated merely

merely as cyphers, excepting when they were uſed as the inſtruments in ſome odious work. When their name was wanted in ſuch caſes, they were called on, by way of requiſition, to give a ſanction to acts which rendered them abhorred by their fellow-ſubjects in every part of the empire. When theſe meaſures, through their own enormity, failed in the execution, the odium was left to reſt upon the head of parliament, whilſt the crown and its miniſters, aſſuming a moderation and lenity, which they find neceſſary, when experience has taught them the impracticability, and, perhaps, danger, of the deſign, become all at once the oſtenſible mediators between them and the people, undertaking to reſtrain their violence, or to rectify their injuſtice, and thus obtain the merit of whatever degree of grace it is then found proper to mete out, holding them ſtill in the ſingular ſituation of being reprobated for all unpopular acts, and being neither thanked or conſidered for thoſe which are kind or favourable.

Thus, in the preſent inſtance, Commiſſioners are ſent out with an intention of carrying a certain act of parliament into execution, armed at the ſame time with certain parliamentary powers for reſtoring peace; theſe powers, having been narrowed to the Miniſter's taſte, extend no farther than to the receiving of ſubmiſſions, and the granting pardons. Theſe, as might well be expected, are found utterly ineffective. When, lo! to their aſtoniſhment, as well as that of all others, parliament diſcover, by chance, through the medium of a common news-paper, that they are to undertake a reviſion of all thoſe laws of their own making, by which they had aggrieved the Americans.

Yet, however diſagreeable this treatment was to himſelf, and muſt be to every perſon who regarded the dignity of that Houſe, or who reflected, that the conſtitution could ſubſiſt no longer, than while the different parts of the legiſlature were kept in due poize and proper balance, with reſpect to each other, as well as to the people at large, his Lordſhip ſaid, that notwithſtanding, he felt a dawn of joy break in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, whatever colour the meaſures might wear that led to ſo deſireable an event. The great object of reſtoring peace and unity to this diſtracted empire, outweighed ſo far with him all other preſent conſiderations, that he not only would overlook punctilios upon that account, but even ſuch matters of real import, as would upon any other occaſion call all his powers into action.

Without any further obſervation then on the engagements entered into by the Miniſters for parliament, he thought it highly neceſſary to embrace the opportunity of their being ſeized with ſo happy a diſpoſition, and to give them all poſſible weight and aſſiſtance towards carrying it into effect, and bringing the preſent troubles to a ſpeedy and happy termination. The ſanction of parliament, he ſaid, to their propoſitions, was abſolutely neceſſary for this purpoſe. For the Miniſters themſelves were not leſs convinced than every other perſon, that they could not hold out any propoſals to the Americans, however equitable in appear-

ance, or even candid in fact, which the latter would not ſuſpect of covering ſome treachery, and of being inſidiouſly intended, by deceiving or dividing them, to deprive them by circumvention and fraud of thoſe liberties, which they found force inſufficient to deſtroy. In ſuch circumſtances of diſtruſt, all attempts at negociation muſt be fruitleſs. The ſanction of parliament will then come in happily to afford that confidence, without which no treaty can ever produce an amicable concluſion; ſo that if the Miniſters are really ſerious and honeſt in their propoſals, and are not playing that part which the Americans always charge and ſuſpect them with, they will, inſtead of oppoſing, chearfully accept of that aid and ſupport, which can alone give effect to this meaſure.

On theſe grounds his Lordſhip moved, that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the reviſal of all acts of parliament, by which his Majeſty's ſubjects in America think themſelves aggrieved.

The Miniſters denied, that there was any thing novel, any thing that bore the appearance of leading, or that carried any deſign of dictating to parliament, in the promiſe held out by the Commiſſioners. On the contrary, as it was founded on the great principle which had pervaded the conduct of adminiſtration from the beginning, ſo it was the language of parliament at the very outſet. The great object of both, was the reſtoration of peace in America. The addreſs of both Houſes in February 1775, the bills which followed that addreſs, the act of parliament under which the Commiſſioners acted, and their declaration, which is now held up as an object of offence, all tended to the ſame point. The parliament had delegated the authority now exerciſed, ſpecifically in the act, and generally by the addreſs. The leading object of the addreſs, was a recommendation to his Majeſty to hear and enquire into grievances, to tranſmit an account of them home, and to engage, on the part of the legiſlature, that where grievances really exiſted, they ſhould be redreſſed. The proclamation goes no farther. Even without theſe ſanctions, the King, as the head and mouth, both of the nation and legiſlature, would have been warranted in ſuch an engagement, as a motive of encouragement, and ground of reconciliation. Should it be ſaid, that no redreſs of grievances would be afforded? or that the King could not venture to engage for the other parts of the legiſlature in an act of juſtice, leſt it ſhould be conſtrued into a violation of their rights?

The charges againſt the Miniſters of endeavouring to keep this tranſaction ſecret, and of hiding their conduct from the knowledge and inſpection of parliament, were ſaid to be equally groundleſs. Could any intended or poſſible privacy be ſuppoſed, with reſpect to a public proclamation, which was poſted for the inſpection of all mankind upon the walls and houſes of New York? The idea was abſurd. The Miniſters did not indeed think it of ſufficient moment to be laid before parliament. It was as yet no treaty nor part of a treaty, it was barely a preliminary which might poſſibly lead to one. Had a negociation been even commenced,

menced, it would have been equally abſurd and improper to communicate it to parliament during its progreſs, unleſs it was ſuſpended at ſome point, upon which the intervention of parliament became neceſſary. Thus the negociation between Mr. Pitt and M. de Buſſy was not publiſhed during its pendency.

The motion was oppoſed upon many grounds. It was ſaid, that it would diſcredit the Commiſſioners, and throw unexpected difficulties in the way of a negociation, which was probably already begun, and perhaps conſiderably advanced. It was now in their hands, in the common, natural, and regular courſe of buſineſs; why then undo whatever has been done, and diſgrace the Commiſſioners, by taking it from them, without ſome ſufficient motive? If it ſhould be ſaid, that the motion would not detract from the powers of the Commiſſioners, but, on the contrary, increaſe them; though the aſſertion is not admitted, yet other objections equally concluſive would lie againſt the meaſure even upon that ground. By giving them the ſanction propoſed by the motion, it would evidently appear, that they were not before armed with parliamentary powers ſufficient to fulfil the profeſſed objects of their commiſſion; a circumſtance which muſt naturally excite the jealouſy of the Americans, and fill them with the moſt alarming doubts, as to their real views, and the true object of their miſſion. Beſides, why ſhould parliament run before the Commiſſioners in their conceſſions? Who knows but that the Americans would be ſatisfied with far leſs than we ſhould here accord to them? By this premature bounty, we might defeat the endeavours of the Commiſſioners to obtain the moſt advantageous terms for the crown, the parliament, and the trading intereſt of this kingdom.

That to reviſe or repeal laws, under the idea of redreſſing the grievances of a people, who totally denied the authority of thoſe laws, and who conſequently could not be aggrieved by them, would be an abſurdity of ſo ſuperlative a degree, as could not fail exciting the ridicule of mankind. The Americans have declared themſelves independent; what avails it to deliberate upon the conceſſions, which we are willing, or it is fitting for us to make, until we know whether any conceſſion will bring them back to an acknowledgment of our authority? Shall we admit of their independency, by treating with them as ſovereign ſtates? or ſhall we ſubject ourſelves to their contempt and deriſion, by debating upon the degree of authority which we ſhall exerciſe over thoſe, who totally deny our right and power to exerciſe any?

In a word, ſaid they, the queſtion of independency muſt firſt be ſettled as a preliminary, before any treaty can be entered into, or any conceſſion made. Let them give that up, and acknowledge our legiſlative authority, and then we ſhall willingly, and with propriety, form legiſlative regulations for their future eaſe and government. But whilſt they perſiſt in their claim of independency, and hurl defiance at us as ſovereign ſtates, no treaty can be thought of, and conceſſions would be as futile, as ridiculous and diſgraceful. Upon

to depart in ſafety; he made propoſals to theſe new ſtates; and he finally and poſitively declared, that he would redreſs all their grievances. Our own hiſtories, as well as thoſe of other nations, both antient and modern, abound with ſuch inſtances. What code of hiſtory or policy, then, have our miniſters made the rule of their preſent conduct?

But, they ſaid, that the Americans had been ſyſtematically and deſignedly driven to the preſent extremity. All the meaſures purſued for a ſucceſſion of years, tended uniformly to that point. And finally, the commiſſion for peace was kept back for ſeven months, until all poſſibility of its producing any effect was at an end, and the Americans, as had been well foreſeen, were driven to their laſt reſource of independency. All the bloodſhed and devaſtation that has ſince taken, and that will hereafter take place, it was ſaid, would lie at the door of the authors of that delay. This it was that laid the noble city of New York in aſhes, that covered the plains with ſlaughter and deſolation, and ſteeped the bayonets of foreign mercenaries in Britiſh blood.

And now having ſucceeded in urging them to deſperation, to the uttermoſt degree of reſiſtance, and to the laſt reſort of independency, they bring theſe inevitable conſequences of their own meaſures, as arguments to prove, that nothing but force, the violence of armies, and the extremities of war, can bring them to a reaſonable and proper way of thinking and acting; that the ſword is the only mode of reaſoning with Americans; conqueſt the only means of rendering them free and happy; and Heſſians and Highlanders the moſt ſkilful logicians, for enlightening their minds, and convincing their underſtanding.

Upon the whole they concluded, that if the houſe refuſed to concur in the propoſed motion, it would afford a full conviction to the Americans, that the propoſals held out by the Commiſſioners were indeed inſidious and treacherous; that no reliance could for the future be placed, nor conditions of any ſort ſafely entered into with government, as the latent pretence of a parliamentary negative, would always afford a ſanction to the moſt ſhameful breach of contract and faith; and that all the world would thereby ſee with horror, that the different parts of the Britiſh government, had united in an odious confederacy, for the deteſtable purpoſes of deſtroying and exterminating, inſtead of governing their colonies.

The queſtion being at length put, was rejected upon a diviſion by a majority of 109, to 47 only who ſupported the motion.

From this time a great number of the minority, particularly of the Rockingham party, began to relax in their attendance upon parliament in either houſe; or rather to withdraw themſelves wholly and avowedly upon all queſtions which related to America, and only to attend upon ſuch matters of private bills or buſineſs, in which they had ſome particular concern or intereſt. This conduct was ſo marked, that ſome of the principal leaders

of

of oppoſition, after attending the Houſe of Commons in the morning upon private buſineſs, as ſoon as a public queſtion was introduced, took a formal leave of the Speaker, and immediately withdrew. Though by this means a clear field was left to the miniſters, and the vaſt articles of ſupply were carried without a debate; yet theſe ſilent votes, in the granting and diſpoſal of ſuch immenſe ſums of the national treaſure, was by no means ſo pleaſant a circumſtance, as might at firſt ſight be imagined; the trouble of being obliged to liſten to the arguments of a minority, which was not ſufficiently numerous to throw any real impediment in the way of buſineſs, and of undergoing occaſionally the fatigue of a late evening, being abundantly compenſated by that ſanction, which a decided majority afforded upon every queſtion to their meaſures. Whilſt the paſſing of ſuch reſolutions without debate or enquiry, ſeemed in ſome degree to leave them open for future diſcuſſion.

This meaſure of a ſort of partial ſeceſſion, was juſtified upon ſeveral grounds. They ſaid, that in the preſent ſtate of things, all oppoſition to the meaſures of government, particularly with reſpect to American affairs, was not only vain and fruitleſs, but from the overbearing and reſiſtleſs force, which ſupported the miniſters in every queſtion, it became worſe; it became frivolous and contemptible. That it was too degrading to themſelves to be the continual inſtruments of oppoſing the ineffective weapons of reaſon and argument, to the deaf inſolence of an irreſiſtable force, which had long ſince determined upon its conduct, without the ſmalleſt regard to either. That there was no ſuch thing as ſaving a people againſt their will. And that they had for a ſucceſſion of years, repeatedly apprized and warned the nation, of the dangers attending thoſe ruinous meaſures which it was purſuing; and of the fatal precipice that muſt terminate that mad career, in which they were blindly and deſperately driven.

They ſaid, that by various arts, by ſucceſsfully playing with their paſſions, through the falſe ideas of domination and intereſt which were held out to allure and deceive them, together with the infinite numbers who were intereſted in the continuance of our public calamities, and the unbounded influence of the crown, which of late pervaded, almoſt, every receſs, the people, who in the beginning were rather diſinclined to theſe meaſures, inſtead of benefiting by counſel or taking heed by warning, had unhappily, in a very great degree, adopted the opinions and prejudices intended by thoſe who were intereſted in their deluſion. That now, every meaſure propoſed, and every violence declared againſt America, is conſidered as a matter of courſe, to be in favour and ſupport of Great Britain, whilſt every attempt at curing or allaying our unhappy civil ferment, is ſtigmatized as the offspring of faction, and as a traiterous dereliction of the rights and authority of the parent ſtate. That good and bad ſucceſs are equally urged and admitted as motives

for a perſeverance in thoſe meaſures, which have already plunged the empire in civil war, diſtraction, and ruin. That in ſuch a ſtate of affairs, and during the prevalence of ſuch diſpoſitions, all ſtruggles to oppoſe, would rather inflame than leſſen the diſtemper of the public counſels. That as it was not the part of a wiſe man to ſtrive with impoſſibilities, ſo neither was it conſiſtent for thoſe, who regarded their honeſt fame beyond all other things, excepting their principles and honour, to draw upon themſelves the odium of their fellow citizens, by ineffectual efforts to ſerve them. That they would therefore, preſerving their principles ſtill unſhaken, reſerve their activity for rational endeavours, when the preſent delirium might be ſo far allayed, either with the people or with their miniſters, as to afford ſome room for its operating with advantage.

This example was not, however, followed, nor the conduct approved of, by ſeveral members of the oppoſition. They even loudly blamed this proceeding. They queſtioned, whether any member could, conſiſtently with his duty, withdraw himſelf individually from the buſineſs of parliament, merely from an opinion that he would be outvoted, and that his attendance would therefore be uſeleſs. They acknowledged, that a ſeceſſion, collectively in a body, had not only the ſanction of precedent, but might be practiſed with great advantage, and be productive of much benefit in ſuch caſes as the preſent. But for this purpoſe, they ſaid, it muſt be attended with the following circumſtances. In the firſt place, it muſt be general, including the whole minority againſt the meaſure that provoked the ſeceſſion; and in the next, that it ſhould not be a ſilent act; but that the motives for the ſeceſſion ſhould be proclaimed, either by a remonſtrance on the journals, or a public addreſs to the people. Under theſe circumſtances, they ſaid, that ſeceſſion was not only juſtifiable but laudable, and in caſes of imminent danger to the conſtitution, might operate as a call to the nation, and awaken the people to a ſenſe of their ſituation.

The other and greater part of the minority denied, that any rule, but every man's prudence and opinion of his duty, could be preſcribed on ſuch an occaſion. That though minority was a term uſed in ordinary ſpeech; minorities were not corporate bodies, nor bound to act as ſuch; nor could any precedents be of avail in matters of that nature. They had no way of compelling *unanimity*; and nothing but unanimity could make them act in the manner preſcribed. The greater number could not decide. If a difference of opinion appeared, men muſt ſtand on their character, and their reaſons for their conduct.

On this, as on many former occaſions, the oppoſition diſcovered great diſunion, and much perſonal and party diſlike to each other, to the great ſtrengthening of miniſtry; who though divided alſo amongſt themſelves, yet being involved in one official ſyſtem, and ſupported by the crown,

did not ſuffer ſo much by their diſcord. In this ſituation, a few of the minority rather increaſed their efforts.

Upon the motion and grant in the committee of ſupply, of 45,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the enſuing year, a gentleman in oppoſition, who has long been a ſevere cenſor upon the conduct of our naval affairs, took that opportunity of making ſome very pointed and direct charges againſt the noble Peer at the head of that department. Of theſe, the moſt material was, a wilful and dangerous impoſition both on parliament and the public, tending to lull the nation at this critical ſeaſon into a fatal ſecurity, by a falſe repreſentation of the ſtate of the navy, both with reſpect to the number of ſeamen, and the condition of the ſhips.

Nov. 8.

This conduct was much cenſured on the other ſide, as not only being an attack upon an abſent perſon, but upon a perſon, who from his particular ſituation as a Peer, could not at any time be preſent in that Houſe to any charge, nor competent to any defence. At the ſame time, his conduct and character were vindicated with great warmth, both by the Miniſter, and thoſe Lords of the Admiralty who belonged to that Houſe, who aſſerted, that nothing could afford greater ſatisfaction, or redound more to the honour of the noble Peer in queſtion, than a ſtrict parliamentary enquiry into every thing relative to the department in which he preſided, when all the charges brought againſt him, would appear founded in error or falſehood, and proceeding from ignorance or malice. But they contended, that excluſive of the indecency and perſonality of the attack, nothing could be more diſorderly or unparliamentary than the introduction of the ſubject in ſuch a manner, without any accuſation being formally before them, which could at all bring it within their cognizance.

Mr. Luttrell, who made the charge, inſiſted upon his right, as one of the repreſentatives of the people, to make ſuch obſervations upon the conduct of Miniſters or public officers, however high in rank or ſtation, as it appeared to him to merit; that it was no leſs his right than his duty, when the malverſation, or inability, of thoſe entruſted with the management of public affairs became incompatible with its ſafety, to uſe all the means in his power to bring the offenders to juſtice. As to the objection of a want of formal accuſation being before them, he would cure that, as ſoon as the Houſe was reſumed; for if they would allow him the neceſſary official documents, which he would then move for, he would ſupport his charges in ſuch a manner as to give perfect ſatisfaction to the Houſe.

He accordingly moved, when the Houſe was reſumed, that ſundry returns of the navy, which had been received at the Admiralty within certain ſpecified periods, ſhould be laid before them. Theſe documents, he ſaid, beſides affording the proofs which he wanted to eſtabliſh his charges, and to ſupport his ſucceeding motion, would anſwer another purpoſe of ſtill greater importance, that of letting the Houſe into the true ſtate of our national defence and

ſecurity. That the plea for withholding thoſe papers, from a dread of expoſing our weakneſs to foreigners, was ridiculous, unleſs it would be contended, that our watchful and clear-ſighted enemies had no other means of acquiring a knowledge of our real ſtrength, than from the falſe repreſentation of it which was laid before parliament, with the avowed deſign of impoſition. But even, if that were ſwallowed, it could not avail in the preſent inſtance, as the weakneſs acknowledged by refuſing the means of enquiry, muſt produce every ill conſequence that could poſſibly attend the moſt perfect diſcloſure.

The papers were, however, abſolutely refuſed, and the motion rejected without a diviſion. The impropriety of ſuch an enquiry in a critical ſituation like the preſent was ſtill ſtrongly inſiſted on. That whether we were prepared or unprepared, ſuch a diſcloſure of our naval ſtrength or weakneſs, would be extremely impolitic and unſeaſonable. That if we were ſuperior in force to our enemies, ſuch a knowledge might prevent their ſpeaking out, and of courſe, keep us in the dark as to their latent deſigns, and their diſpoſition towards us. If we were otherwiſe, the impropriety muſt be ſtill greater, as it muſt encourage them to take an advantage of our defenceleſs ſituation. But in any caſe, they ſaid that the buſineſs of government could not be carried on, if ſuch peeviſh enquiries were encouraged. Either change your Miniſters, or repoſe a proper degree of confidence in them. Let nobody be vain enough to imagine, that the affairs of that ſtate can be well and ſucceſsfully conducted, in which the hidden arcana of its policy, are upon every trifling occaſion to be expoſed to the knowledge of the world. The gentlemen in office aſſerted, that the navy was never in a more reſpectable ſituation, nor that department more ably conducted than at preſent. They vindicated the conduct of the abſent Lord with great warmth; and indeed the whole debate, both in the Committee and the Houſe, was carried on with unuſual heat and aſperity.

The expences of the navy this year, including the ordinary at 400,005 l. and the building and repairing of ſhips, which was voted at 465,500 l. amounted to no leſs than 3,205,505 l. — Excluſive of 4,000 l. which was afterwards voted to Greenwich hoſpital, and without taking any notice of a million, which was granted towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, to be applied towards the diſcharge of the debt of the navy.

If the naval expences were thus large, the ſupplies for the land ſervice, which were voted a few days after without a debate, were not leſs ſo, falling little ſhort of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the land ſervice for the preceding year, which exceeded the amount of 1,200,000 l. with ſome new contracts for additional German forces, and the heavy expences of half-pay and Chelſea, were not yet provided for. Nov. 16.

The ſupplies being ſo far granted, and no public buſineſs of any moment in the way, an early and long receſs took place, the Houſe adjourning on the day of the public faſt, to the 21ſt of the following January. Dec. 13.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Bill for granting letters of marque and repriſal, paſſed, with a ſmall amendment in the title, by the Lords. Bill for ſecuring perſons charged with high treaſon, brought in by the Miniſter. Great debates upon the ſecond reading. Queſtion of commitment carried by a great majority. Amendment paſſed in the committee. Second amendment rejected. Debates renewed on receiving the report. Petition from the city of London againſt the bill. Amendment moved and agreed to. Second propoſed clauſe of amendment rejected. Great debates on the third reading. Clauſe propoſed by way of rider, is received with an amendment. Queſtion upon the third reading carried upon a diviſion. The bill paſſes the Lords without any amendment.

A Bill for enabling the Admiralty, to grant commiſſions, or letters of marque and repriſal, as they are uſually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ſhips, authorizing them to take and make prize of all veſſels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen ſpecified revolted American colonies, was paſſed, without debate or oppoſition, in the Houſe of Commons, ſoon after the receſs. It did not coſt much more trouble to the Lords, with whom it only underwent the trifling alteration, of inſerting the words letters of *permiſſion*, in the place of letters of *marque*, the latter being thought only applicable to repriſals on a foreign enemy.

Feb. 6. 1777.

On the ſame day, the Miniſter moved in the Houſe of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his Majeſty to ſecure and detain, perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high treaſon committed in America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy. He prefaced the motion by obſerving, that during the preſent war in America, many priſoners had been made; who were in the actual commiſſion of the crime of high treaſon; that there were others guilty of that crime, who might be taken, but who for want of ſufficient evidence, could not at preſent be ſecurely confined. That it had been cuſtomary in caſes of rebellion, or danger of invaſion from without, to enable the crown to ſeize ſuſpected perſons. That he would not, however, be thought to hint at any preſent neceſſity of entruſting Miniſters with ſuch a power in general; the times were happily different from thoſe which called for ſuch exertions in their utmoſt extent; neither rebellion at home, nor foreign war, were at preſent to be apprehended. For theſe reaſons, it was not meant to aſk the full power, uſually obtained in former caſes of rebellion. But as the law ſtood at preſent, it was not poſſible for government, officially, to apprehend the moſt ſuſpected perſon. Another circumſtance which required an immediate remedy was, that the crown had at preſent no means of

confining rebel priſoners, or thoſe taken in the crime of piracy on the high ſeas, but in the common gaols; a meaſure not only inconvenient but impracticable. In the preſent ſtate of affairs it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the crown ſhould be enabled to confine priſoners under thoſe deſcriptions, and to provide for their ſecurity, in the ſame manner that was practiſed with reſpect to other priſoners of war, until circumſtances might make it adviſeable to proceed criminally againſt them. Such, he ſaid, were the purpoſes of the bill.

The bill was accordingly brought in and read on the enſuing day, and a motion made, that it ſhould be read the ſecond time on the 10th, which was the following Monday. It now appeared, that the enacting clauſe, rendered all perſons taken in the act of high treaſon, committed in any of the colonies, or on the high ſeas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or ſhall be charged with or ſuſpected of any of thoſe crimes, liable to be committed to any common gaol, or to any other ſpecial place of confinement, appointed for that purpoſe under his Majeſty's ſign manual, within any part of his dominions, there to be detained in ſafe cuſtody, without bail, mainprize, or trial, during the continuance of the law, with a proviſion, however, enabling a certain number of the Privy Council to grant an order, for admitting ſuch perſons to bail or trial.

Of the few minority members who were preſent, a gentleman of the firſt eminence in his profeſſion, and who, a few years ſince, filled the ſecond law office under the crown with the greateſt reputation, expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that a matter of ſuch magnitude and importance, a bill that ſtruck directly at that great palladium of the Britiſh conſtitution, and only ſecurity to the rights and liberties of the people, the habeas corpus law, ſhould be brought in without proper notice, at a ſeaſon when the Houſe was ſo badly attended, and an attempt made to precipitate its paſſage in ſo extraordinary a manner, as to propoſe the ſecond reading within three or four days of its being firſt heard of. He ſaid, beſides the defect in point of notice, it had been brought in unfairly; as it was totally different from what the Miniſter had announced it to be on the preceding day. Nor was it leſs diſcordant in its own parts, neither the title nor the preamble affording any idea of the extraordinary matter contained in the enacting clauſes. That he was equally ſhocked and alarmed, to ſee a bill which was to ſuſpend all the functions of the conſtitution, brought in under ſuch circumſtances, and attempted to be ſmuggled through a thin houſe under falſe colours, before the nation could be apprized of its danger, or their conſtituents have the ſmalleſt notice, that they were going to ſurrender the foundation of all their other rights, and the peculiar characteriſtic of the Britiſh liberty and government. Mr. Dunning, who made theſe exceptions, ſeeing the Houſe then going to divide upon the queſtion for the ſecond reading, which he knew would be carried, moved to have the bill printed, which, being

being agreed to, prevented the diviſion.

The alarm excited by this bill, recalled a few of thoſe gentlemen who had of late abſented themſelves from the Houſe. The debates became long, animated, and highly intereſting, and were not unfrequently intermixed with the ſevereſt animadverſion.

The oppoſition in the firſt place contended, that, upon the Miniſter's own premiſes, the bill was entirely needleſs; for as we were neither involved in a rebellion at home, nor engaged in a war without, there could be no legitimate reaſon for inveſting the crown with ſo dangerous a power. Even a foreign war, of whatever magnitude, could not juſtify ſuch a meaſure, unleſs there were ſome valid reaſons for ſuppoſing, that an invaſion would be encouraged and ſupported by ſome powerful internal faction. It was a meaſure only to be adopted in caſes of the greateſt emergency, when the conſtitution and liberties of the people were at ſtake, and every thing muſt be hazarded for their preſervation. Dictatorial power, was an edged tool not to be played with. The crown had already ſwelled ſo far in power and influence, beyond thoſe limits which were aſſigned to it at the revolution, as to afford too much room for ſerious reflection, to every ſerious man, and lover of his country. In this ſituation of things, there could be neither reaſon nor prudence, in lifting it up at once beyond all law and reſtraint. The war againſt the Americans was, perhaps unfortunately for this country, popular; a circumſtance which removed every colour of pretence for a meaſure of this nature. And the power of drawing out the militia without the concurrence of parliament together with the immenſe force by ſea and land, and the unbounded ſupplies of money, with which the Miniſters were entruſted, were fully ſufficient for the ſtrength and ſecurity, for all the fair and honeſt purpoſes of government.

With reſpect to its effect on America, they ſaid, that its operation would render the preſent unhappy animoſities between the Engliſh of theſe iſlands and that continent implacable, and not only cut off the hope, but the poſſibility of any future reconciliation; that under the colour of retaliation, it would excite, or afford, an opportunity for the exerciſe of the greateſt perſonal injuries, and the moſt horrible cruelties, on both ſides.

That its preſent injuſtice was as glaring, as its future effect would be cruel and unhappy. For that letting the queſtion lie dormant, though they by no means gave it up, as to the juſtice or propriety of conſidering or treating as pirates, thoſe Americans who were taken in arms, or carrying on war againſt our commerce upon the high ſeas, it was capable of reaching perſons of ſo different a character, that all mankind muſt agree in condemning its injuſtice. This bill, they ſaid, would, or might, be extended to others, beſides thoſe who made or intended repriſals; it might, for any thing that appeared, be extended to the captain and crew of the peaceable merchantman, who unable to live by any other means than thoſe to which they were bred, are conveying a cargo of the commo-

dities of their native country to a market. Theſe under other laws might poſſibly be conſidered as ſmugglers; but it will remain for this to puniſh them as pirates.

This bill, they ſaid, was not, however, calculated for the meridian of America; its operation was intended much nearer home. The Miniſters, daring, headlong, violent, and arbitrary, as they were, had not yet courage to take off the maſk, and openly to ſtrike the fatal blow which they intended. They were ſtill afraid, without the pretext of foreign or domeſtic war, to avow their deſigns in the face of day, by a total ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus law. How do they act in this nicety of ſituation? They patch the lion's hide with the fox's ſkin, and endeavour to ſupply the deficiency of courage with cunning. They bring in ſurreptitiouſly, under a falſe title, and introduce, under a deluſive preamble, a dark, perploxed, ambiguous, and inſidious bill, which holds out ſufficient oſtenſible matter to keep Engliſhmen agape, with tales of high ſeas, Americans, and piracies, whilſt they are, in the mean time, cutting through their liberties, and ſtabbing the conſtitution of their country to the vitals.

In the ſame view of deception, ſaid they, upon this firſt trial of their ſtrength in ſo new and dangerous a meaſure, they limit the duration of the bill to one year, as an experiment; but who does not ſee, that the ſame fatal influence, which will now grant a dictatorial power without the colour of a neceſſary motive, will render it permanent without the trouble of a pretext. In the mean time, the public are to be hoodwinked and deluded under the falſe covering of a law to puniſh the rebellious Americans, a matter about which they are ſo perfectly indifferent, that very few of them will even take the trouble of reading the bill, at the ſame time that it will draw every ſubject of this country, reſiding either in the Eaſt or the Weſt Indies, in the unoffending provinces of America, on the coaſts of Africa, and all that immenſe body of the people who in any manner uſe the ſeas, within its perilous vortex. Nor will thoſe be ſafer, who for health, buſineſs, or pleaſure, croſs the channel between Dover and Calais, nor the multitudes who continually paſs and repaſs between England and Ireland. A fiſhing party, who go out for pleaſure in the ſummer, will be put out of the protection of the laws, and in fact proſcribed, as ſoon as they have paſſed low water mark.

Nor let the midland Engliſhman, who never ſaw the ſea, triumph in his ſecurity. He may ſoon experience, to his coſt, how far the dexterity and ingenuity of the crown lawyers may extend the yielding texture of this ambiguous bill to his enthralment. The wide circuit of the human mind is not more various and extenſive than the ſuſpicious nature of man, nor more fertile than the principle of revenge and ambition, which leads to private ill and public oppreſſion. This ſecure and unoffending Engliſhman may find himſelf ſuddenly ſeized, carried off without warning from his family, tranſported to the Highlands of Scotland, the rock of Gibraltar, the burning coaſts of Africa, the moſt peſtilential and loathſome

loathſome dungeon in the putrid marſhes of Bengal, or to any other part of this wide extended empire, in which it is thought fitting to inſtitute priſons by the ſign manual. There he may continue to languiſh during the term of this bill, without a poſſibility of legal ſuccour, and cut off from the advice and aſſiſtance of his neareſt friends. When the act expires, indeed, if it is not renewed, and that the unhappy ſufferer has ſtill preſerved life, through the horrors of captivity, and the ſtench of his dungeon, he may again return to his native country. He may then, perhaps, be tempted to enquire what he was confined and baniſhed for; the anſwer is ready, "for treaſon:" as he is conſcious of his innocence, he will endeavour to throw himſelf upon the laws of his country for juſtice, and challenge his accuſers to the proof, and to make good their charge; but the miniſterial agent, by whom he was kidnapped, will laugh in his face, and tell him there was no charge againſt him, but he was ſuſpected; and, producing this act of parliament, it will be an effectual plea in bar of every remedy he can ſeek.

Such are the terrors, and the real dangers, ſaid they, which this bill will hold out to every ſubject of this realm. For as a bare ſuſpicion of treaſon will be ſufficient for all the dreadful conſequences that are mentioned, no rank or order of men can be exempt from them. The firſt ſubjects, and moſt eminent citizens, may become victims to the immediate jealouſy, rancour, or arbitrary caprice, of the preſiding miniſters. Their deputies, in their ſeveral gradations, down to the loweſt underſtrapper in office, will take in the other claſſes of mankind. Neither diſtance nor obſcurity will be a protection. There is no man ſo unknown, or place ſo remote, in which ſome private enemy may not diſturb his repoſe, or where ſome buſy, ignorant, or profligate magiſtrate, may not conceive his duty concerned, feel his vanity tickled, or, perhaps, find a gratification of the moſt infamous paſſions, in the indulgence of an unfounded, or the proſecution of a pretended, ſuſpicion. Poverty and obſcurity, which uſually afforded ſhelter to the humble and the weak in the tempeſts of ſtates, will only render the doom of the unhappy culprit irrevocable. No body needs to be informed, that hundreds of unfortunate men linger out their miſerable lives in the ſtate priſons of arbitrary countries, merely becauſe they are forgotten, though the ſyſtem of government under which they originally ſuffered no longer exiſts, and thoſe acts for which they were then puniſhed, might now perhaps be deemed meritorious.

This bill beſides creates a new order of puniſhments, unknown before in our penal laws, and endues the crown with powers which it could not obtain by a total ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus law, and which it did not poſſeſs before its formation. A power of baniſhment to any part of the globe, attended with circumſtances which include the moſt bloody ſpecies of proſcription, may be expected in a little time to form one of the ſtanding prerogatives of the crown.

They ſaid it would be idle and abſurd to oppoſe ſuch a bill upon legal

legal grounds, or to bring it to any teſt of legal enquiry; for where there was neither reaſon nor juſtice, there could be no law. Law ſuppoſes a rule, preſcribes a duty, reſpecting either the public or individuals; it points out the tranſgreſſion, defines the offence, annexes the puniſhment, and ſpecially provides and directs all the intermediate ſteps between the charge and conviction; but more particularly the meaſure and quantity of the puniſhment. Now if this bill is examined, it will be found deficient in every one of theſe requiſites. No crime is deſcribed; no enquiry into innocence or criminality takes place. The puniſhment is inflicted in the firſt inſtance, and examination is to follow. Suſpicion ſupplies the place of evidence. Any man may be ſuſpected; but his guilt or innocence are entirely out of the queſtion; his puniſhment is to continue, and no enquiry to be made into either during the exiſtence of the preſent bill. Such is this thing, which is to be called a law; which enacts puniſhments without examination or trial; combines their duration with its own exiſtence; and cuts off all poſſible means of redreſs.

They ſaid, that this bill ſerved as a kind of key, or index, to the deſigns which miniſters had for ſome years been manifeſtly forming, the objects of which they rendered viſible from time to time, as opportunity ſerved, as circumſtances proved favourable, as influence increaſed, and power ſtrengthened. A gentleman, equally celebrated for his wit and his eloquence, compared it to the firſt ſcene of the laſt act of a play, when ſome important tranſaction or circumſtance, affecting the principal perſonages in the drama, is revealed to the audience, which beſides unravelling thoſe myſteries contained in the former acts, opens at once the whole extent of the author's plot, or deſign, and leads directly to the cataſtrophe. This plan, they ſaid, had been long obſervable, to thoſe who took the trouble of marking and comparing the different parts that appeared, and preſerving the connection between them; and however covertly hid, or artfully held back out of ſight, had been ſyſtematically adopted, and ſteadily purſued; it was nothing leſs than robbing America of her franchiſes, as a previous ſtep to the introduction of the ſame ſyſtem of government into this country.

Such were the colours, in which the nature, tendency, and deſign, of this bill were deſcribed by the oppoſition. On the other ſide it was ſaid, that nothing leſs than a malignity of diſpoſition, which led to the moſt groundleſs and unwarrantable ſuſpicions, a perverſe and captious temper, diſpoſed to quarrel, without diſtinction, with all the meaſures of government, and a determination to impede all its acts, however ſalutary or neceſſary, or elſe the moſt factious and dangerous motives, could have given birth to the ſuggeſtion, that this bill meant or intended any thing farther, than what it fairly imported, a power to apprehend, commit, and impriſon, perſons actually guilty of treaſonable offences committed in America, on the high ſeas, or of the crime of piracy. That it was not leſs abſurd and prepoſterous than malignant,

nant, to ſuppoſe it was framed intentionally to reach or overtake perſons guilty, or preſumed to be guilty, of offences committed within the realm. That if government ſuſpected any part or body of the people at home, of a diſpoſition which tended to acts of that dangerous nature ſuppoſed by the bill, their application would have been fair, open, and direct; they would have accompanied the requeſt with their motives for making it; they would have come to parliament, and deſired a ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, in ſo many words, ſtating at the ſame time, what ſhould ever accompany ſuch a requiſition, the ground of neceſſity upon which it was made. No parliament ever refuſed to comply with ſuch a requeſt in ſuch circumſtances; much leſs could ſuch a refuſal be apprehended at the preſent time, if adminiſtration be really in poſſeſſion of that overruling influence, and dangerous power, which have been magnified into ſuch terrific forms by the oppoſition.

The preſent bill, they ſaid, was framed upon the moſt wiſe, humane, and equitable principles. It was calculated more to prevent miſchief, than to inflict puniſhment, much leſs to eſtabliſh perſecution. The innocent man had nothing to fear; but it was equally conſiſtent with right policy and humanity, to hold out terrors to the guilty. And whatever harſh epithets had been applied by the other ſide to the bill, or to its framers, that government muſt ever be conſidered as the wiſeſt, moſt humane, and moſt equitable, which directs its attention to deviſe means for the prevention of crimes, inſtead of endeavouring to deter men from a violation of the laws by rigorous and ſanguinary puniſhments.

But ſuppoſing the bill ſhould have the operation that was attributed to it within the realm, what colourable objection could lie to it even upon that ground? It would ſtill create no new power, however it might declare an old one. Several acts are declared by the ſtatutes to be high treaſon. Others come within the claſs of conſtructive treaſons, which are not explicitly defined by any ſtatute; many of which are however eſtabliſhed by precedents, and the judgment of the courts. If it ſhould then appear that any perſons in this country had unlawfully correſponded with the rebels in America, had ſupplied them with money, arms, implements of war, or intelligence, it is very poſſible that ſuch acts might bring them within ſome of thoſe deſcriptions of high treaſon, which are laid down by the ſtatutes, or founded upon them. In ſuch caſe, there is no treaſon conſtructed by this bill; it only enables the crown to ſecure the perſons of ſuch dangerous offenders, with greater expedition and effect, than it could have done in the common courſe of legal proceedings. Will this then be conſidered as a rational ground of objection to the bill? Or will it be contended, that a man's reſidence within the kingdom, affords him an impunity for all acts of treaſon he may chuſe to commit? If there were any ſuch men in this country, it would be a ſufficient motive, excluſive of any other, for paſſing the bill. But they ſtill aſſerted, that this country contained no ſuch deſcrip-

deſcription of men; that treaſon and rebellion were properly and peculiarly the native growth of America; and that the bill could only operate on its proper objects.

The Miniſters urged, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the neceſſity there was for ſtrengthening the hands of government at this critical period. They ſaid it would be impoſſible to carry on public buſineſs, without delegating powers to the crown upon extraordinary occaſions, which would not be proper, becauſe they would not be wanted, in ordinary caſes. Parliament were the proper judges, when, and to whom, to entruſt ſuch extraordinary powers. If neceſſity was a good ground for granting them, that neceſſity moſt apparently and incontrovertibly exiſted at preſent. The preſent ſituation of affairs rendered it neceſſary for government to call for every aſſiſtance, which it was in the power of parliament to delegate or create. If parliament had not a confidence in the miniſters, it was in vain for them to endeavour to conduct the public buſineſs. If it had a proper confidence in the crown and its miniſters, it was in the laſt degree of abſurdity to mix it with idle fears and ill-founded ſuſpicions.

They concluded, that the whole weight of the objections made to the entruſting of the crown with the power demanded, depended upon the ſuppoſition of its being applied to evil and dangerous purpoſes. That this concluſion was unfair and unfounded; equally falſe in reaſon and argument. It It would be as logical, and more conſonant to reaſon and experience, to ſuppoſe that this power would be only uſed with the ſtricteſt propriety. Parliament was the great conſtitutional check on all power. If the powers delegated at preſent, ſhould in any degree be abuſed, that will hereafter afford a moſt proper ſubject of parliamentary enquiry, and its vengeance will hang over thoſe offenders who dared to violate their truſt. But ſure it is an extraordinary mode of reaſoning, to argue againſt the uſe, from the poſſible abuſe of the bill.

Notwithſtanding the vigour of oppoſition, the diviſion upon the queſtion of commitment, after the ſecond reading, ſufficiently expoſed its weakneſs in point of number; the bill being committed for the following Thurſday, by a majority of 195 to 43. Feb. 10th.

Upon the day appointed, a gentleman in office informed the committee, that having obſerved in the late debate, that the ſpecial power of appointing places of confinement, under the ſign manual, in any part of his Majeſty's dominions, had been much urged in argument, and created apprehenſions, that perſons taken into cuſtody within the realm, were liable to be ſent beyond ſea, to diſtant places of confinement; and that his Majeſty's ſervants having no ſuch idea in contemplation, and though they were convinced the clauſe in its preſent ſtate did not admit of that interpretation, were, however, willing to give every reaſonable ſatisfaction to thoſe who thought otherwiſe, and would therefore obviate and remove the doubts which aroſe upon that conſtruction. That he underſtood this was the only ſolid ground of objection which could be taken againſt the bill, and that, in order

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to render the bill palateable, and unobjectionable to all parties, he would move, that the words "in any part of his Majeſty's dominions," ſhould be left out, and that the words "within the realm," ſhould be inſerted in their place.

This conceſſion was far from ſatisfying the oppoſition. They ſaid, that the power of indiſcriminate baniſhment, however hideous, was only a matter of ſecondary conſideration; that the power of apprehending and confining the perſon of the ſubject, upon bare ſuſpicion, without a pretext of any legal cauſe, was the great object of alarm and danger, and what could alone afford life and activity to the other. They contended, that a line ſhould be drawn between the innocent and the guilty; that the degree of probability attending the ſuſpicion, and the degree of guilt, upon which the ſuſpicion was founded, ſhould be defined ſo clearly, that the innocent might know when they were in a ſtate of ſecurity, and by what error or treſpaſs it might be forfeited; and that a mode of redreſs ſhould be provided, in caſes where the powers granted by the bill were manifeſtly or groſly abuſed. And that upon every idea of juſtice and equity, a diſtinction ſhould be made, even with reſpect to the Americans, between thoſe perſons who were in actual arms, and ſuch as only ſubmitted to the reſpective governments in which they reſided, and to an authority which they were unable to reſiſt.

But, in the name of goodneſs, ſaid they, if the intentions of the miniſters are as pure and as innocent as they profeſs, why do they refuſe to confine the operation of this bill to its proper object? Why extend it to Great-Britain? If ſuch powers are neceſſary in America, let them be created; but let their direction be fixed. If they are wanted in this country, what are they mincing the matter for, and making a ſecret of it to parliament? Let them, in their own manner, make the demand in ſo many words; let them, by their own rule of conduct, ſtate the neceſſity for ſo doing; and when this is done, to the ſatisfaction of parliament, let them obtain the power in the moſt ample and comprehenſive manner they can deſire. But to diſclaim the intention of ſeeking the power, and at the ſame time endeavour by ſpecious and deluſive pretences to obtain it, carried ſuch an appearance of duplicity, impoſition, and contempt of that aſſembly, as was not to be paralleled in any former tranſaction between miniſters and parliament.

The miniſters ſtill inſiſted upon the purity of their intention; that the preſent amendment removed all manner of ambiguity from the bill, and muſt afford ſatisfaction to any thing leſs than a fixed determination to find fault in all events, and to oppoſe indiſcriminately in all caſes. The title of the bill, its preamble, and the occaſion of bringing it in, all ſerved to fix its locality, and as explanations of its true import and deſign. Theſe would effectually prevent or clear up any poſſible miſconſtruction of the enacting clauſes.

A gentleman in oppoſition, ſaid he would put adminiſtration to a teſt, as to the ſincerity of their profeſſions, and the innocency of intention in the bill. If theſe were

were real, they could have no objection to the amendment he was going to propoſe, which only tended to limit the operation of the bill to its avowed objects. He accordingly moved for a clauſe of amendment, to ſpecify that the offence for which any perſon was apprehended, on ſuſpicion or otherwiſe, "within the kingdom," muſt have been ſtated, to be committed within the kingdom, and not elſewhere.

In the mean time, a gentleman of conſiderable rank in judicial proceedings, though not one of thoſe who are immediately conſidered as the crown lawyers, diſſented totally from the opinion held out by his brethren in office. He acknowledged, that the bill was manifeſtly at variance with the title and preamble; that the firſt held out only a power to the crown of apprehending and committing, upon grounds of ſuſpicion, ſuch perſons as are deſcribed in the preamble, who have been, or may be, brought into this kingdom; but the enacting part, not only gives that power, but it grants a general power, of taking all perſons up without any ſpecification of crime whatever. That it was abſurd to ſay, that the locality of the crime was marked out by the bill. Where was the redreſs provided? There was no redreſs, but by an application to the privy council, who were now to be inveſted with the powers belonging to the courts of common law. But the miſchief would be done, in the firſt inſtance, previous to any ſuch application, and the Habeas Corpus Act, would be in fact ſuſpended, to all its intents and purpoſes, within the realm, for crimes not pretended to have been committed within it. He was therefore clearly of opinion, that it was better to ſuſpend the Habeas Corpus at once; becauſe in that caſe, every man would know what he had to depend on, and every good ſubject would acquieſce in a power, created for the public benefit.

So unexpected a difference of opinion, in ſuch a quarter, and ſo powerful a confirmation of the objections laid by their antagoniſts, coming from ſuch an authority, could not fail to ſurprize, if not to ſtagger the miniſters, and muſt, at another ſeaſon, have proved fatal to the bill. The critical ſituation of public affairs, and the neceſſity of ſtrengthening government, were, however, brought to the ſupport of the meaſure in this exigency, and the laſt propoſed clauſe of the amendment was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of five to one, the numbers being 125, to 25 only, who ſupported the motion.

This defeat did not prevent the debate from being renewed with equal if not greater vigour on the following day, when the report was received Feb. 14th. by the houſe from the committee. A petition ſtrongly oppoſing the bill, was alſo received from the city of London on the ſame day. They concluded this petition with a declaration, That meaſures ſo violent and unconſtitutional; ſo ſubverſive of the ſacred and fundamental rights of the people, and ſubjecting them to the moſt cruel ſubjection and bondage, would, in the judgment of the petitioners, be introductive of every ſpecies of miſchief

chief and confuſion; and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

In this debate, a gentleman in oppoſition moved for a clauſe of amendment, That nothing ſhould be deemed piracy within the true meaning and legal conſtruction of the act, but acts of felony committed on the ſhips or goods of the ſubject on the high ſeas. This amendment was the more particularly contended for, as by ſome of the former ſtatutes of piracy, the trading or correſponding with pirates was ordained to be felony without the benefit of clergy; and it was apprehended, that perſons who had innocently traded with the Americans, might, by conſtruction of law, and coupling their meaning with the preſent bill, have been ſubjected to the penalties of theſe ſtatutes. The ſtatute 8 George I. chap. 24. was accordingly called for and read, to ſhew that the ground of jealouſy was fairly ſtated, and the inference clearly made out.

The firſt appearance of a diſpoſition to relax in any degree with reſpect to the bill, or to aſſent to the juſtice of any objections that were made to it, was upon this occaſion ſhewn by the miniſter. He diſclaimed for himſelf, and for the framers and ſupporters of the bill in general, every intention of wrong, oppreſſion, and injuſtice, and the ſmalleſt deſign of extending its operation beyond its avowed objects, and therefore agreed to the amendment with the utmoſt cheerfulneſs, hoping thereby to remove every poſſible ground of jealouſy.

This ſucceſs, and the appearance of flexibility which attended it, encouraged the framer of the amendment to propoſe another of ſtill more general importance, tending to remove the great objects of alarm and contention, the general power of commitment, and the operation of the bill in this country. For this purpoſe he moved, That no perſon ſhall be ſecured or detained, under, or by virtue of this act, for high treaſon, or ſuſpicion of high treaſon, unleſs ſuch perſon ſhall be charged to have been locally reſident in his Majeſty's ſaid colonies and plantations in North America, at the time he ſhall be charged with, or ſuſpected of committing high treaſon.

Beſides ſuch of thoſe arguments which we have already ſtated, as applied particularly to the ſubject of the motion, it was further ſupported on the following grounds. That the power of general commitment had a moſt dark and dangerous aſpect. That as the bill ſtood at preſent, every man in the kingdom was liable to be deprived of his liberty under the pretence of treaſon committed in America, although he had never been out of his own county or pariſh. That it was abſurd and prepoſterous to continue the bill under its preſent title, which related to America only, when by conſtruction of law it was meant to include Great-Britain. That in reaſon and fact, a perſon never out of England, could not be guilty of high treaſon committed in America; if not, but that it is ſuppoſed he may be guilty of that crime in this country, why not hold that language in the bill, and add to the title, the words "or in Great-Britain?" And they contended, that the miniſters could not do leſs in conformity

formity with their own profeſſions, if they were really ſincere in them, than to grant the ſecurity required, by a compliance with the preſent motion.

On the other ſide, ſeveral caſes were quoted, in which, by conſtruction of law, charges of treaſon laid to be committed in one place, though they were afterwards proved to be committed in another, were notwithſtanding admitted as valid; and they contended, that though an offence might be committed here, by a perſon who had never been out of the kingdom, yet its operation in America, would conſtitute one complete offence. The fact might not be criminal, in the firſt inſtance, and might become criminal afterwards from its conſequences, and yet, by a fair and juſtifiable conſtruction of law, be deemed one compleat act. They concluded, that the propoſed clauſe would deſtroy one of the main purpoſes of the bill; and that it would not afford any protection to the innocent, although it might effectually ſcreen the guilty. The motion was accordingly rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 49 to 14.

Though all the grounds of argument ſeemed exhauſted on both ſides, in the long and frequent contention which attended this bill in every part of its progreſs, and that the ſpirit of the diſputants might, by this time, have been well deemed in the ſame ſituation, yet the vigour of the combatants ſeemed to grow with the toil, and the third reading, produced one of the longeſt, moſt intereſting, and moſt animated debates, that has been known.

Feb. 17th.

Mr. Dunning, who firſt laid open the principle and tendency of the bill, and had ſince been indefatigable, both in his general oppoſition, and his endeavours to diſarm it of ſome of thoſe powers which he conſidered as the moſt dangerous, not diſcouraged by the rejection of Mr. Powys's laſt clauſe of amendment on the ſecond reading, propoſed another, nearly ſimilar, to be added to the bill by way of rider. He introduced the amendment with a ſpeech fraught with legal and profeſſional knowledge, in which, with his uſual ability, he went through and examined the whole courſe of controverſy on both ſides, and having combated the arguments which had been uſed in ſupport of the bill, and pointed out the evil conſequences to be apprehended in its preſent ſtate, moved an additional clauſe to the following purport: Provided alſo, and be it hereby declared, that nothing herein contained is intended, or ſhall be conſtrued, to extend to the caſe of any other priſoner, or priſoners, than ſuch, as have been in ſome one of the colonies before-mentioned, or on the high ſeas, at the time or times of the offence or offences, wherewith he or they ſhall be charged.

A gentleman, who ſat not far from the Miniſter on the treaſury bench, agreed to receive the clauſe in part, if the mover would admit an amendment of his own to be interwoven with, and added to it; viz. that the words, "*In ſome* "*one of the colonies, or on the high* "*ſeas,*" ſhould be left out, and the

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the words, "*Out of the realm,*" inſerted in their room; and that the following words, "*Or of "which they ſhall be ſuſpected,*" ſhould be added to, and conclude the original clauſe.

If this amendment did not afford all that was wiſhed, the acceptance of the clauſe, even in its preſent form, was, however, an object of great conſequence with the minority, who now conſidered the bill as having nearly loſt two of its moſt dangerous fangs; the laſt, though not entirely drawn, being now tolerably blunted. But this conceſſion was far from being pleaſing to that part of the majority, who had at all times been eager in the purſuit of the moſt violent meaſures againſt America, and who were alſo ſuppoſed, to be much diſpoſed to the ſupport or eſtabliſhment of a ſtrong government at home.

Whilſt ſome of the gentlemen under this deſcription were reprobating the clauſe, and contending that the bill, even in its original ſtate, did not convey all the powers, with which it was neceſſary to arm the crown in the preſent ſituation of affairs, they diſcovered, to their unſpeakable aſtoniſhment, that the miniſter had totally changed his tone upon that ſubject. He now exculpated himſelf in particular, and adminiſtration in general, from every intention of eſtabliſhing any unconſtitutional precedents, or of ſeeking or wiſhing any powers to be entruſted either to the crown or to themſelves, which were capable of being employed to bad or oppreſſive purpoſes; diſavowed all deſign of extending the operation of the bill beyond its open and avowed objects; ſaid it was intended for America, not for Great Britain; that as he would aſk for no power that was not wanted, ſo he would ſcorn to receive it by any covert means; and whilſt he expreſſed his concern for the jealouſy excited by any ambiguity that appeared in the bill, hoped that the preſent amended clauſe would afford full ſatisfaction to the gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe, and that the law would now meet with the approbation of all parties.

This unexpected conduct cauſed great diſſatisfaction on his own ſide. Thoſe who had been the avowed ſupporters of the bill, thought themſelves particularly ill treated. They were engaged in a very unpopular, and what might have turned out a very odious buſineſs, and after they had worked through it with unuſual toil, and encountered no ſmall ſhare of obloquy by the way, they were deſerted at the very inſtant of completion, and that in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed calculated merely to diſgrace the whole meaſure, to confirm all the charges and ſurmiſes of their adverſaries, and to fix all the odium upon them.

It was, however, obſerved before, that the court parties were far from being united; that adminiſtration did not draw kindly together; that the crown lawyers did not agree; theſe circumſtances occaſioned the humorous obſervation of a gentleman in the

minority, that adminiſtration were as much at variance, as the title, preamble, and body of the bill.

Though the amended clauſe was much oppoſed in debate, it was, however, at length received without a diviſion. The minority could not now conceal their joy and triumph. A gentleman eminent for his eloquence and abilities, felicitated the houſe and the nation, on the eſcape they had from, at leaſt a temporary ſtate of tyranny, and which was perhaps intended, in good time, to have been rendered perpetual. He congratulated the minority, who notwithſtanding their weakneſs in number, had accompliſhed that happy event, by their correction of ſo reprehenſible and dangerous a bill; though a minority, the miniſters were not only convinced, but aſhamed, and had accepted of their alteration. The noble Lord at the head of affairs, he ſaid, was obliged to the minority alone, for digeſting, altering, and correcting his bill; neither he nor the nation, owed any obligation to his numerous friends the majority, who were ready to ſwallow it, with all its original crudities, errors, injuſtice, and cruelty.

Their gaining this favourite point, did not prevent their ſtill continuing to combat, though more faintly, the principle of the bill, and carrying their oppoſition, after a long and late debate, to a diviſion upon the queſtion of the third reading, which was carried againſt them by a majority of 112 to 35. The main queſtion being then put, that the bill do paſs, it was carried without a diviſion.

The bill paſſed the Lords without debate or amendment; the minority peers having ſo generally abſented themſelves from that houſe, that the Earl of Abingdon found himſelf alone in entering a proteſt againſt it.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Accounts laid before the committee of ſupply. Motions by the miniſter. Contracts animadverted on. Payment of an unexpected demand made by the Landgrave of Heſſe for levy-money. Debates. Meſſage from the throne. The meſſage referred to the committee of ſupply. Motion by Lord John Cavendiſh, that the order of reference be diſcharged. Great debates. The motion rejected upon a diviſion. Reſolutions paſſed in the committee of ſupply for the diſcharge of the debts incurred on the civil liſt eſtabliſhment, and for an annual augmentation of that revenue. Debates renewed upon receiving the report from the committee of ſupply. Firſt reſolution paſſed without a diviſion. Amendment moved to the ſecond reſolution. Amendment rejected. Second reſolution carried upon a diviſion. Meſſage debated in the Houſe of Lords. Addreſs of concurrence moved by the Earl of Derby. Amendment moved by the Marquis of Rockingham. Amendment rejected upon a diviſion. Previous queſtion moved by the Duke of Grafton, and rejected. Addreſs carried upon a diviſion. Proteſt.

SEVERAL accounts of the extraordinary unprovided ſervices of the war, having been laid before the committee of ſupply, and two reſolutions moved by the miniſter, that the ſum of 970,000l. part of the million granted by the laſt vote of credit, and the farther ſum of 1,200,000l. ſhould be granted for the diſcharge of thoſe ſervices, the enormity of the expence under this head, amounting to 2,170,000l. and which was ſaid to exceed that of any year of the laſt war, when we ſupported very great fleets and armies in every quarter of the globe, gave riſe to ſome warm and conſiderable debate.

Feb. 21ſt.

A great number of objections were made, as well to the manner of ſtating the accounts, as to the charges in various articles of the expenditure. It was ſaid, that the former were ſo involved, perplexed, and obſcure, as to be in a great meaſure unintelligible. That thoſe accounts which related to the diſpoſal of the money granted by the vote of credit, were ſo twiſted and involved with thoſe which appertained to other grants and ſervices, that they were abſolutely inextricable. That beſides their general confuſion, and that face of darkneſs which overſpread the whole, great ſums of money were charged in the groſs to ſundry ſervices, without any explanation, or the ſmalleſt ſpecification of particulars. That it was one of the firſt duties of parliament to enquire in the ſtricteſt manner into the expenditure of the public money; they were ſent there by their conſtituents to watch over their intereſts, and to controul the executive power; if they failed in the execution of this truſt, they were no longer the repreſentatives of the people, and they had no longer any pretence to ſit there. And, they

ſaid, that it was a mockery of the Commons, to lay a heap of indigeſted, ambiguous, or unintelligible papers before them, under the colour and name of giving a fair ſtatement of the diſpoſal of the public money.

With reſpect to particular charges, the contracts for horſes, for tranſports, and for rum, afforded the principal ſubjects of animadverſion. It was ſaid, that round ſums of money were charged in a ſingle line, for the purchaſe, or the keeping of the former, without any ſpecification of price or number. That the charge made for the hire of ſhipping in the tranſport ſervice, was very conſiderably above the uſual price, without any adequate cauſe for the riſe. That in the beginning of the preſent troubles, whilſt trade was ſtill flouriſhing, and a greater demand conſequently for ſhipping, they were hired at the rate of 9s. per ton, but now, when trade is nearly annihilated, and a vaſt number of merchant ſhips conſequently out of employ, government generouſly riſes the price without regard to the market, and ſaddles an already ruined and plundered nation, with an unwarranted additional expence of four or five ſhillings in the ton, and that for every month in the year, merely to gratify and enrich a few rapacious contractors.

But the contracts for ſupplying the army in America with rum, afforded a wider field for animadverſion, and were more ſeverely ſcrutinized than any others. Theſe, it was ſaid, ſo far as their terms were acknowledged, were rated at about four ſhillings a gallon, which was full a ſhilling higher than the market price. But this impoſition upon the public was not ſufficient. The ſame perſon, whoſe charge had been allowed for the purchaſe and keeping of horſes without tale, had alſo been favoured with the privilege and benefit of ſupplying rum in the aggregate, without the trouble or inconvenience of aſcertaining any quantity. This perſon had obtained credit for the groſs ſum of 35,000l. wrote off in two lines, "For rum delivered "in America, for the uſe of the "forces there," without the ſmalleſt ſpecification of the quantity, the quality, the price, the time when delivered, or the perſons by whom received. Such, ſaid they, are the accounts laid before parliament, to enable the commons to do juſtice to their conſtituents, and to afford them the ſatisfaction of knowing, that their money was not more wiſely beſtowed, than frugally applied. They can no longer entertain any doubt of the integrity of their governors, or the watchful attention of their repreſentatives, when they ſee ſuch an item as 35,000l. ſtruck off at once to an obſcure perſon, without the accompanyment of a ſingle ray of light, or the ſmalleſt collateral proof or circumſtance, which might tend to ſatisfy them that the tranſaction was a fair one, or, if foul and diſhoneſt, which might lead to the detection of the fraud.

This diſcuſſion led to much ſevere reflection upon contractors in general, and the undue influence obtained, and the pernicious conſequences that attended, the granting of contracts to members of that houſe.

houſe. This, they ſaid, carried the dangerous properties of a two-edged ſword, which cut fatally both ways at once. The national treaſure was ſquandered in an iniquitous contract, and the contractor was bribed with their own money to betray the intereſts of his conſtituents. The ruinous conſequences of the tranſaction were extended ſtill farther, and impeded all the parts of the public ſervice. The contractor, fully ſenſible of the conditions upon which he obtained the favour, well knowing that it was eſtimated to him at all the money which it could poſſibly produce, that the manner of fulfilling the contract was not at all thought of, and that he would be entirely covered from all enquiry into his conduct, laid himſelf out, without caution or apprehenſion, to make the moſt of his bargain.

Thus it was, they ſaid, that our armies and fleets were rendered incapable of ſervice; and thus, without fighting, our brave ſeamen and ſoldiers were deſtroyed by bad and unwholeſome proviſions. The very exceſs of the calamity, and the conſequent increaſe of hoſpitals, which proceeded from one job, filled up the meaſure of intended profit for others. From hence it was, that lean beaſ and carrion pork, were ſalted in the heat of the dog days, and ſent off from Ireland to New York and Canada. From hence, damaged American flour, which having out-paſſed the market, had lain in the warehouſes of London and Briſtol, till it became totally unmerchantable, was bought up at a contemptible price, and ſent back to the continent which produced it, to ſpread infection and death through the Britiſh army and navy, whilſt the nation was paying for that traſh, the higheſt price that was given for the beſt Engliſh flour. And thus, they ſaid, was a moſt unhappy and ruinous civil war, prolonged, and rendered ſtill more fatal, by the corrupt, and ſhameful manner in which it was conducted.

The miniſter took very conſiderable pains to obviate the intricacy of the accounts, and to ſupply their deficiency by explanation. He ſtated the number and price of the horſes, and inſiſted that they were purchaſed in the moſt advantageous manner, and upon the moſt reaſonable terms. He denied that the hire of ſhipping had advanced ſo much in price as had been ſtated. He ſaid the price given by government for tranſports, and which it did not exceed, was twelve ſhillings and ſix-pence per ton. That however conſiderable that riſe was, beyond the ſtandard price in time of peace, nothing could be more reaſonable or equitable. Inſurance had riſen to an enormous pitch. Seamens wages were more than doubled. Government employed none but the beſt and ſtouteſt ſhips. Theſe were armed, and provided for war and defence. Thus, beſides the advance on wages, the merchant was obliged to employ a double number of hands. And that it was evidently impoſſible for him to ſupport all thoſe extraordinary charges, without a conſiderable advance on the price of tonnage. The

The affair of the rum contracts, rather afforded more trouble to the noble Lord than any other. It was acknowledged that the price given on that contract, which had excited ſo much cenſure and ridicule from its being unaccompanied with any ſpecification in the account laid before the houſe, was five ſhillings and three-pence per gallon. But inſtead of admitting any want of attention or œconomy in the giving of this high price, the lower rates of the other contracts were brought as proofs of the greateſt vigilance and frugality, and it was almoſt inſinuated, that the contractors muſt be loſers upon them.

A round ſum of 44,000 l. which had been charged in the accounts as iſſued to Col. Fawcit, without any explanation, or ſpecification of purpoſe, was among thoſe items which had undergone cenſure, and which was now accounted for, by ſhewing that it had been applied to ſatisfy an unexpected demand, made by the Landgrave of Heſſe for levy-money. This demand was founded upon the treaty of 1755, though no notice whatſoever had been taken of it in the late treaty.

The miniſter repreſented the demand to be fair, though unexpected, and the payment of the money to be of courſe equitable and neceſſary. The Landgrave had quoted the treaty of 1755 as a precedent; that treaty was particularly underſtood to be the baſis of the preſent: this was preſumed to draw after it all the advantages of the former, as well as to ſecure the due performance of its own particular engagements; thus the good faith ſubſiſting between both parties, compelled adminiſtration to accede to the juſtice of the claim. That prince, ſaid they, would have been entitled to this money, if his troops had never ſtirred out of Germany; but under the circumſtances of their going to, and ſerving in America, he ſhould ſurely, not only be entitled to all the advantages deducible to him by former or preſent treaties, but theſe ſhould even be conſtrued liberally in his favour.

As to other objections that had been made, it was contended, that the ſtricteſt œconomy, and greateſt frugality, had prevailed in all the departments of government; that the contracts had been conducted with the greateſt prudence and judgment, and the beſt poſſible terms obtained from the contractors. It was denied, that any preference had been given to members of that houſe in contracts. They were always entered into with thoſe, who ſeemed the moſt able, and who were the beſt calculated to fulfil their obligations. That, however, there was nothing particular in the ſituation of a gentleman's holding a ſeat in that houſe, which ſhould exclude him from the advantages he might otherwiſe derive as a man of buſineſs, either from his engagements with the public, or with individuals. That ſome bad proviſions had been ſent to America was acknowledged; but that was attributed to the neceſſity of the caſe, and the ſuddenneſs of the demand. When good meat could not be procured, cattle muſt be killed, though even out of

ſeaſon and condition, to ſupply the deficiency in the beſt poſſible manner. Such judicious meaſures, it was ſaid, were now, however, purſued, as would prevent all complaints of this nature, and provide for every future contingency.

On the other ſide, the rapacity of the Prince of Heſſe was condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms, and the payment of his unjuſt and exorbitant demand, repreſented as a moſt ſhameful profuſion and waſte of the public treaſure. Why was not this levy-money ſettled at the time of making the treaty? or why was an imperfect treaty brought to obtain a partial ſanction from parliament? The treaty of 1755, ſhould govern both parties; or govern neither. The Landgrave ſhould either abide by that, or by the other of 1775. If by the former, let him take it with all its ſpecial conditions, with its levy-money, and ſingle ſubſidy; if by the latter, let him have his double ſubſidy, but no levy-money. But to make a new bargain, to give him ſeveral ſingular benefits and advantages, which were not ſo much as thought of in the old treaty; and after the moſt full and perfect ratification of the new, to ſuffer him then to pick and cull every thing out of both the treaties, which tended to his own advantage, and the filling of his coffers, was declared in very ſtrong terms, to be ſuch a breach of public truſt and miniſterial duty, as would, even, within very late years, have drawn upon the authors, the moſt decided and unequivocal marks of parliamentary indignation and reſentment.

The embarraſſment of the court, ariſing from the heavy load of debt which had been accumulated on the civil liſt eſtabliſhment ſince the year 1769, had been long publicly known; and the conſequent diſtreſſes of that very numerous body of people, who are dependent on, or in ſome way connected with it, were ſo notorious, and in many inſtances ſo grievous, that this matter ſeemed in ſome degree to become reproachful to the nation, as well as diſgraceful to royalty. An application to parliament on this ſubject, had accordingly been expected during the two preceding ſeſſions; but the unhappy ſtate of public affairs, and the vaſt and continual calls upon the national treaſure for the ſupport of the American war, were ſuch diſcouraging circumſtances to the Miniſters, as to reſtrain, if not overcome their zeal, ſo that they had not hitherto been able to ſummon reſolution ſufficient for making the demand.

Although no very flattering change had yet taken place in the appearance of public affairs, and that the public expences were every day becoming more enormous, the neceſſity became at length too mighty to be contended with, and all other conſiderations were obliged to give way to the preſent urgency. The Miniſter in the Houſe of Commons, though ſcarcely recovered from a ſevere illneſs, was accordingly obliged to undertake a taſk, which would at any time have been ſufficiently diſagreeable, but which in the preſent circumſtances of public affairs was peculiarly irkſome.

He delivered a meſſage from the throne, in which much concern was expreſſed by the Apr. 9th.

Sovereign at being obliged to acquaint them with the difficulties he laboured under, from debts incurred by the expences of the houſehold, and of the civil government, which amounted on the 5th of the preceding January to upwards of 600,000l. That he relied on the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, of which he had received ſo many ſignal proofs, for enabling him to diſcharge this debt, and that they would at the ſame time make ſome further proviſion for the better ſupport of his houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown. The meſſage was attended with a number of papers, containing various accounts of the expenditure, and a comparative ſtatement of the whole amount of the preſent civil liſt eſtabliſhment from the year 1760, with that of the produce of the former revenues which had been appropriated to that ſervice during the ſame period; the former being intended to explain the cauſes of exceſs in the expenditure, and the latter to ſhew, that the crown had been a loſer by the bargain which it then made with parliament. A motion was then made, and carried after ſome debate, that the meſſage ſhould, on that day week, be referred to the conſideration of the committee of ſupply.

16th. On the adjourned day for taking the meſſage into conſideration by the committee of ſupply, a motion was made by Lord John Cavendiſh, that the order of reference of the 9th inſtant might be diſcharged. The view of this motion was, that inſtead of carrying the queſtion directly into the committee of ſupply, there to determine at once by a vote, whether proviſion ſhould be made for ſupplying the whole demands, the accounts of the expenditure, the cauſes of the exceſs, the means of preventing it in future, and the propriety of complying in the whole or in part with the requiſitions, ſhould firſt be examined accurately, and conſidered with due deliberation, in a committee of the whole houſe.

This motion accordingly, which was in effect, whether the Speaker ſhould leave the chair, brought out the whole force of debate, which was long and ably ſupported, moſt of the conſiderable ſpeakers on both ſides having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in its courſe. Though the oppoſition were united in ſupport of the motion, they did not totally correſpond in ſentiment as to the original ground of debate. One part being willing to diſcharge the preſent debt, as a matter of unavoidable neceſſity which could not be remedied, were, however, totally averſe to any future augmentation whatever of the revenue; whilſt the other equally oppoſed both, until the whole buſineſs had undergone a full parliamentary diſcuſſion, when, they inſiſted, that the preſent revenue would be found fully ſufficient for all its fair and conſtitutional purpoſes.

The debate being ſupported with great vigour till paſt 10 o'clock at night, the motion was at length rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 281, to 114. The houſe being then reſolved into a committee of ſupply, paſſed two reſolutions to the following purport, viz. That the ſum of 618,340l. ſhould be granted to enable his Majeſty

to

to pay the debts incurred by the expences of his houſehold, and of his civil government, on the 5th of January laſt. And, That the ſum of 100,000l. a-year, over and above the ſum of 800,000l. be granted, as a further proviſion for the better ſupport of his Majeſty's houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown.

The gentlemen of the minority ſtrongly oppoſed this vote. Their oppoſition, they ſaid, was founded upon the pureſt principles of patriotiſm, which equally included a due attention to the ability, the burthens, and the proſperity of the people, with the moſt perfect and liberal regard for the honour, happineſs, and real intereſts of the Sovereign. But they contended, that a compliance with the preſent application, in the extent and manner which was ſought by the Miniſters and their adherents, would be equally an act of treachery to the Prince and to the people, and a moſt ſhameful ſacrifice of their reſpective intereſts. For whilſt they lamented the diſtreſſes to which the Sovereign had been reduced, the miſery thereby brought upon great numbers of individuals, and the circumſtances of degradation attending ſo unhappy a ſituation, they charged all theſe miſchiefs to the unbounded and ſcandalous profuſion of the Miniſters, and inſiſted, without reſerve, or admitting of a doubt, that the preſent revenue was not only fully ſufficient to anſwer all the fair and honeſt purpoſes of government under the reſtriction of a prudent œconomy, but abundantly to ſupport the grandeur, ſplendour, and magnificence of the crown, in a manner equal to its own dignity, and to the greatneſs even of this nation in its happieſt æra. But inſtead of being dedicated to theſe royal and national objects for which it had been granted, it was applied, they ſaid, to the moſt fatal purpoſes, whilſt a great Monarch was reduced to ſtraits which would have been diſgraceful to a private gentleman, and the luſtre of the crown was obſcured and tarniſhed, in a manner before unknown in this country.

They ſaid, that it was too manifeſt to admit of any diſcuſſion, that the debt had been incurred in carrying on and ſupporting a ſyſtem of corruption; that there was no man of any party, who was at all acquainted with public affairs, who had not an internal conviction, that the royal revenues were ſquandered in obtaining that baneful and unbounded influence, which ſwept every thing before it; which had already brought the nation to the brink of ruin; and which had deprived us in a very great meaſure of all the benefits derived from a limited government. It was true, that the conſtitution was not now alarmed as heretofore, by the harſh and ſtern voice of prerogative; but the danger was now much greater; the foe was covert, ſilent, and inſidious; and his operations, though ſlower, were much more certain.

They were therefore called upon, they ſaid, by their allegiance as well as patriotiſm, by every tie of public and private duty, by a due attention to appearances, as well as to the preſervation of their integrity, to their perſonal honour as men, and their aggregate, as bodies of the legiſlature, to reſtrain, inſtead of augmenting the means

means of corruption, and to prevent Miniſters, under any name, or any pretence, from obtaining the diſpoſal of ſuch a permanent revenue, as would render them either independent of parliament, or, (which would be equally pernicious) enable them to eſtabliſh ſuch an influence, as might virtually preſcribe its duties, or controul its operations.

They did not want, they ſaid, to reſtrain the Sovereign within the limits of a narrow œconomy; on the contrary, they wiſhed that the King of Great Britain, ſhould be great, ſplendid, magnificent, and generous. If he had not already had the means for thoſe purpoſes, they would moſt willingly have concurred in affording them. They were too much intereſted in his honour and happineſs, in the dignity of the throne which he filled, and the luſtre and ſplendour of the crown, to heſitate at any meaſures which were neceſſary for their ſupport or increaſe, and not to feel the greateſt pain, in obſerving the ſhameful manner in which for ſeveral years they had been ſacrificed. The enquiries which they propoſed would lay open the ſources of all thoſe evils which were complained of, and no doubt could then be entertained of the application of effectual remedies; whereas a blind compliance with the terms of the meſſage, would not only nouriſh the diſorder for the preſent, but afford an inexhauſtible ſupply for its future ſupport. That the debts of the crown had not long before been diſcharged without account. The natural conſequence has enſued. Another and a larger demand is made. A vaſt annual increaſe is then aſked, concurrently with the payment of an enormous debt, and not even the wretched ſecurity of a miniſterial promiſe given, that new debts will not be contracted, and new augmentations demanded.

Such being the avowed principles upon which the oppoſition was founded, the debates of courſe turned principally upon the nature of the accounts before them, the cauſes of exceſs in the expenditure, the ſufficiency of the preſent revenue for its purpoſes, and the queſtions ariſing upon a ſuppoſition, that the crown had ſacrificed its immediate intereſts in favour of the public, by accepting a certain revenue of 800,000l. a year, in the place of the appropriated duties, the produce of which, it was contended, had amounted to a much greater ſum in the time that intervened ſince that period; from whence it was inferred, that the crown had acquired an equitable claim, as well for the diſcharge of its former debt in the year 1769, as for the ſupply of its preſent demands. Much collateral matter was of courſe introduced in the diſcuſſions which aroſe under theſe general heads.

The inſufficiency, deſigned obſcurity, and total lack of information, which were charged to the accounts by the oppoſition, afforded a boundleſs field for animadverſion, and much ſcope for argument, to ſhew the propriety and neceſſity, if they wiſhed to underſtand any thing of the ſubject, to diſcharge the order of reference to the committee of ſupply, and diſpoſe themſelves into a committee of enquiry, in order if poſſible to develope and throw ſome light upon that chaos of confuſion and darkneſs

ness which was now laid before them.

The accounts, they ſaid, carried the fulleſt conviction, that they were fabricated to perplex, not to inform; that the facts, which under their title, they were bound to diſcloſe, could not bear the light; and that a great and royal revenue was ſquandered in ſo ſhameful a manner, and applied to ſuch pernicious purpoſes, that the Miniſters dared not to avow its diſpoſal, nor venture to commit ſo dangerous a knowledge to the public. They were unaccompanied by any voucher, by any collateral, or explanatory obſervation, that could give them even that colour of authenticity, which was fitting for their appearance before parliament, or to render them worthy of its attention. Every man of buſineſs knew, that accounts without vouchers were in fact no accounts. Would ſuch be admitted in the ſtatement or ſettlement of any merchant's affairs? would they be allowed in any court of juſtice or equity? Thoſe before them ſtated certain ſums, iſſued under certain enumerated heads, without the ſmalleſt mention to whom they were paid, or to what purpoſe applied. The only facts to be gathered from them, were a great expenditure, and a great deficiency of proviſion; ſo that the preſent voluminous detail would have been full as intelligible if it had been given in the groſs, and the whole of the one, with the total of the other, ſtruck off in two lines.

The conduct of ſome of the court departments was ſeverely reprehended. The Deputy Auditor of the Exchequer, the Treaſurer of the Chamber, and the Maſter of the Horſe, when the account of the expenditure in their reſpective offices is demanded, return for anſwer, ſaid they, that they have no materials for that purpoſe; and that it is impoſſible for them to make up any ſuch accounts as are required. This they repreſented as a ſlight and contempt of the houſe, which was equally unprecedented and unpardonable; but however their preſent diſpoſition might be to overlook ſuch treatment, and however a knowledge of that diſpoſition was the means of producing it, this conduct they conſidered as eſtabliſhing one incontrovertible fact, that it had been originally determined to keep them totally in the dark, and that no fair account, nor ſatisfactory information, ſhould ever come before them.

That ſome of the accounts which had been produced, and were calculated to deceive the people into an opinion, that the crown had conferred a great favour, and was a great loſer, by its bargain with the public in the year 1760, were furniſhed with other properties, which were ſo far more culpable, as an immediate attempt of impoſition by over-reaching the underſtanding is more criminal, than a modeſt or timid attempt to conceal paſt miſconduct or profligacy. In the eſtimate of the amount of (what was moſt improperly called) the hereditary revenue, or properly the appropriated duties, for the laſt ſixteen years, compared with that of the actual civil liſt revenue, a great ſurpluſage is ſtated, and repreſented as ſo much loſs to the crown by reſigning the former, although in fact, the

the greater part of this ſurplus ariſes from a parliamentary fund, which had no exiſtence in the year 1760, and to which, if it had, the crown could not have laid the ſmalleſt pretenſion. This fund was created by the poſt-office act of the 5th of the preſent reign, and in this eſtimate, with an evident view of impoſition upon the public, and deception on parliament, is artfully brought to account on the ſide of the crown, under a ſuppoſition, that the multiplicity and perplexity of figures, with the indolence and inattention ſo prevalent in public affairs, would effectually operate in preventing detection. They ſaid, that if one falſe article in any account could be proved, and that it was manifeſtly brought in by deſign, as in the preſent inſtance, it was a fair and allowed deduction, that the whole account was falſe. They concluded therefore, that from the withholding of all ſpecification, and every voucher, which could afford the colour of authenticity to one part of the accounts, and the groſs and glaring impoſition attempted in the other; it was equally juſtifiable in point of argument and fact to inſiſt, that the whole was a ſcene of unparalleled deception, deluſion, and impoſition.

Comparative eſtimates were entered into of the amount of ſeveral heads of expenditure, during two periods of eight years each in the preſent reign, and two equal periods which terminated at the concluſion of the former. The exceſs in ſeveral of theſe articles during the laſt eight years was conſiderable, and aroſe principally under the heads of the cofferer's account, the board of works, penſions, annuities, ſecret ſervice, and ambaſſadors. It was obſerved, that the exceſs in thoſe penſions, which were paid by the paymaſter of that department, in the late period, compared with the expenditure under the ſame head of the laſt eight years of the late reign, amounted to 113,298l. That the exceſs in penſions and annuities paid at the exchequer during the ſame periods, amounted to 80,846l. And that the exceſs under the head of ſecret ſervice, was 63,559l. although the laſt eight years of the late King, included the greateſt part of the late glorious war, when the demands for that ſervice muſt have been great and neceſſary, and events ſufficiently told, that the expenditure was applied to purpoſes truly national.

Thus, ſaid they, the exceſs, under theſe three ſuſpicious articles only, does not fall greatly ſhort of one half of the preſent incurred debt; and if to this was added the exceſs in others, and the amount of the wanton or unneceſſary expenditure (which can be gathered even from a view of the preſent mutilated accounts) in ſeveral, the whole would conſiderably exceed the demand now made upon the public. And though the correction of theſe exorbitances could not diſcharge the preſent incumbrance, it would render the propoſed augmentation needleſs, prevent the crown from falling into ſimilar diſtreſſes, and a people from being further ſpoiled, who are already groaning under the heavieſt burthens.

It was obſerved, that the large ſums of 171,000l. and 114,000l, were charged in two lines for ſe-

ret ſervice, under the diſpoſal of two Secretaries of the Treaſury. The iſſuing of ſuch ſums through ſuch hands, without any ſpecific ſervice aſſigned, was repreſented as carrying a very myſterious and dangerous aſpect. That money, without ſtint, or public account, ſhould be entruſted to the Secretaries of State for the purpoſe of foreign intelligence, was allowed to be right and neceſſary; but that the officers of the treaſury, who can have no public connection beyond their own office, much leſs any intercourſe with foreign ſtates, ſhould be the agents for diſpoſing of the public money in ſecret ſervice, was ſaid to be a matter of the moſt alarming nature, and which carried that ſort of internal evidence along with it, that put an end at once to all doubts as to deſign or application.

The expenditure charged under the reſpective heads of the cofferers office, the board of works, and that of foreign Miniſters, was ſaid to be ſo enormous, as to exceed all limits of propriety and reaſon. It might well be ſuppoſed, from ſeeing that above 80,000l. was applied yearly to the latter ſervice, that we were realizing the wretched policy recommended by James the Firſt, of maintaining an army of ambaſſadors. Yet, with this vaſt diplomatique expence, and the prodigious ſums allotted to ſecret ſervice, will the Miniſters venture to boaſt of the cultivation or ſupport of our foreign intereſts? will they point out the commercial benefits we have obtained, and the political ſecurity and ſtrength we have derived from late treaties? or does the proſperous ſtate of our affairs, the reſpect with which we are treated by the other powers of Europe, and the ſucceſs attending our public meaſures, proclaim the wiſdom of our negociations, and the excellency of our intelligence.

Above half a million, they obſerved, was ſtated under the head of the board of works, without a ſingle item to ſhew, to whom, or for what purpoſe it was diſpoſed; or on what palace, houſe, park, garden, or royal work of any kind, the money had been expended. Theſe were matters, they ſaid, which demanded the utmoſt attention and ſtricteſt inveſtigation of parliament. They were the conſtitutional checks, to reſtrain the wanton profuſion, or the deſigned application of the public treaſure to dangerous purpoſes, by miniſters. They were entruſted by the people with the public diſpoſal of their property, and they were bound by every idea of duty and juſtice to prevent its being ſquandered; but ſtill more, to prevent its being employed againſt their deareſt intereſts.

On the other ſide, the Miniſters and official members, attributed the defectiveneſs imputed to the accounts, to the conduct of their predeceſſors in office, who had carried away, from their reſpective departments, thoſe papers and documents, which would have been neceſſary to afford that unuſual degree of ſpecification and accuracy, which were now demanded. They ſaid, that the treaſury had done every thing in their power to remedy that deficiency; they had ſpared no pains, by examining and comparing the warrants with the books, to give every ſatisfaction in their power to parliament. Such vouchers as could be found they produced;

produced; they were not to be blamed for thoſe which were removed, loſt, or miſlaid; if the manner in which the accounts were kept, or the nature of the expenditure, rendered them obſcure and perplexed, it was no fault in them. They ſhewed regularly the ſums which they had iſſued, and the departments by which they were drawn; that was all that lay with them, and they had no enquiry to make into their diſpoſal, or ſpecific application. Thus, ſaid they, all the charges of withholding explanations and vouchers, of fabricating defective, or preſenting mutilated accounts, for the purpoſe of perplexing or deceiving parliament, fall entirely to the ground.

But it was further contended, that far from treating parliament with contempt, or from any deſign of miſleading them or keeping them in ignorance, they had exceeded their predeceſſors in exactneſs and detail. That no accounts at all, or at moſt only ſuch groſs and looſe eſtimates, as it was now become the faſhion ſo much to cenſure, had been laid before parliament upon former ſimilar applications from the crown. Such they ſaid was the caſe in the year 1710, under the reign of Queen Anne; in that of George the Firſt, when two ſuch applications were made; at the acceſſion of the late King, when the annual augmentation of 100,000l. was made to the civil liſt revenue; in the year 1747, under the ſame reign, when parliament granted 450,000l. to diſcharge that Monarch's debts; and ſuch, they obſerved finally, was the caſe in the year 1769, upon the former application to parliament by his preſent Majeſty.

It was alſo contended, (but more particularly, and much more ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on in the Houſe of Lords) that the crown had a juſt and equitable claim to the proviſion now demanded, in conſequence of that moſt generous and liberal act of his Majeſty in the beginning of his reign, when from a truly paternal feeling for the burdens of his people, and a moſt princely deſire of contributing to their eaſe, he ſurrendered the civil liſt revenue of the former reign, which was fully competent to all the expences of his houſehold and civil government, and accepted of the preſent income, which, without any experience to decide upon, it was then hoped, would have been ſufficient for thoſe purpoſes.

They ſaid, that thoſe revenues during the ſixteen years of the preſent reign, had exceeded the amount of the actual royal income, by conſiderably more than two millions, and about doubled the aggregate of the ſum granted by parliament in the year 1769, and that demanded for the diſcharge of the preſent debt. From theſe premiſes they contended, that the diſcharge of the preſent incumbrances, as well as the future augmentation, were evidently matters of right and juſtice, though applied for, and wiſhed to be received as favours; and that in ſuch circumſtances, the ſcrutinizing of accounts, and entering into minute enquiries, was equally abſurd and petulant. All that was neceſſary to be known, was the amount of the expenditure, and of its exceſs beyond the ſtanding revenue; the deficiency in the

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latter muſt be provided for, as a matter of courſe, of neceſſity, and of right. Royal beneficence had induced an experiment in favour of the public; upon long experience and repeated trial it is found incapable of its object; was the goodneſs of the Sovereign, and his tenderneſs to his people, to operate to his perſonal loſs? and his well-intended, though ineffectual attempts, to reſtrain his expences within certain limits of his own aſſigning, to be given as reaſons why he ſhould abide by that determination, however impracticable it was found in the execution?

As this doctrine of right, was not ſo much inſiſted upon in the Houſe of Commons, at leaſt not by the Miniſter, other arguments were uſed in ſupport of the preſent application under both its heads. It was aſſerted, that the greateſt practicable frugality and œconomy prevailed in the ſeveral court departments; but that the revenue was really and truly inſufficient for its aſſigned purpoſes. It was impoſſible, they ſaid, nor would it be fitting if otherwiſe, to reſtrain the expences of a great Sovereign, and thoſe in the numerous departments of the houſehold and civil government, within the limits of an exact and ſtrict œconomy. A certain degree of profuſion muſt prevail in ſeveral inſtances, and would ſtill continue to do ſo, in defiance of all attempts to the contrary. Cuſtom had given a ſanction to extraordinary expences in courts, and was too firmly rivetted by time to be broke in upon without much difficulty. They were among the conſequences of high rank, and the appendages of royalty; the parſimony, which would be highly commendable in a private gentleman, would become meanneſs in a Monarch; ſomething muſt be ſacrificed to opinion in many caſes; and a certain magnificence of expence, was as neceſſary to diſplay the grandeur of a great nation, as to ſupport the luſtre of the crown.

They obſerved the prodigious riſe in all the neceſſaries of life, and increaſe in every article of expence and mode of living, which had taken place during the laſt fifty years, being the period ſince certain funds were aſſigned to the ſupport of the civil liſt eſtabliſhment, which were intended, at leaſt, to produce 800,000l. a year revenue. This riſe in the value of things and increaſe of expence, they ſaid, proceeded from the great influx of money, the extenſion of commerce, and the conſequent increaſe of wealth, which had taken place in that period. Though this riſe was ſenſibly felt by the nobility and gentry in their private œconomy, they were however generally indemnified by a proportional increaſe in the rents of their eſtates. Was then the Sovereign to be the only gentleman in his dominions, who was to be embarraſſed and diſtreſſed in his private affairs by this change of circumſtances? and inſtead of benefitting by their proſperity, was he to experience the ſingular ſituation, of being impoveriſhed in an inverſe proportion to the general affluence and increaſed wealth of his people?

The happy and numerous increaſe of the royal family, was alſo dwelt upon. However great the ſatisfaction derived from this circumſtance, it muſt naturally and inevitably

inevitably be productive of great additional expence. Other occaſional, or extraordinary expences were alſo mentioned. The revenues of the crown had been conſiderably diminiſhed in conſequence of the public calamities. By theſe the American quit rents, at leaſt for the preſent, were loſt. And by judgments of the courts of law, the four and half per cent. Weſt India revenue was greatly leſſened. A great clamour was made about the increaſe of penſions, and they are talked of in groſs as means of corruption—vaguely and idly. What! would they cut off the rewards for officers of the law, to whom age, and conſtitutions worn down by the toils of adminiſtering juſtice, had rendered an honourable repoſe as neceſſary as it was equitable. Muſt miniſters at foreign courts, who had ſpent their youth, and certainly not increaſed their fortunes in that ſervice, retire to ſpend their laſt years in diſcontent and miſery.

They contended, that the late King's revenue, including the 450,000l. which had been granted for the diſcharge of his debts in the year 1747, exceeded the average income of his preſent Majeſty ſince his acceſſion, even taking into the account the half million which had been given by parliament in 1769. And they inſiſted, that if proper allowance was made for the increaſe in value of the neceſſaries and luxuries of life, it would be found, that 900,000l. a year, at preſent, was not worth ſo much, that is, would not purchaſe ſo much of thoſe commodities, as 800,000l. would have done, in the early, or even middle part of the reign Second.

They alſo inſiſt the diſcharge of t nor a grant of th mentation, would the public, as th hereditary revenue, relinquiſhed by his be fully equivalen that even withou that foundation, though it was, the of near 70 year afforded an unqueſt to the application of the preſent deb without any ſuch had at different were all thoſe tha to, from the yea preſent time, regul the incumbrances Nor were any of th productive of that reproach upon mini illiberal charges of the crown, by wh was ſo particularly

The repeated ch ferent quarters, of dangerous influence crown, by the ap revenue to the creat majorities, were fa unjuſt, illiberal, their tendency, tary freedom of If ſuch a doct it would cut u pretenſion to upon opinion could be majorities upon by th rities. It reaſonable

ſentiment, to ſuppoſe that both acted upon principle. It was ſurely a moſt unfair, as well as unfounded inference, to ſuppoſe that a difference of opinion, muſt neceſſarily proceed from improper and unworthy motives. To ſuppoſe that ſuch motives were excluſively and neceſſarily appropriated to the greater number, would be too ridiculous.

The invariable conſtancy and greatneſs of majorities upon the ſide of government, were accounted for in the Houſe of Lords upon other grounds. They were in part attributed, to the evidently wiſe meaſures, and uniform propriety and rectitude of conduct, which had firmly united the wiſe, the diſintereſted, the opulent, the virtuous, and even the bulk of the nation, in ſupport of the preſent Miniſters. A ſupport as unprecedented as it was merited; and which was principally afforded in parliament by the landed intereſt of the nation; by the great body of country gentlemen; who were too numerous and independent to admit the poſſibility of influence; too deeply intereſted in the event, not to pay a ſtrict attention to the conduct of public affairs; and too well verſed in the real intereſts of their country, to approve of any meaſures that were not founded on right policy and wiſdom. Such a ſupport was the unrivaled honour, and the peculiar diſtinction of the preſent adminiſtration. But a noble Lord high in office went ſtill farther, and with an aſperity of language, not frequent in that Houſe, attributed them equally, to the unpopularity excited by the deteſtable, unconſtitutional, and dangerous conduct, of what was commonly called in this country the oppoſition. He firmly believed, that the majority in both Houſes had been increaſed by that conduct; and that it had been as inſtrumental in rendering the preſent Adminiſtration popular, as even the wiſdom and rectitude of their meaſures.

On the other ſide, the idea of conſidering the duties appropriated by parliament to the ſupport of the civil liſt eſtabliſhment, as an hereditary property, and the revenue of the crown as the entailed eſtate of a private gentleman, was laughed at by the oppoſition. Thoſe duties, they ſaid, belonged at no time to the crown; they were always under the diſpoſition of parliament. Even in the reign of King William, and when they had been newly appropriated to the civil liſt eſtabliſhment, notwithſtanding the ſingular obligations the nation was under to that prince, parliament withdrew 4000l. a week of thoſe duties, and applied it to other ſervices. The grant of the forfeited eſtates, which had compoſed a part of the royal revenue, was reſumed in the reign of Queen Anne, and with a charge of 700l. a week upon the poſt-office, and other charges upon other branches of the civil liſt fund, were applied to the ſupport of the war, and to other public exigencies.

The tranſactions between the late king and parliament, they ſaid, were ſo clear and concluſive, as not to admit a ſhadow of doubt upon any part of the queſtion. A grant of 800,000l. a year was made to the crown for the life of George the Second. Certain duties were appropriated to the payment of that income; and parliament, by

the ſame act, bound itſelf to make good any deficiency in the appointed revenue, which might proceed from a failure of the duties. Nothing could be more explicit. The revenue was certain, parliament was anſwerable for the ſufficiency of the funds, and the crown could have no claim on any exceſs of their produce.

The conſequence of that agreement was the cleareſt comment on it, and fully eſtabliſhes the original intention of both parties, as well as the manner in which it continued to be underſtood by them. The king was twenty years upon the throne before he made any application to parliament; and when he did come, it was only to require them to fulfil their own engagement. The appropriated duties during that time had fallen 450,000l. ſhort of the amount of the appointed revenue, and he only required them to ſupply that deficiency. The crown owed at that very time 200,000l. more than the amount of the deficiency which it demanded; and though the extraordinary expences conſequent of the preceding rebellion, might well ſeem to have juſtified an application for the diſcharge of an incumbrance contracted in a national cauſe, yet George the Second thought and acted otherwiſe, and would claim nothing beyond his ſtipulated income. By his wiſe and honeſt œconomy, that debt was not only diſcharged in the ſucceeding thirteen years of his reign, but, beſides leaving a large ſum in his exchequer, he expended above a million of his private fortune in the defence of his foreign dominions, although they were involved and ruined in a war entirely Britiſh.

The concluſion of his reign afforded another inſtance equally ſatisfactory and concluſive as the former, with reſpect to another part of the queſtion, the diſpoſal of any ſurplus which might ariſe upon the general fund of appropriated duties. By the increaſe of ſeveral branches of that fund, inſtead of the former general deficiency, the actual produce, from the year 1747 downward, exceeded the ſtipulated income, to the average amount of about 800ol. a year. All this ſurplus was fairly brought to account at the demiſe of the late king, and the whole ſum, amounting to 115,000l. paid over as one of the firſt aids to his preſent Majeſty.

It was therefore, they ſaid, to the laſt degree abſurd, prepoſterous, and fallacious, to deſcribe the appropriated duties, in any degree, as being virtually an hereditary revenue, or to repreſent the agreement entered into by his preſent Majeſty with the public, as any act of conceſſion in him. He relinquiſhed nothing; he gained nothing by that agreement. The only difference it made was a matter of convenience to himſelf. He was now to be paid in ſpecie, without diſcount, riſque, trouble, or loſs; whereas the payment of ſome of the duties had been frequently held back for ſeveral years. Nobody would pretend to make it a doubt, that the miniſters of that time, under all the peculiar circumſtances of glory and affection which ſo happily diſtinguiſhed the commencement of the preſent reign, would adviſe his Majeſty, in an appli-

application to a parliament and people who could refuſe him nothing, to demand ſuch an income as would be fully adequate to the maintenance and ſupport of the crown with dignity and ſplendour. It muſt have been then in the King's contemplation to marry; and he muſt himſelf, as well as his Miniſters, of courſe look forward to the expences conſequent to ſuch a ſtate, attended with the probability of a numerous iſſue.

This was unqueſtionably done, and all theſe contingencies were then ſuppoſed, on all ſides, to be amply provided for in the bounty granted by parliament. The propoſal not only originated from the throne, but the acceptance of it by parliament was acknowledged with gratitude. Parliament granted all the Sovereign aſked, and made the grant in the very mode propoſed by Mr. Legge, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer; and who then, in the King's name, gave the moſt explicit aſſurances that no more ſhould be aſked. The civil liſt act expreſly declares in the preamble, that 800,000l. was a certain competent revenue for defraying the expences of his Majeſty's civil government, and ſupporting the dignity of the crown of Great Britain. Our journals record, ſaid they, and many now preſent remember, the grateful ſenſe expreſſed upon that occaſion on the ſide of the crown. The miniſters officially declared his Majeſty's entire ſatisfaction in our conduct; and the happineſs he felt, in being thus delivered from the diſagreeable neceſſity of applying, like his predeceſſors, to parliament, to make good the deficiencies of the civil liſt. And in the ſpeech at the cloſe of that ſeſſion, the Sovereign graciouſly told the commons, that he 'could not ſufficiently thank them;' and that he 'thought himſelf much obliged to them, for what more immediately concerned himſelf.'

But they inſiſted, that if his Majeſty even had the original option which was now pretended, it could extend no farther than the firſt choice. The agreement was ſolemn and ſpecific, and could not afterwards be receded from. It was a fair compact of finance between the King and the ſubject, ratified by both parties. If he had no ſpecific or rightful claim on the appropriated duties, he of courſe loſt nothing; if he had, and made a fair, equitable agreement, he is manifeſtly bound by it. In either event therefore, the arguments now uſed muſt fall to the ground as totally idle and unfounded. The bare propoſal which theſe arguments were brought to ſupport, implied a direct violation of public faith, for which the miniſters who adviſed, and who made it, deſerved the ſevereſt reprehenſion.

The arguments founded, and the right claimed, from the ſuppoſed practice of parliament, in conſtantly diſcharging, without account or enquiry, the incumbrances of the crown, upon former applications, were ſaid to be equally unfounded, and to have been overthrown by facts already ſtated. Queen Anne, generouſly beſtowed 100,000l. annually of her private revenue, to the ſupport of a moſt extenſive, dangerous, and important war; and ſhe expended vaſt ſums of money upon a public object, in the erection of Blenheim palace. Her claim upon the public was

not, however, founded, upon her generoſity, munificence, or prodigality. Parliament in the neceſſity of the public exigencies, had broken in conſiderably upon ſeveral branches of the civil liſt revenue, which were diverted from their proper channel, to anſwer the immediate and urgent demands of the war. This ſubſtraction of her revenue, muſt of courſe affect her private œconomy, and occaſioned her incurring debts, for the diſcharge of which ſhe had an equitable and legal claim upon the public. When the ſum required was under the amount, of the fair demand which might have been legally made by a common creditor, is it to be wondered at that ſhe was not preſſed to ſhew how the debt was incurred?

George the Second did not apply to parliament for any benevolence; he required no increaſe of his revenue; he did not deſire to have his debts paid, merely becauſe he was in debt; he only demanded the payment of money to which he was legally entitled; a part of his revenue which the nation was bound to make good by an act of parliament. The making of ſuch a demand could afford no motive or reaſon, for his laying any ſtatement of his affairs before parliament, nor for their enquiring into the amount or nature of his debts or expences. All that was neceſſary was done, which was to lay before the Houſe the documents requiſite to aſcertain the deficiency on the civil liſt duties; that is, how far they fell ſhort of the revenue which was ſettled upon him by the nation.

But quitting enquiries into paſt tranſactions, and deductions drawn from them, it was ſtrongly contended by ſeveral members of both Houſes, that the revenues of the crown, were not only fully ſufficient for all rational purpoſes of dignity and magnificence, but that they already far exceeded thoſe boundaries, which were conſiſtent with the nature of a limited government, and with the ſafety of this free conſtitution. They ſaid, that if the revenues proceeding from Wales, Cornwall, the dutchy of Lancaſter, Ireland, Weſt India Iſlands, American quit-rents, and other ſources of leſs note or importance, were brought into account, and added to the civil liſt eſtabliſhment, it would be found that the crown had for ſeveral years poſſeſſed an annual income, conſiderably exceeding a million ſterling. That if the American quit-rents had not been loſt, or could again be recovered, this revenue, ſolely in the crown, independent of account, and free from enquiry, would in a few years increaſe in ſuch a degree, as to afford a greater fund of treaſure for private diſpoſal, than the moſt powerful and arbitrary ſovereigns in Chriſtendom could boaſt of. That though the revenues of Hanover and the biſhoprick of Oſnaburgh, did not come within the cognizance of parliament, they were, however, to be conſidered as objects of attention, in all queſtions that related to the exceſſive growing power, and dangerous influence of the crown. That with ſuch vaſt funds in its poſſeſſion, that poverty, which was now ſo ſtrongly urged, and ſo grievouſly pleaded, and which was indeed too ſhamefully apparent in all the œconomy of the court, inſtead of anſwering the purpoſe propoſed by the miniſters

in, their repreſentations, ſhould have a very different effect, and in reality afforded room for reflections of the moſt ſerious, and apprehenſions of the moſt alarming nature. The cauſe of that poverty and diſtreſs, and the manner in which ſo immenſe a revenue was diſſipated without dignity or magnificence, were ſurely objects of the utmoſt importance, and which required the cloſeſt enquiry, and claimed the utmoſt conſideration of parliament.

The oppoſition concluded, with repreſenting it as a matter of the greateſt impropriety and indecency, to bring in ſuch a demand, in ſuch a ſeaſon of public calamity and danger. They ſaid, that nothing but a confidence in the ſervility, and an experience in the careleſsneſs of the public intereſts, which were now prevalent, could have encouraged the miniſters to hazard ſo deſperate a meaſure. They have, ſaid they, plunged us in a fatal civil war, which has already coſt the nation twenty millions of money; they have ſevered the empire, deſtroyed our commerce, ſunk the revenue, and given a mortal blow to public credit. We have loſt thirteen flouriſhing and growing provinces, ſome of which were already, in point of importance, if not of power, nearly equal to ancient kingdoms, and we are now engaged in a deſtructive and hopeleſs attempt, to recover by force, what our folly and violence have loſt. Is this then a ſeaſon, when we ſhall be under a neceſſity of taxing every gentleman's houſe in England, even to the ſmalleſt domeſtic accommodation, and to accumulate burden upon burden, on a people already ſinking under their load, to come and tell us, that we had not hitherto made a proviſion for the crown adequate to its grandeur, and that we muſt now find new funds for the increaſe of its ſplendor? Is the real luſtre which it has unhappily loſt, to be ſupplied by the falſe glare of profuſion? and the oſtenſive expences of government, to increaſe in a due proportion to its poverty and weakneſs? It will be a new diſcovery in the policy of nations, that the only means of replacing the loſs of half an empire, is by the boundleſs prodigality of the remainder.

As to the aſperſions thrown by miniſters on the minority, and their motives to oppoſition, they ſaid, that they had only to appeal to heaven and their own conſciences for the purity of their intentions; but they could appeal to the preſent ſtate of things for the ſoundneſs of their judgment concerning the conduct of public affairs. That if they attributed the majorities in parliament to the influence of the crown, they only deduced effects from their natural and obvious cauſes. What other cauſe, ſaid they, can be aſſigned for the ſupport of miniſters, whether the preſent plan of politicks be wrong or right? If wrong, they ought not to be ſupported, who adviſed an improper ſcheme of policy; if right, they ought not to be ſupported, who ſhew themſelves wholly unable to conduct meaſures right in themſelves and neceſſary for the nation. That it was not true, that the miniſters were ſupported by the landed intereſt. The greater part of the county repreſentatives were in oppoſition to their American ſchemes; and

perhaps the weight of the property, not connected with places and emoluments in the gift of the crown, in the Houſe of Peers, would be found in the ſame ſcale. But whatever the character and motives of the majority or minority were, it was evident beyond a doubt, that under the ſupport of the former, the national dignity, power, and dominion, were reduced, and the royal ſplendour tarniſhed, whilſt every expence was infinitely increaſed. It is, ſaid they, from ſuch undoubted matters of fact, and not from declamations or invectives, that the publick will, or ought, to judge of the motives of thoſe who ſupport or oppoſe the preſent ſyſtem.

April 18. Upon receiving the report in the Houſe of Commons from the committee of ſupply, the debate was renewed with great warmth, and a committee of enquiry was again propoſed, and ably ſupported. The queſtion upon the firſt reſolution of the committee, for the payment of the ſtanding debt, of 618,340l. was carried without a diviſion. Upon reading the ſecond reſolution for the additional grant of 100,000l. a year to the royal revenue, an amendment was moved by a gentleman in oppoſition, that the words in the reſolution "for the better ſupport of his Majeſty's houſhold," ſhould be immediately followed by theſe, "and for the different branches of the royal family."

The gentleman deſcribed in very pathetic terms, the diſtreſſed ſituation, in point of circumſtance, of the two Royal, and Brother Dukes. The one, from the narrowneſs of his income unable to live in this country, experiencing all the effects of actual baniſhment; and inſtead of commanding the reſpect and attention due to his rank and virtues, exhibiting to the world the idea of a diſtreſſed and fugitive prince of England, and exciting only the compaſſion of foreigners. The ſecond, after experiencing the ſame diſagreeable ſituation abroad, reduced to live within the limits of an œconomy, which however becoming his neceſſity, and ſuited to his income, is equally unworthy of his merit, and unfitting for the rank which he holds in this country.

The amendment was ſeconded, but it being repreſented, that any amendment made to a report was out of rule, and unparliamentary, no debate enſued, and it was agreed to refer the ſubject to future conſideration. The queſtion upon the ſecond reſolution of the committee, being put about midnight, was carried by a majority of 231, to 109. Though the numbers were fewer on both ſides, 19 gentlemen voted againſt the preſent queſtion, who were not included in the former diviſion.

The royal meſſage to the Houſe of Lords, was debated on the 16th of April, when an addreſs of concurrence having been moved by the Earl of Derby, and ſeconded by Lord Onſlow, was oppoſed by the Marquis of Rockingham, who moved for an amendment of very conſiderable length, being an addreſs directly counter to that propoſed, and which was afterwards entered without addition as a proteſt. The noble Marquis entered very diffuſively, and with great knowledge of his ground into the ſubject, and ſtated ſeveral of

arguments and facts which we have already laid down. He was oppoſed and ſupported with great eagerneſs, and the debates were long, various, and very intereſting.

In the courſe of this contention, the Duke of Grafton ſaid, that his regard to the noble Marquis, ſhould prevent his moving the previous queſtion, upon both the addreſs and the amendment; but he conjured their lordſhips, as the beſt proof of their loyalty and affection for his Majeſty, that they would conſent to have the original motion poſtponed, and agree to appoint a committee to enquire into the expenditure; but more particularly to enquire what parts would beſt admit of a reduction; and when that was finally ſettled, proceed to a vote of concurrence, for the amount of the reduced eſtimate.

If they agreed to this propoſal, he offered to prove to their ſatisfaction, that the eſtimate ſo eſtabliſhed, would not exceed the preſent revenue; and that at the ſame time, it ſhould not bear upon a ſingle article, which ſhould be thought by thoſe who profeſſed themſelves to be his warmeſt friends, to adminiſter to his Majeſty's eaſe or ſatisfaction; or that was neceſſary to ſuſtain with ſplendor and dignity, his elevated rank and ſituation. The noble Duke finally pledged himſelf to the houſe, that if they would go into the propoſed committee, he would demonſtrate from the moſt clear, authentic, and inconteſtible documents, that 800,000 l. a year, would anſwer every end of private eaſe, perſonal dignity, and royal ſplendour; in a word, would furniſh every appendage to royalty, excepting that only which miniſters miſtakenly thought neceſſary, that of obtaining, through the means of corrupt influence, an unbounded power and controul over the will and reſolutions of parliament.

The queſtion being at length put upon the motion of amendment, it was rejected by a majority of 96 to 29 only. A ſecond diviſion took place upon the Duke of Grafton's previous queſtion, which was alſo rejected by a majority of 90 to 26. The main queſtion on the addreſs was then put, and carried on a diviſion.

The rejected amendment, which was entered as a proteſt, infers the neceſſity of the utmoſt œconomy, from the increaſe of public debt, and the decreaſe of the empire; and expreſſes aſtoniſhment and indignation, at a profuſion in miniſters, which the greateſt proſperity could ſcarcely excuſe. After ſtating and examining various matters, it concludes in the following terms, and was ſigned by fourteen Lords.

"With regard to the further increaſe of your Majeſty's civil liſt revenues, we muſt decline any concurrence therein, not ſolely from motives of œconomy, (tho' at no time more ſtrictly required) but from a dread alſo of the effect of ſuch an augmentation on the honour and integrity of parliament, by veſting ſuch large ſums without account in the hands of miniſters. When an opinion is known to prevail, and which we have no means of contradicting, that your Majeſty's civil liſt revenues are employed

in creating an undue influence in parliament, it would be extremely unbecoming of us to vote, without manifeſt reaſon, great ſums of money out of the property of your Majeſty's ſubjects, which are ſuppoſed to be applied to our private emolument. It is our duty to attend to the reputation of parliament; and we beg leave to repreſent to your Majeſty, that a further increaſe of the overgrown influence of the crown, would be a treacherous gift from parliament even to the crown itſelf, as it will enable the miniſters to carry on thoſe deluſive ſyſtems which have been fatally adopted, and which, if purſued, muſt lead to the ruin, as they have already produced the diſtraction, of this once great empire."

CHAP. VI.

Motion by the miniſter for the payment of a demand made by the Landgrave of Heſſe, on an unliquidated hoſpital account of the laſt war. Debates. Motion carried in the committee of ſupply upon a diviſion. Debate renewed on receiving the report. Queſtion carried upon a diviſion. Motion for an addreſs to the throne relative to the Royal Brothers. Previous queſtion carried on a diviſion. Debate on the Speaker's ſpeech. Mr. Fox's motion. Motion of adjournment. The latter withdrawn, and the former carried. Vote of thanks to the Speaker for his ſpeech. Revolution at Madraſs. Tranſactions previous or relative to the depoſing and impriſonment of Lord Pigot. Tranſactions in Leadenhall ſtreet. Reſolutions on India affairs, moved in the houſe of commons by Governor Johnſtone. Debates. The reſolutions rejected upon a diviſion. Earl of Chatham's motion for an addreſs relative to a reconciliation with America. Motion rejected. Speech from the throne.

May 7th. A Reſolution which was moved in the committee of ſupply by the miniſter, for the payment of above forty thouſand pounds to the Landgrave of Heſſe, under a rejected, or dormant claim, for the expences of foreign hoſpitals in the laſt war, was productive of very warm debates, and was not only vigorouſly oppoſed by the oppoſition, properly ſo called, but it excited an unuſual degree of diſſatisfaction among ſuch of the country gentlemen as ſtill continued in town, which was extended even to ſome of thoſe who had been moſt accuſtomed to go with the court in all queſtions.

It was objected to the reſolution, that a commiſſion had been appointed and carried into effect upon the late peace, for the ſole purpoſe of examining, ſettling, and liquidating the German claims. That after long labour, and painful inveſtigation, theſe were found to be ſo ſhamefully exorbitant and unjuſt, that a diſcount of 60 or 70 per cent. was not unuſual, on thoſe which even ſeemed to be the faireſt and beſt ſupported. That at the ſame time, the preſent claim, with ſeveral others of the ſame nature, were utterly caſt

caſt off and rejected, and all for the ſame individual cauſe, that they were in the whole, and in every part, totally unfounded and unjuſt. And they inſiſted, that it was a thing unheard of, when any claim or account had been once ſettled and liquidated, more eſpecially under the legal formality and ſanction of a particular and public commiſſion, to bring ſuch a matter again forward, unleſs it was ſupported by ſome new documents or proofs, which the claimant muſt alſo demonſtrate, not to have been originally within his reach or power.

The miniſters were charged, in unqualified terms, with a ſhameful profuſion of the public money, and with the moſt ſcandalous meanneſs, in ſubmitting in every inſtance to the inſatiate rapacity of the German princes. Nor did parliament eſcape its ſhare of the cenſure, for, what was termed, their tame acquieſcence in every propoſal, however unreaſonable or abſurd, that was laid before them, and their granting the property of the people to ſupply every demand, however unneceſſary, extravagant, or unjuſt. This demand, they ſaid, could be conſidered in no other light than that of a foreign tribute, exacted from us in the moment of our diſtreſs, through a full conviction of our diſtracted ſituation, and the unhappy ſtate of our public affairs. The nation was to ſubmit to every ſhameful impoſition, propoſed, or practiſed upon it by the petty ſtates of Germany, leſt they ſhould withdraw their mercenaries from the ſupport of our fatal miniſterial civil war, before they had put the laſt hand to the ruin or extermination of the Britiſh nation on both ſides of the Atlantic.

They alſo arraigned the miniſter for ſurprizing the houſe with ſuch a demand, and bringing it a matter of ſuch conſequence at a ſeaſon, when he knew that it was, and muſt be, very thinly attended. They contended, that if this demand, after ſleeping for fourteen years, was now admitted, it would rouze all Germany into action, in the framing of new, or the reviving of old claims; and that they ſhould never get quit of the German chancery, whilſt they had a ſhilling left to grant. They concluded by lamenting and execrating thoſe fatal meaſures, to which they attributed our preſent unhappy ſituation, and all thoſe humiliating and diſgraceful circumſtances in which they ſaid we were involved.

On the other hand, the miniſter acknowledged the ſtaleneſs of the claim; he wiſhed the demand had been made earlier; but he urged the length of its ſtanding to be the only objection that could be reaſonably made to it. He inſiſted that the account was clearly and fairly ſtated; that the demand was juſt; that it conſequently ought to be paid; and that length of time did not weaken the claim in point of juſtice or equity. The good faith, the credit, the juſtice, and honour of the nation, were all ſaid to be deeply concerned in the exact obſervance of its contracts with foreigners, and the punctual diſcharge of its foreign debts. Any failure in theſe reſpects muſt be productive of the moſt

moſt ruinous conſequences, in our future connection and intercourſe with foreign ſtates. We ſhould feel them equally in the affairs of war and of peace.

It was alſo contended on the ſame ſide, that this claim had never been rejected by the German commiſſioners, as had been repreſented in the debate. It had been only poſtponed, they ſaid, from its being connected with ſome other matter, which prevented its being brought with propriety, immediately within their cognizance. They alſo aſſerted, that it had never lain dormant, and conſequently that it was not an old claim newly revived. The claim was never dropped; on the contrary, the demand was regularly kept up, according to the uſual official forms, from the time the debt was incurred, though from various cauſes and delays, payment had hitherto been deferred. They concluded by declaring, that it was not brought on in conſequence of any ſtipulation, and that it did not appertain to any treaty paſt or preſent; but that the honour of the nation, founded upon its good faith to all mankind, and particularly to its allies, rendered the payment indiſpenſable.

The reſolution was carried in the committee of ſupply upon a diviſion, by a majority of 38 to 20. But upon receiving the report next day in the houſe, the debate was renewed with great warmth, and if a few more of the country gentlemen had been in town, the miniſter would probably have found himſelf in a minority. As it was, the report was agreed to only by a majority of eight, the numbers being 50 to 42, upon a diviſion. It was particularly obſerved, that ſome zealous courtiers, and profeſſed government men, avoided voting upon this queſtion.

The day after the deciſion of this queſtion, Sir James Lowther, who had lately moved the amendment to the civil liſt bill, in favour of the two Royal Brother Dukes, moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty, to requeſt an augmentation of their annual income. He ſtated with energy, and deſcribed with a real and affecting ſympathy, the cauſes which led to this motion, and the particular circumſtances of ſituation, which rendered ſuch an addreſs neceſſary; circumſtances, which were unfortunately ſo conſpicuous, as to be publicly known in every part of Europe; and which he repreſented, as not leſs affecting the national character and honour, than the royal dignity. 9th.

The motion was oppoſed upon the ground of propriety, and the previous queſtion immediately moved. The difficulty, as well as impropriety, of diſcuſſing a queſtion of ſo nice and delicate a complexion, were principally inſiſted on. It would be breaking in upon the domeſtic affairs of the royal family; and venturing to enquire into matters of ſo tender a nature, as the conduct obſerved, and the tranſactions that paſſed in private life, between the Sovereign and his brothers. Theſe were, they ſaid, matters by no means fitting to be brought forward as ſubjects of public diſcuſſion. The Sovereign ſhould

ſhould be entirely left to his own diſcretion, and he would undoubtedly act with propriety. It could not but be preſumed, that at a proper time and ſeaſon, he would, beſides conſulting his own dignity, give way alſo to the impulſes of nature and affection. But, they ſaid, it would be in the higheſt degree indecent, and preſuming beyond the limits of duty and reverence, to pretend to dictate to the throne, either with reſpect to private family conduct or affairs, or to the diſpoſal of its own property.

As the motion had the whole weight of the court party to encounter, and that ſeveral on the other ſide were not ſatisfied as to its propriety, the previous queſtion was carried, after a ſhort debate, by a majority of 130 to 45, by which the propoſition was laid by without a direct negative.

An unexpected incident upon this occaſion, gave riſe to another debate, upon new and extraordinary ground, which was agitated for ſeveral hours with great warmth. To explain this matter it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that on the preceding day but one, upon preſenting the bill for the augmentation of the civil liſt revenue to receive the royal aſſent, the Speaker took that occaſion of addreſſing the throne in a ſpeech, for which, upon their return, he immediately received the unanimous thanks of the houſe, attended with a compliment of deſiring that it might be printed. Theſe thanks, and the motion for printing, were prepared by ſome members of the minority, and the vote paſſed before miniſters had time to recollect themſelves.

Some paſſages in this ſpeech, gave, however, great offence at court, and their effect was even ſaid to be obſervable, at the time and place where they were addreſſed. The Speaker not only expatiated largely upon the zeal and affection ſhewn by the commons, but in giving the greater force to theſe circumſtances, he obſerved, "that it was in a time "of public diſtreſs, full of *difficulty and danger*, when their "conſtituents were labouring un-"der burdens almoſt *too heavy to be* "*borne*:"—and in diſplaying the liberality of the grants, he uſed the following expreſſions.—"Have not "only granted to your Majeſty a "large preſent ſupply, but alſo "a very great additional reve-"nue;—great *beyond example*; "great, beyond your Majeſty's "*higheſt expence.*—But, all this, "Sir, they have done, in a well "grounded confidence, that you "will apply *wiſely*, what they "have granted *liberally*."

The compliment which ſucceeded theſe paſſages, and cloſed the ſpeech, was not thought by ſome to atone ſufficiently for their freedom. The zealous courtiers, and thoſe who affect to be, or are known, under the familiar denomination of King's friends, were offended in the higheſt degree, and conſidered ſome of theſe expreſſions as conveying little leſs than an abſolute inſult, and others as equally miſrepreſenting the ſenſe of parliament, and the real ſtate of the nation. It was accordingly determined to let the Speaker feel his ſuppoſed error, and that he ſhould be rendered

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ſo fully ſenſible of their indignation, as that it might operate in preventing any future lapſe of the ſame nature.

In the ſhort debate upon Sir James Lowther's motion, a gentleman high in office, and who has long been diſtinguiſhed as a principal leader in a powerful party, arraigned the conduct of the Speaker with unuſual vehemence, and the moſt pointed acrimony. He aſſerted, that the national ſituation had been groſsly miſrepreſented, in a place, and in the preſence of thoſe, where nothing but truth ſhould be heard. That the ſentiments declared at the bar of the other houſe to be thoſe of the commons, were the direct reverſe; that they knew better; that for one, he totally diſclaimed them; that he was certain a very great majority of the houſe equally did ſo; and, that before the houſe roſe, he truſted it would be proved, whether they thought with the chair or with him.

This charge, as ſoon as the diviſion upon the former queſtion was over, was taken up by the Speaker, and his ſpeech being firſt read, he appealed to the journals for the vote of thanks that ſucceeded it, to ſhew that the ſentiments which he had then expreſſed, were, at that time, the ſentiments of the houſe. The gentleman who had made the charge, now repeated and enforced it with ſtill greater vehemence, and with additional circumſtances of heat and acrimony. It, however, now began to appear pretty evident, that many of thoſe gentlemen on the ſame ſide with himſelf, particularly the miniſters, grew apprehenſive that he was puſhing matters too far; for though they were very well pleaſed that the Speaker ſhould meet with what they thought a ſeaſonable rebuke, they were not at all diſpoſed to make any needleſs trial of the temper of the houſe, by urging the point, in an unprofitable experiment, to a diſagreeable and hazardous extremity. They wiſhed matters to reſt in their preſent ſtate, and the Speaker to lie under an implication of cenſure, without its being directly paſſed, or brought abſolutely to the queſtion.

The oppoſition were not, however, diſpoſed that it ſhould be paſſed off in that manner. Mr. Fox immediately took the buſineſs up with his uſual ſpirit and ability. He ſaid that the gentleman had come to the point at once; the charge was open and direct; the Speaker had either miſrepreſented the ſenſe of the houſe, or he had not; the queſtion was fairly at iſſue, and could be decided only by the houſe. For his part, he ſuſpected the Speaker had not delivered the ſentiments of the majority, although it was evident from their journals, that he had given the ſenſe of the houſe. He would, however, now, bring the queſtion to a fair deciſion, by obtaining the ſenſe of the houſe upon it; and if the motion he was going to make met with a negative, he was of opinion, that the Speaker could not any longer ſit in that chair with reputation to himſelf, nor be any further ſerviceable in his ſtation, after being thus publicly deſerted, bullied, and diſgraced. He accordingly moved,—"That the "Speaker of this houſe, in his "ſpeech to his Majeſty at the "bar

"bar of the houſe of peers on "Wedneſday laſt, and which was "deſired by this houſe, nem. "con. to be printed, did expreſs, "with juſt and proper energy, "the zeal of this houſe for the "ſupport of the honour and dig-"nity of the crown, in circum-"ſtances of great public charge."

The Speaker declared, with great reſolution and firmneſs, that he could not think of continuing in a ſituation in which he could be no longer ſerviceable, which muſt evidently be the caſe, if the motion ſhould be rejected. That he had wiſhed and intended to expreſs the ſenſe of the houſe, and imagined he had done ſo; that he thought himſelf fully juſtified by the time, the occaſion, and various concurrent circumſtances, which all combined to ſtamp what he had offered with peculiar propriety. That he ſtill conceived he had diſcharged his duty, which was confirmed by the public approbation he had received; and he concluded by declaring, that he would not ſit longer in that chair, than he was in the free exerciſe of his duty.

The gentlemen on the other ſide, wanted much to get rid of the queſtion, without bringing it to any deciſion. They, in general, did not approve of certain paſſages in the ſpeech; but they did not from thence intend any cenſure upon the Speaker. He might, without the ſmalleſt blame, have miſtaken or misſtated the ſentiments of the houſe. Nay, in the hurry and inadvertence of an extempore addreſs, he might, very poſſibly, not even have ſtated his own exactly. They accordingly recommended in the moſt preſſing terms to the Speaker, and ſtrongly urged the mover and ſupporters of the queſtion, to withdraw the motion; and finding that this propoſal would not be complied with, they moved for an adjournment.

But the oppoſition were upon this occaſion firm and unanimous. The houſe was involved in a dilemma, which they were determined it ſhould not get clear of without a deciſion. Either it muſt join them in ſupporting the chair, or ſubmit to its utmoſt degradation, and become chargeable at the ſame time with the glaring inconſiſtency, of undoing and reprobating on the Friday, thoſe acts which they had done or applauded on the Wedneſday.

They inſiſted, that the ſpeech was founded in truth; that it was highly neceſſary at this ſeaſon; and that it was delivered with the ſtricteſt propriety. Their applauſe of the Speaker for his ſpeech was not greater, than for his firmneſs, in not accepting of any compromiſe ſhort of immediate reparation, notwithſtanding the threats and ſoothings, which, they ſaid, had been alternately uſed to induce him to recede, and by ſo doing, to ſacrifice equally his own honour, and the dignity of the houſe. They laughed at the new logic introduced by the oppoſers of the motion, who contended that the ſpeech was not the ſenſe of the houſe, becauſe, on the very day it was ſpoken, the houſe had declared the moſt warm and hearty approbation of it. This, they ſaid, might be a miniſterial way of drawing concluſions; but it was certainly a

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curious one; perhaps they had been taught by long experience, that the ſenſe of the houſe, as declared by a majority, was not its genuine ſenſe.

They inſiſted, that if the motion of adjournment was carried, it would not be ſafe for the Speaker to continue a moment longer in his preſent ſituation; that he would in all future occaſions lie at the mercy of his enemies, and be liable to diſgrace whenever he fulfilled his duty, if the faithful diſcharge of it happened to be contrary to the opinion or liking of thoſe, who were able to command a temporary majority to overrule acts of unanimity. That the dignity of the houſe was at an end, if the chair was permitted to be degraded; that the preſent blow was ultimately aimed at the houſe through the chair; that it was an experiment made purely to try, what pitch of humiliation and diſgrace they would bear to be let down to; the attempt of a court faction, to render the repreſentatives of the people deſpicable, as well as deteſtable, in the eyes of their conſtituents.

The gentleman who had made the charge, at length conceded in ſome degree. He ſaid he had not a wiſh (if it had been even in his power, which it was not in any degree) to drive the Speaker from the chair. He only maintained, which he ſtill would, the right of private opinion, and freedom of ſpeech; of cenſuring what he did not approve, without regard to perſons; he ſaid, he meant no more from the beginning; and if it was now the ſenſe of the houſe, he would readily agree in withdrawing the motion of adjournment. This being accordingly done, Mr. Fox's motion was carried without a diviſion, and with the appearance of almoſt general unanimity. To render the triumph compleat, another gentleman in oppoſition moved, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be returned to the Speaker for the diſputed ſpeech, which was likewiſe agreed to.

A tranſaction of a moſt extraordinary nature in the Eaſt Indies; and which amounted to no leſs than a revolution, and the total ſubverſion of eſtabliſhed government in our principal ſettlement on the coaſt of Coromandel, together with ſeveral ſubſequent proceedings relative to it in Leadenhall-ſtreet, were the means of bringing the affairs of the Eaſt India company once more within the cognizance of parliament.

It may appear almoſt needleſs to make any obſervation upon the difficulty of coming at the bare and undiſguiſed truth, in the violence of faction, and amidſt the rage of contending parties, even when their ſphere of action is confined to our own country, and that their operations appear almoſt to be within our perſonal obſervation. If ſuch be the caſe at home, how muſt the difficulty increaſe, when the ſcene of action is laid in the remoteſt parts of the globe, from whence no diſintereſted evidence can be obtained, where every native of theſe countries is under a neceſſity of chuſing his ſide, and of courſe imbibing, in a greater or leſſer degree, the violence, prejudices, and animoſity of his party; whilſt the only indifferent ſpectators, if any, are ſtrangers, who cannot underſtand the ſubject

ject of debate, and from whom we could derive no information if they had comprehended it entirely. In theſe circumſtances, a ſhort ſketch of thoſe diſtant and controverted affairs, ſuch as they immediately appear, and ſo far only as is requiſite to give ſome general view of our preſent ſituation in thoſe countries with reſpect to the public ſafety and advantage, and to illuſtrate tranſactions at home with which they are neceſſarily connected, is all that can be reaſonably attempted, leaving it to time, and to future elucidation, to aſcertain fact, or to rectify error, and to the parties concerned, to enter into ſpecific explanations of their conduct.

It is repreſented on one ſide, and ſeems to be pretty well eſtabliſhed, that Mahommed Aly Cawn, the Nabob of Arcot, has, through the protection and alliance of the Eaſt-India company, grown to very great power, and it is farther ſaid, to an uncontrouled influence, not only over the natives, but by various management, over the Britiſh ſettlements alſo; in the principal of which, for the purpoſe, it is ſaid, of exerciſing this influence, he has choſen his reſidence. He has formed a conſiderable army on the Europeán model, and officered moſtly by Engliſh; and has in general conducted himſelf with ſuch prudence and ability, as to ſupport himſelf in a higher ſtyle of dignity, than moſt of thoſe magiſtrates, who ſet up for a ſort of independent powers on the decline of the Mogul empire; and who were aided in their eſtabliſhment by the fortune and arms of the Eaſt-India company. To his ability is ſaid to be joined very extenſive views, and a very aſpiring ambition.

Some events ſeemed calculated to cheriſh this ambition, if it really exiſts in the degree that is repreſented. A few years ſince, the ſpirit of adminiſtration ſeemed ſtrongly diſpoſed to trace out new ſources of power and wealth, wherever they could be diſcovered in the various and remote parts of this widely extended empire. Beſides the well known and much-diſputed interference in the conduct and government of the Eaſt-India company's affairs at home and abroad, it became a part of the ſyſtem of policy then purſued, that the crown ſhould ſuperintend the affairs of the company, and on an idea of oppreſſion ſuffered by the princes of the country, ſhould eſtabliſh connections in India, totally diſtinct and ſeparate from that body. In purſuance of this deſign, agents, or miniſters, were employed with plenipotentiary powers, to negotiate treaties directly with ſome of the princes of the country, and particularly with the Nabob of Arcot.

Whatever wiſdom there might be in this meaſure, or however great the future benefits to be derived from it may be, it certainly tended much to lower the Eaſt-India company in the eyes of the natives, and to relax that force of opinion, which forms the principal inſtrument in the government of mankind throughout every part of the globe. Totally ignorant of, and totally incapable of comprehending, the diſtinct diſtributions of power which are allotted to the different parts in a mixed government like ours, and that complicated

cated ſeries of connection and dependance which form their union, they only looked up to the company in the groſs, as the greateſt aggregate body of power of which they had any knowledge. They ſaw that her ſimple and avowed ſervants, far exceeded their greateſt princes in power. They had heard of the King of Great-Britain, and they had alſo heard of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces; theſe were titles, the nature of which they neither underſtood, nor gave themſelves the trouble to enquire into; but they had long experience, that the Engliſh and Dutch companies were in the full poſſeſſion and exerciſe of all the powers of ſovereignty.

But when theſe people diſcovered, that thoſe whom they had hitherto been accuſtomed to conſider as the princes of the earth, were in reality the mere ſubjects of a great monarch; (a ſtate which they could not ſeparate in their ideas from the moſt abject ſlavery) that they had not even the honour of being his ſervants; when theſe agents, to give the greater efficacy to their commiſſion, led them into all the moſt hidden arcana of the company; when they perceived with amazement, that even its delegated powers were to expire in a few years, and that they were to look elſewhere for all future intereſts and connections, they awakened as from a dream; and they regarded with an indignation and contempt, equal to the ſuppoſed impoſition, thoſe whom they had lately revered as the firſt of mankind. Some conception may be eaſily formed, how the pride and ſelf-importance of theſe new-made princes was ſwelled, when, inſtead of abject dependents on the company, they found themſelves conſidered as friends, allies, ſovereigns, and equals, by that mighty and overruling power, with whom they had till then been in a manner unacquainted.

In this ſtate of affairs, and in poſſeſſion, it is ſaid, of the power, wealth, and qualities which we have deſcribed, Mahommed Aly Cawn is repreſented, as applying them with ſuch art and ſucceſs, that he obtained an overruling, if not boundleſs influence, in the Engliſh counſels at Madraſs. If ſuch was his deſign, he certainly ſhewed himſelf equal to the purſuit, for laying by the jealous ſtate and diſtant pride of an eaſtern deſpot, he ſeemed to become, as nearly as it could poſſibly be admitted, an inmate, and member of the Britiſh community at that ſettlement, making the outward, or black town, as it is called, the principal ſeat of his reſidence, where his palace adjoins to the walls of the Engliſh fortreſs or town. By theſe means, he is ſaid to have been in conſtant poſſeſſion of every tranſaction that paſſed, and even of every propoſal or deſign that originated in that ſettlement. Undoubtedly, it ſeems an extraordinary degree of confidence in the faith of an eaſtern prince, to admit of ſo cloſe and intimate a connection. Thoſe who were jealous of, or enemies to the Nabob's power and greatneſs, have not failed to ſuggeſt that ſuch a degree of nearneſs could not be unattended with danger, if any evil was intended. For as it is in the power of this prince to draw great bodies of

troops

s at all times into the ſettle-
, as cuſtomary guards and at-
nts upon his perſon, and that
might be eaſily, and perhaps
rceptibly increaſed, in a ſea-
of unſuſpecting confidence, it
l be well if any watch or
ieſs of diſcipline could guard
ſt a ſurprize in ſuch a ſitua-

His friends have given the
another turn; and alledge
fidence there, as well as the
he keeps generally officered
Engliſh, as deciſive proofs
attachment, without deſign
is part, and without danger
rs.

hatever foundation there may
the charge or ſuppoſition of
rince's poſſeſſing an undue in-
e at Madraſs, it is certain,
a joint enterpriſe which was
taken by the company's
in that preſidency with the
b's, afforded too much co-
to ſuch an opinion, and un-
ly contributed its full ſhare,
with other eaſtern exorbi-
s, deeply to affect our na-
character both in Europe and

This was the famous ex-
on to Tanjour; an enter-
which has been heard of in
part of the world, and which
een, on the firſt narratives,
mned for its cruelty and in-
wherever it was heard.

e Rajah or King of Tanjour,
e of thoſe Gentoo Princes,
ancestors had been long in
ſion of the country, and who
ever been entirely ſubdued by
Mogul Tartars; but were
red tributary to their empire,
overnment being otherwiſe
ed in the original hands.
Prince had been for many
and was ſtill, in alliance

both with the company and Na-
bob, and had been engaged with
them in the joint perils and for-
tune of former wars. On the
ſettlement of the affairs of the
Eaſt Indies at the treaty of Paris,
it was thought neceſſary to put an
end to the diſpute between France
and England, who ſupported the
intereſts of different pretenders to
power in that part of the world.
France was accordingly obliged
to admit Salabat Jing as lawful
Soubah of the Decan; and Maho-
med Ali Cawn, as lawful Nabob
of the Carnatic. The Mogul, who
was much at the diſcretion of the
Engliſh, readily granted, on his
part, from time to time, ſuch
powers as were neceſſary to con-
firm theſe arrangements. To
complete this ſettlement, accounts
were liquidated, and a convention
made under the authority and gua-
rantee of the company between
their own allies. Mahomed Ali
was to be paid the arrears of, and
to receive in future, the tribute due
to the Mogul, for which he was
to be accountable to their common
ſuperior, and to have a conſider-
able ſum for himſelf. The King
of Tanjour was to remain in all
other reſpects as before in poſſeſ-
ſion of his dominions, to which
his right was fully confirmed.
Subſequent to this agreement a
variety of tranſactions happened
between him and the Nabob; and
new accounts were opened.—The
King of Tanjour alledging that he
ought to be allowed for his ex-
pences in certain military ſervices
rendered to the Nabob; the Na-
bob inſiſting on receiving imme-
diate payment of the ſums ſtipu-
lated under the late convention
without any abatement.

Theſe diſputes, whether carried on upon their proper bottom, or raiſed as a pretence of more ſerious quarrel, continued for ſome time. The Nabob, however, prevailed with the powers at Madraſs, and with the royal commiſſioners to fall in with his views, without any hearing or deciſion on the merits of the controverſy; and a war, on pretence of a delay in payment, broke out.

The King of Tanjour was little able to withſtand the united force of the company and Nabob. He, however, defended his capital bravely; but being ſubdued after a ſharp ſiege, the unhappy Prince was ſtripped, without remorſe or pity, of every thing but life. His kingdom was ſeized by the Nabob, his treaſures applied to the expences of the war, and to other preſent purpoſes, whilſt his ſubjects, who were among the moſt induſtrious people in India, experienced all the cruelty and rapacity of a Mahometan conqueſt and government.

The account of this tranſaction, with all the circumſtances of the conqueſt, ſpoil, and ruin of a friend and ally, in ſo unexampled a manner, excited the greateſt indignation in the company when it arrived in England. Nor were they without apprehenſions for the ſecurity of their ſettlements on the coaſt, when they conſidered the boldneſs of deſign, promptneſs of execution, and apparent indifference as to their liking or reſentment, which diſtinguiſhed this enterprize. That viſible aſcendency over the counſels and actions of their ſervants, of which the Nabob had now given ſo dangerous a proof, was ſtill more ala than any other circumſtance.

Nor was his conduct in otl ſpects, both then and after, without ſuſpicions. Among inſtances which did not car moſt pleaſing appearance, moved his eldeſt ſon, a Pri a moderate temper, from all and from the command army, and placed it in the of his ſecond ſon, a young who is repreſented as violent temper, and poſſeſſed of a with a ſtrong ſpirit of enterp

This violent depoſition King of Tanjour with all i cumſtances, was ſo contrary policy of the company and ſpirit of its orders, that it w mediately determined to him to his dominions; bu manner of carrying this deſig execution required ſome con tion. It was not to be com into the hands of thoſe ſer who had already ſet their ſeal the outrage and wrong; and if other motives did not eve vail, could ſcarcely now from that decided part whic had already taken, and in it was thought they had ſo pledge of intereſt. The cor was far from wiſhing to fa with the Nabob, if it cou avoided; nor were they di to urge matters to any extr with their ſervants for wh paſt. The reſtoration was mined, as an act equally ne from the motives of juſtice, opinion, and good policy they wiſhed that all previou ters relative to it ſhould oblivion, without further c or enquiry.

was therefore neceſſary to ſend perſon out as Governor and dent of Madraſs, who ſhould full powers for the execution iis difficult and delicate com- on; and it was equally neceſ- that the perſon ſo ſent, d, beſides the moſt unincor- ble integrity, poſſeſs a degree eight and perſonal conſe- ce, ſufficient to impreſs a due of reſpect on the Nabob, and ve any factions that prevailed g their own ſervants. A full ledge of the company's af- at home and abroad, with a ſtock of reſolution and judg- as would be ſufficient to re- energy to their government e coaſt of Coromandel, were rs ſo eſſential in their nature, no deficiency in any part could ſpenſed with, could ſcarcely be imagined, he late Lord Pigot would not oked to, as anſwering theſe more fully than any other n that could be thought of, is calculated in an extraordi- degree to give effect to all urpoſes of the company. His defence of Madraſs, had the firſt effectual check to the of the French in the Eaſt, he firſt turn to fortune in our r. To him the company perhaps, indebted for their holding a ſingle poſſeſſion in ; and to him the Nabob of was undoubtedly indebted is preſent exalted fortune. ivil government had been as ated as his military exploits; is private character had pro- him a very extenſive ſhare of . It was, not unreaſonably, ed, that the appearance of a man, upon that ground which had been the ſcene of his former power and glory, where his name and actions were ſtill freſh and alive, and where the principal, and moſt dangerous party, was little more than the creature of his own making, would have been attended with diſtinguiſhed advantages; and that he might have performed thoſe acts without envy or jealouſy, which would have been oppoſed or reſented in other hands.

In the mean time, the Nabob with great foreſight and art, was providing for every poſſible, as well as expected conſequence of the Tanjour buſineſs. The long interval that neceſſarily elapſed before the arrival of Lord Pigot in his government, afforded a full ſcope for the exerciſe of his ability in intrigue. Although the part which they had already taken, would neceſſarily influence the conduct of the Engliſh preſidency, in wiſhing or endeavouring to ſupport or confirm their own former act, he thought it, however, prudent to intereſt them ſtill more deeply, in the meaſure of ſecuring to him in perpetuity the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Tanjour. He accordingly borrowed vaſt ſums of money from ſeveral members of the council, and ſome others, whoſe weight and influence he thought might be neceſſary towards the completion of his ſcheme, and, is ſaid, directly or indirectly, to have mortgaged the revenues of Tanjour to them, as a ſecurity both for the principal, and for a prodigious intereſt ariſing on it, which amounted annually to near one third of the original debt. To provide againſt the worſt that might happen, beſides the pillage of the

Rajah's treaſures and perſonal effects, and the ſeizure of his revenues, the country was ſtripped as bare as it could poſſibly admit, without the total ruin of the people, and the immediate deſtruction of their agriculture and commerce.

Lord Pigot arrived in his government about the latter end of the year 1775. As we ſhall avoid entering into the diſputes between him and the majority of his council, any farther than is immediately neceſſary for conducting our narrative, much leſs ſhall we enquire into the merits of thoſe queſtions which were ſo violently agitated between them, and which produced the extraordinary conſequences that followed.

It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the previous meaſures which had been taken, and the violent oppoſition he experienced, Lord Pigot ſucceeded ſo far in the execution of his commiſſion, as to reſtore the King of Tanjour to the poſſeſſion of his ancient and hereditary dominions. This meaſure, however, ſeems to have procured him the mortal enmity of the Nabob and his ſon, and the moſt determined oppoſition within his government. In conſequence of this oppoſition, he was thwarted and overruled in every meaſure by the majority of the council, who were ſupported and ſtrengthened by the dangerous power lodged in the hands of the commander in chief of the forces. The diſputes grew hotter from day to day. And the cabals with the Nabob grew cloſer and cloſer. It was of the greateſt moment to ſend a proper officer to Tanjour. The oppoſition part of the council firſt agreed with the Governor on the meaſure, and the deſignation of the perſon. They ſoon changed their mind about the latter. They inſiſted, that being the majority of the council, they had a right to do all things, notwithſtanding the diſſent of the Governor. He contended, that the Governor was a neceſſary part in every legal and orderly act of government. Lord Pigot finding that he could not bind them to any plan; and that, as he affirmed, they were actuated by no other principle than that of traverſing all his endeavours for carrying the orders of the company into execution, he took a ſtrong and bold meaſure, and having put the queſtion, carried the ſuſpenſion of two of the council by his own caſting vote. We call it a ſtrong meaſure, for whether it be ſtrictly legal is not yet determined. By his ſupreme authority in the fortreſs, he alſo, for ſimilar diſobedience, put under an arreſt Sir Robert Fletcher the commander in chief of the forces.

A violent outcry was immediately raiſed by the ſecluded members againſt this act, as tending to give the Governor an arbitrary power by the annihilation of the council appointed to aſſiſt or to controul him. But they were reſolved not to rely on argument or debate; or to wait the deciſion of the company on the controverted point. They formed with great ſecrecy a plot for ſecuring the perſon of the Preſident, and for effecting a revolution in the ſettlement which ſhould put the power entirely into their own hands. In conſequence of the arreſt laid upon Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel Stuart, of courſe, ſucceeded to the immediate command

mand of the forces. Though this gentleman was in the higheſt ſtate of intimacy and apparent friendſhip with the Governor, he notwithſtanding entered deeply into the views of the ſuſpended members and their powerful adherents, who had altogether formed the abovementioned ſcheme, under the inſtigation and direction, as it is ſaid, of the Nabob and his ſon, for violently ſeizing Lord Pigot's perſon, and depoſing him with equal violence from his government.

The throwing of the whole Britiſh military weight into the ſame ſcale with the Nabob, his ſon, army, and a majority of the civil power, rendered the fate of the Governor inevitable. To carry the plot into execution, it was neceſſary to induce him to go out of the garriſon, as any military violence offered to his perſon within the precincts of the fortreſs, would involve the actors in the ſevere penalties of the mutiny laws. The Colonel, well aware of this circumſtance, with a degree of addreſs, which, however it may do credit to his ability in point of ſtratagem, on other accounts, can hardly admit of praiſe, or even of excuſe, inveigled him to quit that ſituation, which could alone afford him protection and ſecurity. Having paſſed the fore part of the day with Lord Pigot on the moſt friendly terms, the exceſſive heat of the weather afforded an opportunity in the evening, for perſuading him to go for the night to a villa, appropriated to the uſe of the Governors, whither, as an inducement, the Colonel invited himſelf to accompany him. In the way, they were ſurrounded, as had been concerted, by an officer and party of ſeapoys, both in the company's ſervice, when under the auſpices, and the immediate hands, of his late companion and gueſt, he was thruſt out of his chaiſe, with circumſtances of not leſs rudeneſs than violence, and carried priſoner to a place called the Mount, where he was placed under a ſtrong military guard, and confined in the ſtricteſt manner.

Aug. 24th, 1776.

In this ſituation, his life ſeems for ſome time to have been in ſuch imminent danger, that the only object of ſurprize at this diſtance is, how he could poſſibly have eſcaped it. Public orders in writing, ſigned by the principal leaders of the conſpiracy, were immediately iſſued to the guard at the Mount, by which inſtant death was to be the conſequence of any attempt towards a reſcue of his perſon. The Nabob's ſon, who was not expected to be capable of heſitating at any act uſual in ſuch caſes among eaſtern politicians, had a powerful army ſpread all over the country: it was even ſaid by Lord Pigot's friends, that he had before made attempts to procure his aſſaſſination; and evidence has been given, by the party on whom the attempt was ſuppoſed to be made, that he had offered great rewards to a Britiſh officer in his ſervice for the accompliſhment of that purpoſe.

However this may be, an extraordinary act of reſolution, and very ſtrong exertion of great natural fortitude in a moſt trying and perilous ſituation, ſeems too evidently, in one inſtance, to have been the means of preſerving his life. He was awaked in the dead of night, by the arrival of an officer with a party of horſe, who brought a peremptory order for his imme-

diate removal from the Mount, without any ſpecification how he was to be diſpoſed of, or whither he was to be carried. In this dreadful ſituation, Lord Pigot abſolutely refuſed to quit the place, in that time and manner. He told them, with an undaunted voice and countenance, that they might murder him, or tear him to pieces, if they choſe it; theſe were acts which he could not prevent; but they muſt be done upon the ſpot; for he declared, with the utmoſt vehemence, that they ſhould not take him alive from the place. He then appealed to the feelings of the ſoldiers; reminded them of his rank, of his former acts, and his preſent condition; and called upon them, whether as men, as ſoldiers, as Britons, or as Chriſtians, they could bear to ſee him dragged away to be murdered, in ſo baſe, ſo cowardly, and ſo inhuman a manner. It is ſaid, that the countenance, and appearances of ſympathy ſhewn by the ſoldiers, prevented the further proſecution of this deſign.

In the mean time, the conſpirators and their friends had poſſeſſed themſelves, under a courſe of legal forms, of all the powers of government. They declared, that the Governor had by a breach of ſome bye laws, and by ſome failures in not exactly complying with all the clauſes of the regulating act, forfeited all legal right and authority to act in his ſtation; and they accordingly appointed their principal leader to be his ſucceſſor in the government. Nothwithſtanding their former complaints of Lord Pigot, for ſuſpending certain members of the council, they proceeded to copy the act, which they had aſſigned as a reaſon for his being violently deprived of his government, and removed his friends from the council. Both parties ſent confidential perſons as expreſſes to England, the one to arraign, and the other to ſupport and juſtify the late proceedings.

Nor was the Nabob idle, unprepared, or liable to ſurprize. He had already provided, with his uſual foreſight, for thoſe contingencies, which various combinations of time, circumſtance, and ſituation might produce. He early ſaw, that his conqueſt of Tanjour, and his aſcendancy at Madraſs, could be productive of no laſting advantages, unleſs he could eſtabliſh ſuch a powerful intereſt in England, as would ſtamp upon them a permanency and real value. His mind was comprehenſive enough to form the idea, or facile enough to receive the impreſſion from others, of turning the tables, for once, upon Europe, and of introducing for the firſt time, eaſtern intrigues, into the counſels and politicks of the weſtern world. The example of public agency and negociation had already been ſet on the one ſide, and there ſeemed no reaſon why it ſhould not be adopted on the other, whenever particular circumſtances rendered it neceſſary. He had accordingly, ſome conſiderable time before, appointed an agent or miniſter to manage and conduct his affairs in England; with the artful and politic caution, of not making a public diſplay or avowal of his powers, until ſuch circumſtances ſhould occur, as rendered it neceſſary to bring them into action. This agent was likely to have the more weight, as being a ſubject of Great-Britain, and employed

employed alſo on buſineſs of importance, on the part of the Governor-General of Bengal.

It cannot but appear extraordinary at this diſtance, to whoever conſiders the nature and violence of the revolution at Madraſs, which in all royal governments could have been conſtrued into nothing leſs than treaſon and rebellion, that it ſhould notwithſtanding have received the ſanction and approbation of the Governor and council of Bengal. Such, however, is the fact; and this circumſtance has afforded a colourable ground of argument to the friends of the gentlemen at Madraſs, in the defence or exculpation of the conduct of the prevailing faction. On the other hand, the Mayor and his court at the latter place, together with the greater part of the Britiſh inhabitants, including even thoſe who exerciſed various offices in the ſeveral departments of government or juſtice, declared loudly and openly againſt the violence and injury offered to their governor, and with a ſpirit and reſolution, which muſt ever reflect honour, when founded upon principle, aſcribed without reſerve, their obedience to, or acting under, the preſent ſyſtem of power, merely to their deſire of preſerving order and peace in the ſettlement, and not by any means as admitting or acknowledging its juſtice or legality.

The account of this revolution, excited great ſurprize and indignation in the company in general. Whilſt almoſt all perſons, whether included in that body or not, felt the utmoſt commiſeration for the deplorable ſituation of Lord Pigot, whoſe fate people in general were apt to conſider as fixed and irrevocable. The friends of the preſiding faction at Madraſs, and of the Nabob, were, however, numerous and active. What appeared to many more ſurprizing, the weight of government leaned to that ſide.

In the court of directors, the numbers were in the beginning pretty equal on each ſide. It is to be obſerved, that few went ſo far as entirely to juſtify the late tranſactions in all their parts; but thoſe who ſupported that ſide of the queſtion, as they condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms Lord Pigot's conduct, which they charged with violence and irregularity in many inſtances, but particularly in the ſuſpenſion of two members of the council, and the arreſt of the commander in chief, contended from thence, that the ſubſequent meaſures adopted by the majority of the council, became in part, if not in the whole, indiſpenſably neceſſary for the preſervation of the ſettlement. That by his ill treatment of the Nabob, he had greatly endangered the company's affairs on the coaſt. That all matters of form, and leſſer conſiderations, muſt give way to the common ſafety, in caſes of extreme danger. That the reſtoration of the King of Tanjour, was in itſelf an imprudent and unwiſe meaſure. That if it had been even otherwiſe, at the time of the determination in England, the diſtance of time and place, and the changes which affairs neceſſarily underwent in the interval, rendered the majority of the council at Madraſs much better judges of the propriety or impropriety of carrying the meaſure into execution, than the company at home could poſſibly be ſuppoſed.

They concluded, by deſcending to throw the foulest aſperſions on Lord Pigot's character, and by attributing his conduct, relative to the Rajah, to thoſe unworthy motives, which, though not in the leaſt ſupported, as againſt him, it muſt be confeſſed, have had upon many occaſions, too great an influence upon public tranſactions in India. But it was obvious, that the conduct of his adverſaries might at leaſt as naturally be attributed to the ſame cauſe; eſpecially as Lord Pigot had acted in obedience to his direct orders.

On the other ſide, they inſiſted upon the juſtice, the policy, and the wiſdom, of the reſtoration of the King of Tanjour. It was the deliberate, and in a greater degree than uſual, unanimous act of the company. The reſolution for that meaſure had been carried by the votes of ſeventeen directors; it was confirmed and ratified by the company at large. There would be at once an end to their juriſdiction, authority, and government, if their ſervants were admitted to examine the propriety of their public acts, to reject or obey them as they thought proper; and to degrade, confine, or aſſaſſinate, thoſe perſons whom they appointed to ſuperintend, controul, and correct, the conduct of theſe very ſervants, and to whom they had entruſted the execution of public meaſures of the greateſt importance. This conduct was rendered ſtill more alarming, though not more atrocious, by the late extraordinary and dangerous interference of the military in the civil government. It ſeemed as if their troops had laid the conduct of the pretorian bands before them as a model, and intended to create or deſtroy governors or commanders, as the others had done emperors. Perhaps, ſaid they, their next exploit may be, the ſetting up of the preſidency of Madraſs to the higheſt bidder. Indeed, it could afford no extraordinary degree of ſurprize now, if it ſhould be diſcovered, that all the ſettlements on that coaſt were put up to ſale.

They ſaid, that the company had no danger to apprehend on the coaſt of Coromandel, but what aroſe from the overgrown power and wealth of the Nabob, and from the aſcendancy which, by unfair and unworthy means, he had obtained over the conduct of their ſervants. The cauſes and effects on both ſides played into each other. He had obtained undue power and wealth through the fault of their ſervants, and that power and wealth enabled him to confirm and enlarge the ſyſtem of corruption which he had already too ſucceſsfully eſtabliſhed. They inſiſted, that it was the true intereſt of the company, to afford every poſſible protection and encouragement, to the honeſt, harmleſs, and induſtrious race of Gentoos, and to ſupport, at every riſque and expence, their mild and inoffenſive governments, againſt the tyranny, rapacity, and cruelty, of the lazy, inſolent, and treacherous Mahometans. It was to the unremitting induſtry of the former, that we owed all the advantages which we derived from India. The Moguls, were in reality only to be conſidered as lawleſs bands of plundering Tartars, who had for ſeveral ages ravaged the fineſt countries,

countries, and rioted in the ſpoils of the moſt induſtrious people upon the face of the earth.

The King of Tanjour, they ſaid, was an uſeful and faithful ally. His preſervation was entwined with our own ſecurity, as he was the only check which the country afforded, upon the riſing power and daring ambition of the Nabob. Our fidelity, juſtice, and kindneſs to him, would have gained the confidence and affections of all the natural princes of the country; and we ſhould thereby have eſtabliſhed on the ſpot, and independent of any exertion on our ſide, a counterpoiſe to the reſtleſs ambition, and inſatiate rapacity of the Moguls. But by the injuſtice, of not only betraying our ally into the hands of his enemy, but becoming principal actors in his deſtruction, and ſharers in his ſpoil, we have totally changed the proſpect; and inſtead of friendſhip, a general confederacy of the Marattoes, and other warlike Gentoo tribes againſt us, is what we have every reaſon to expect; nor would it be a matter of wonder, if, forgetting for the time all other reſentments, they ſhould one day, even, join the Nabob, to puniſh our injuſtice and perfidy. In theſe circumſtances, they ſaid, the only right and wiſe policy for the company to purſue, was to act juſtly; to ſhew the world that her faith and integrity were inviolate; and to convince the eaſtern nations, by her conduct to the King of Tanjour, that however venality and corruption might have laid hold on ſome of her ſervants, ſhe was in herſelf pure, and incapable of receiving any taint of that nature.

Theſe tranſactions having been laid before the proprietors at their quarterly general court, March 26, 1777. a reſolution was agreed upon, and afterwards confirmed on a ballot, by a majority of 382, to 140 proprietors, recommending to the court of directors, to take the moſt effectual meaſures, for reſtoring Lord Pigot to the full exerciſe of the powers veſted in him by the company, as Governor and Preſident of the ſettlement of Madraſs; and for enquiring into the conduct of the principal actors in his impriſonment, and in diſpoſſeſſing him of the exerciſe of the legal powers wherewith he was inveſted.

In conſequence of this reſolution, ſeveral others were ſoon after paſſed in the April 11. court of directors, by which Lord Pigot was reſtored to the full exerciſe of the office and powers from which he had been degraded; his four friends, who had been ejected from the council, were reinſtated; a reſolution was paſſed, that ſeven members of the council, including the commander in chief of the forces, had violently ſubverted the government by a military force; theſe ſeven members were accordingly ſuſpended from the Company's ſervice, and cut off from any other means of reſtoration, than the immediate act of the directors. A new council was appointed, in which Mr. Rumbold, who was to ſucceed Lord Pigot, was to hold the ſecond place, during the remainder of his adminiſtration, and a new commander of the forces, the third place. The four ejected and reſtored members

members of the former council, were admitted to ſeats in the preſent. The court of directors alſo paſſed a vote of cenſure upon Lord Pigot's conduct, which they declared, appeared in ſeveral inſtances to be reprehenſible.

Notwithſtanding the cenſure upon Lord Pigot in theſe reſolutions, and that they were only carried by a caſting vote in the Court of Directors, the friends of that nobleman, as well as the oppugners in general, of the preſiding party, and late proceedings in Madraſs, were now ſatisfied, that they had gained a deciſive, if not compleat victory. The vaſt majority of proprietors which had appeared on their ſide in the late ballot, notwithſtanding the apparent efforts of adminiſtration, in conjunction with the parties who were immediately concerned againſt them, ſeemed, not only to afford a moral certainty, that the preſent reſolutions would be carried into effect, but a reaſonable degree of probability, that the buſineſs would no longer be controverted.

They, however, found themſelves miſtaken. All poſſible impediments were thrown in the way, to retard, clog, or embarraſs the buſineſs in the Court of Directors. The inſtructions which were intended to accompany the reſolutions to India, were ſo operoſe, perplexed, and voluminous, and afforded ſo much room for altercation and diſcuſſion, that the main ſubject ſeemed in ſome degree to be loſt or forgotten, during the toil and vexation of clearing the rubbiſh in which it was involved. Nor were the oppoſite parties idle. The friends of the Nabob, as well as thoſe of the ruling party at Madraſs, made proſelytes to their opinion; and were preparing to ſhew, that they had not yet exhauſted all their reſources.

In this courſe of things, a gentleman who profeſſed to tread only upon amicable ground, with the laudable intention of pleaſing all parties, and reconciling all differences, moved three reſolutions, which he ſeemed to think would fully anſwer theſe deſirable purpoſes. By the firſt of theſe, after reprobating the treatment which Lord Pigot had met with, and affording him the mockery of a temporary reſtoration to his government, without any power of acting in it, he was ordered immediately home, for an enquiry into his conduct. By the ſecond, his friends in the council were ordered home. And by the third, the whole body of his enemies were likewiſe recalled.

Although theſe propoſitions were at firſt laughed at, and treated as too incongruous and abſurd, to merit ſerious argument or refutation, it was ſoon found that they were powerfully ſupported, and intended ſeriouſly to diſarm, or render nugatory, the former reſolutions. Some change had taken place in the direction, and a new preſident was placed at its head, in conſequence of the late election at the India Houſe. All the queſtions preparatory to the main propoſitions, were carried in different courts by conſiderable majorities. At length, adminiſtration having, as it is ſaid, exerted all its weight and influence, in bringing up the ſervants and dependants of government from every part of the kingdom, to ſupport the grand queſtion in favour of the

the three reſolutions, it was carried upon a ballot by a majority of 97, the numbers being 414, to 317, who oppoſed the recall of Lord Pigot. The lookers on ſtood aſtoniſhed at this ſtrange revolution in the opinions and order of the Company.

May 9.

This deciſion in the India Houſe, induced a gentleman, who has long been diſtinguiſhed for his great knowledge of the affairs of the Company, and the very active, though generally unſucceſsful part, which he has for ſeveral years taken in its public tranſactions, to bring the buſineſs before a higher tribunal. Governor Johnſtone, moved in the Houſe of Commons for ſeveral reſolutions, upon which, if carried, he intended to found a bill for the better ſecuring our ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. The reſolutions went to a ſtrong approbation of Lord Pigot's conduct as governor; to a confirmation of thoſe late acts of the Company, which had been either paſſed in his favour, or in condemnation of the conduct of the faction at Madraſs; and to annul the reſolution for his recall.

22.

This buſineſs was warmly taken up by the oppoſition, and the more vigorouſly ſupported, that ſuch of the ſeceding gentlemen, as ſtill continued in town, had of late attended the buſineſs of the Houſe, and were now preſent. On the other hand, the framer of the reſolutions in queſtion, with the Preſident of the India Company, and others of thoſe who had the principal ſhare in their ſupport and determination, were alſo preſent; ſo that the Houſe ſeemed to be in the fulleſt poſſible poſſeſſion of the ſubject. The motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the friends of adminiſtration, though moſt of the principals were upon this occaſion abſent. On the other ſide, the moſt celebrated ſpeakers of the oppoſition were on this day particularly diſtinguiſhed; and one gentleman excited ſuch ſudden and extraordinary burſts of approbation, as were not warranted by the uſual practice of that Houſe.

It was inſiſted, in oppoſition to the motion, that Lord Pigot had been guilty of a breach of the late regulating act; that his conduct was reprehenſible in other reſpects; that the ſeizure, and confinement of that nobleman, and the total ſubverſion of all legal government by the majority of the council, were alſo matters highly reprehenſible, and deſerving of the utmoſt cenſure; that in ſuch circumſtances, when charges were made, and faults muſt be acknowledged on all ſides, nothing could be more right and equitable, than to bring all the parties to England, where only, a juſt and impartial enquiry into their conduct could take place. That by reinſtating Lord Pigot in his government, the authority of the Company, and the dignity of government, would be fully eſtabliſhed and ſupported; but that as he had already abuſed the truſt repoſed in him, and been guilty of manifeſt violations of the conſtitution of the Company, his immediate removal was equally juſt and neceſſary. That beſides, it would be highly cruel, as well as impolitic, in the preſent ſtate of feud and animoſity between the contending parties, to place Lord Pigot in a ſituation, which would throw thoſe, whom he conſidered as his mortal enemies, naked and defenceleſs

defenceleſs into his hands, and to lie entirely at his mercy. That however great and excellent his character might be, ſuppoſing it even all that had been repreſented on the other ſide, that was a trial too great for humanity; it was a ſituation in which no wiſe man would wiſh himſelf involved.

They ſaid, that the wit which had been diſplayed in turning the late reſolutions and the conduct of the Company, into ridicule, was as ill placed, and as improperly applied, as the theatrical applauſe which it produced was irregular and indecent. That the preſidency of Madraſs having fallen into violent and inveterate factions, no good could poſſibly be expected from them; but on the contrary, every ſpecies of evil, which negligence, the blindneſs of paſſion, or the inveteracy of deſign were capable of producing, muſt be the inevitable conſequences to the Company's affairs of ſuch a government. That in theſe circumſtances, the recalling of all the parties, inſtead of being treated as an object of ridicule, ſhould be conſidered as an act of the higheſt wiſdom; and indeed the only prudent means now left of reſtoring order to the ſettlement. That with all theſe motives, Lord Pigot's aſſiſtance here, and even his evidence, would be neceſſary towards the enquiry which muſt indiſpenſably be made into the late tranſactions; and if it was found that he was injured, this country was always poſſeſſed of ſufficient means, and never wanted the inclination, to afford equivalent for loſs, or recompence for ſervice. They concluded, by treating the dangerous power and influence attributed to the Nabob, as entirely chimerical; and on the contrary, deſcribing him as a poor dependant prince, equally incapable of acquiring influence in Madraſs and in England; he had neither power nor wealth, to influence or to bribe; and all that had been repreſented of his arts and intrigues, of the effects produced by his agents or ambaſſadors, whether here or in India, were ſaid to be equally unfounded, and to riſe only from the ideal conjectures, or the malicious ſuggeſtions, of ill-informed, or ill-deſigning men.

On the other ſide, the charges againſt Lord Pigot were controverted, and his conduct juſtified. The diſputed reſolutions were turned to every poſſible point of ridicule, and treated as the moſt heterogeneous incoherent jumble of abſurdity, that a confuſed imagination, and troubled brain, had ever generated. They inſiſted, that the Nabob, through the operation of his agency, had obtained a moſt dangerous and corrupt influence here, as well as in Madraſs. That government had been brought over to eſpouſe the iniquitous cauſe of the faction there, and to enter deeply into the views of that ambitious prince. By this means a faction had been raiſed among the proprietors, who were influenced from motives of immediate convenience, to endanger their own intereſts in the Company; thus was the honour of a tried and able ſervant, and the rights of a faithful ally, to be ſacrificed, to the meaneſt, baſeſt, and moſt ignoble objects. For this, they ſaid, it was, that the remoteſt dock yards were ſtript of their inhabitants, and the alarm bell was rung, to call the friends of

of government from every part of England together, in order to carry a queſtion in the India Houſe; and for this purpoſe, were noble Lords, and others, high in office, ſeen at the head of their reſpective trains of dependents, whom they led to vote in Leadenhall-ſtreet. If it be aſked, what great national object was in view to occaſion this extraordinary exertion of government, it may well aſtoniſh thoſe who are unacquainted with ſuch tranſactions to be informed, that the only oſtenſible motive was to carry a fooliſh, but unjuſt and dangerous reſolution, whereby Lord Pigot, who had at the price of the loſs of his government, and at the utmoſt hazard of his life, fulfilled the inſtructions and deſigns of the Company, was to be for a moment reſtored, immediately after moſt ridiculouſly degraded, and then brought home under one common charge of delinquency with thoſe perſons, who had not only rejected the authority of the Company, but had totally ſubverted the legal and eſtabliſhed government, in one of its principal ſettlements. How would their aſtoniſhment increaſe if they diſcovered, that a Tartar prince on the coaſt of Coromandel, with the aſſiſtance of a corrupt faction of the Eaſt India Company's ſervants, was the author, guide, and director, of theſe extraordinary movements in England?

They reprobated in ſtrong terms, and ſeverely charged with miſchief and ruin to the Company, the meaſure which had been adopted by the crown, of ſending plenipotentiaries, to negotiate and enter into treaties, without its concert, and in violation of its authority, with the country powers in India. They inſiſted, that the interference of adminiſtration in Leadenhall-ſtreet and in India, had hitherto been equally ruinous, and would at length prove equally fatal, to that body. What they found themſelves unable to do in Leadenhall-ſtreet, they compleated effectually on the ſpot. The directors were rendered cyphers at home, whenever they thought proper, or found it neceſſary, to differ in act or opinion with adminiſtration; or their orders were defeated in India, whenever they carried any points here, which were contrary to the views of the King's ſervants. Thus was the authority of the Company deſpiſed and contemned by its own ſervants; ſeparate intereſts were formed, and factions eſtabliſhed, in all its departments; and thus it loſt all its former influence, weight, and reſpect, with the different powers of India.

It was ſaid to be a new and extraordinary poſition, that the preſidency of Madraſs ſhould of neceſſity be recalled, becauſe ſome factions had broken out in that body. If this doctrine was laid down as a general rule of practice, which the preſent arguments went to, all governors and their councils, with all bodies of men appointed to the adminiſtration of government or juſtice, in our ſettlements or colonies in every part of the world, muſt be in a continual ſtate of recall or annihilation. The appearance or pretence of faction could never be wanting. This would, however, be a moſt comfortable doctrine to the Nabob of Arcot, and tend eſſentially to the eſtabliſhment of that power and independence, to which he was making ſuch haſty advances. If

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On the other ſide, the charges againſt Lord Pigot were controverted, and his conduct juſtified. The diſputed reſolutions were turned to every poſſible point of ridicule, and treated as the moſt heterogeneous incoherent jumble of abſurdity, that a confuſed imagination, and troubled brain, had ever generated. They inſiſted, that the Nabob, through the operation of his agency, had obtained a moſt dangerous and corrupt influence here, as well as in Madraſs. That government had been brought over to eſpouſe the iniquitous cauſe of the faction there, and to enter deeply into the views of that ambitious prince. By this means a faction had been raiſed among the proprietors, who were influenced from motives of immediate convenience, to endanger their own intereſts in the Company; thus was the honour of a tried and able ſervant, and the rights of a faithful ally, to be ſacrificed, to the meaneſt, baſeſt, and moſt ignoble objects. For this, they ſaid, it was, that the remoteſt dock yards were ſtript of their inhabitants, and the alarm bell was rung, to call the friends of

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of government from every part of England together, in order to carry a queſtion in the India Houſe; and for this purpoſe, were noble Lords, and others, high in office, ſeen at the head of their reſpective trains of dependents, whom they led to vote in Leadenhall-ſtreet. If it be aſked, what great national object was in view to occaſion this extraordinary exertion of government, it may well aſtoniſh thoſe who are unacquainted with ſuch tranſactions to be informed, that the only oſtenſible motive was to carry a fooliſh, but unjuſt and dangerous reſolution, whereby Lord Pigot, who had at the price of the loſs of his government, and at the utmoſt hazard of his life, fulfilled the inſtructions and deſigns of the Company, was to be for a moment reſtored, immediately after moſt ridiculouſly degraded, and then brought home under one common charge of delinquency with thoſe perſons, who had not only rejected the authority of the Company, but had totally ſubverted the legal and eſtabliſhed government, in one of its principal ſettlements. How would their aſtoniſhment increaſe if they diſcovered, that a Tartar prince on the coaſt of Coromandel, with the aſſiſtance of a corrupt faction of the Eaſt India Company's ſervants, was the author, guide, and director, of theſe extraordinary movements in England?

They reprobated in ſtrong terms, and ſeverely charged with miſchief and ruin to the Company, the meaſure which had been adopted by the crown, of ſending plenipotentiaries, to negotiate and enter into treaties, without its concert, and in violation of its authority, with the country powers in India. They inſiſted, that the interference of adminiſtration in Leadenhall-ſtreet and in India, had hitherto been equally ruinous, and would at length prove equally fatal, to that body. What they found themſelves unable to do in Leadenhall-ſtreet, they compleated effectually on the ſpot. The directors were rendered cyphers at home, whenever they thought proper, or found it neceſſary, to differ in act or opinion with adminiſtration; or their orders were defeated in India, whenever they carried any points here, which were contrary to the views of the King's ſervants. Thus was the authority of the Company deſpiſed and contemned by its own ſervants; ſeparate intereſts were formed, and factions eſtabliſhed, in all its departments; and thus it loſt all its former influence, weight, and reſpect, with the different powers of India.

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any future governor ſhould venture to oppoſe or controvert any of his deſigns, he was at no loſs in knowing how to bribe a majority of his council; his treaſures would always procure factions, and thoſe factions the immediate recall, of any perſon who was weak and hardy enough to undertake ſuch a government, with the ſmalleſt intention of honeſtly diſcharging the duties of his office.

The arguments brought for not reſtoring Lord Pigot from an apprehenſion of his revenge, were ſaid to be of the ſame complexion. A governor was to be illegally, cruelly, and without any adequate cauſe, depoſed, impriſoned, his life threatened, and highly endangered, by a bribed corrupted council, and he was not to be reſtored, leſt he ſhould not then uſe his power with moderation. Was ever a more ridiculous ſyſtem broached? The principle of doing miſchief is to be maintained, and its conſequences endured, leſt by diſarming the authors, and reſtoring authority to its rightful poſſeſſors, they might chance to exert it too rigidly on the delinquents.

They obſerved with great acrimony, that moſt of the miniſters, with the law officers of the crown, were ſo ſenſible of the ſhameful nature of this buſineſs, that they did not chuſe to appear in it, to which only they attributed their abſence; and they expreſſed with equal aſperity their apprehenſion, that thoſe abſent ſervants of the crown had a full perſuaſion, that a ſufficient number, who were not troubled with thoſe ſcruples, would attend to do it for them. Upon the whole they concluded, that as adminiſtration had taken ſo open and decided a part in this buſineſs, and by the energy and over-ruling influence of the crown, had ſeduced a majority in the Company, not only to act contrary to their own intereſts, and to every principle of juſtice, honour and equity, but directly to overturn and undo the Company's own acts at home, and all that had been done, in obedience to its inſtructions, by its ſervants abroad, the intervention of parliament, in order to reſcue that body, from the ruinous conſequences of the undue influence under which it laboured, became not only right and proper, but indiſpenſably neceſſary for its preſervation.

The queſtion being at length put at one o'clock in the morning, the motion for the reſolutions was rejected upon a cloſer diviſion than uſual, the majority being only 90 to 67.

Leaving the confuſions of the eaſt, we are now to turn to thoſe of the weſt. The great age, and greater bodily infirmities of the Earl of Chatham, were not ſufficient to reſtrain his ardour in what was ſo great a national concern, and which he conſidered as ſo much miſconducted. As little, were the diſappointments that had attended his former efforts in endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies, any more than the fate of all ſimilar propoſitions which had been made by others, capable of deterring him from the further purſuit of an object which he evidently held ſo much at heart.

The Lords being ſummoned for the purpoſe, May 30.

poſe, this nobleman, moved for an addreſs to the throne, repreſenting, that they were deeply penetrated with the view of impending ruin to the kingdom, from the continuation of an unnatural war againſt the Britiſh colonies in America; and adviſing, that the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures ſhould be taken for putting a ſtop to ſuch fatal hoſtilities, upon the only juſt and ſolid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances; with an aſſurance, that the Houſe would enter upon that great and neceſſary work with chearfulneſs and diſpatch, in order to open to his Majeſty the only means of regaining the affections of the Britiſh colonies, and of ſecuring to Great Britain the commercial advantages of thoſe valuable poſſeſſions; fully perſuaded, that to heal and to redreſs would be more congenial to the goodneſs and magnanimity of his Majeſty, and more prevalent over the hearts of generous and free-born ſubjects, than the rigours of chaſtiſement and the horrors of civil war, which hitherto had ſerved only to ſharpen reſentments and conſolidate union, and, if continued, muſt finally end in diſſolving all ties between Great Britain and her colonies.

In further explanation of the deſign and purpoſe of his motion, the noble Earl ſaid, that under the words *accumulated grievances*, he meant to convey, every thing which had paſſed in parliament relative to America ſince the year 1763. That the propoſal was ſpecific. He meant by it the redreſs of all the American grievances, particularly including the right of diſpoſing of their own money. He ſaid this would be the herald of peace; that it would open the way for treaty; that though much muſt ſtill be left to be ſettled by treaty, this, by affording a proof of the ſincerity and amicable diſpoſition of parliament, would remove the preſent, inſurmountable impediments to an accommodation, when every thing elſe would follow of courſe. He particularly inſiſted upon the immediate neceſſity of adopting the propoſed meaſure, from the imminent danger to which in our preſent ſituation we were expoſed to the houſe of Bourbon. A few weeks, he ſaid, might decide our fate as a nation. A treaty between France and the Americans would be that final deciſion. We ſhould not only loſe the immenſe advantages which we had derived from the vaſt and increaſing commerce of our colonies, but that commerce, and all thoſe advantages, would be thrown into the hands of our natural and hereditary enemies. He ſaid that our acts of navigation were already virtually repealed in conſequence of this unhappy conteſt; and that however grievous it was to repeat, and fatal in the fact, the trade of England was now carried on in French and other foreign bottoms. He ſtated the impracticability of conquering America, and the ruinous conſequences of the conqueſt if it had been practicable. And he declared, in that ſtrong and emphatic language, by which this great ſtateſman and orator was ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, that America was contending with Great Britain under a maſked battery of France, which would open upon this country, as ſoon as ſhe perceived that we were ſufficiently weakened for

her purpoſe, and found herſelf ſufficiently prepared for war.

We have ſo repeatedly gone over all the ground of debate relative to the American conteſt, that it would be needleſs, if not ſuperfluous, to enter particularly into the preſent. The motion was ſupported with great eloquence and ability, moſt of the powerful ſpeakers on the ſide of oppoſition in the houſe of lords, having entered warmly and deeply into the debate. On the other ſide, the Lords in adminiſtration oppoſed it principally upon the ſuppoſition or aſſertion, that independency was the primary object with the Americans, and that their preſent oppoſition was merely the effect of a premeditated deſign of ſeveral years ſtanding; that in ſuch a diſpoſition and determination on their ſide, all conceſſion on ours, would be not only fruitleſs, but ridiculous, degrading, and highly encouraging to their rebellious deſigns. That ſuch an inſtance of meanneſs, and acknowledgment of weakneſs, would equally draw upon us the contempt of our friends, and excite into action the deſign or malice of our enemies. They denied any danger from France, and that the aſſiſtance given to the Americans proceeded from the court or miniſters; the ſupplies of arms and military ſtores which the Americans received, and the numbers of French officers that ſerved in their armies, were attributed to the ſpirit of enterprize in ſoldiers, and of avarice in merchants. They ſaid, that the propoſed addreſs arraigned the conduct of the nation, and condemned, in the moſt improper terms, meaſures which had repeatedly received, in the fulleſt manner, the ſanction both of parliament and people. That the motion held out nothing new, and was no more than a repetition of what had been propoſed by the noble Earl himſelf, as well as by two noble Dukes, at different times in that houſe.

It will be eaſily ſeen, that ſome of theſe arguments or poſitions afforded ſufficient room to be replied to or controverted. The queſtion being at length put about ten at night, Lord Chatham's motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 99, including 23 proxies, to 28, including two proxies, who ſupported the queſtion.

The money bills, and a vote of credit, being now paſſed, the ſeaſon far advanced, and ſuch public buſineſs as it was thought fitting to bring forward in the preſent ſeſſion diſpatched, a prorogation of parliament became a matter of courſe. In the ſpeech from the throne, an entire approbation of the conduct of parliament was expreſſed, and thanks returned for the unqueſtionable proofs they had given, of the continuance of their attachment to his Majeſty's perſon and government, of a clear diſcernment of the true intereſts of their country, and of their ſteady perſeverance in maintaining the rights of the legiſlature. The commons could not be ſufficiently thanked, for the zeal and public ſpirit with which they had granted the large and extraordinary ſupplies, which there had been a neceſſity of requiring for the

June 6th.

the ſervice of the current year; and an acknowledgment was made of the particular marks of their affection to his Majeſty, as well in enabling him to diſcharge the debts of his civil government, as in making ſo conſiderable an augmentation to the civil liſt revenue for his life. The ſpeech concluded with a declared truſt in the divine providence, that by a well concerted and vigorous exertion of the great force which had been put into the royal hands, the operations of the preſent campaign by ſea and land, would be bleſſed with ſuch ſucceſs as might moſt effectually tend to the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in America, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional obedience which all the ſubjects of a free ſtate owe to the authority of law.

CHAP. VII.

State of affairs at New-York previous to the opening of the campaign. Loyal provincials embodied, and placed under the command of Governor Tryon. Expedition to Peek's Kill. To Danbury, under General Tryon. Magazines deſtroyed. General Wooſter killed. Veſſels and proviſions deſtroyed at Sagg Harbour, by a detachment from Connecticut under Colonel Meigs. Advantages derived by General Waſhington, from the detention of the army at New-York through the want of tents. Different ſchemes ſuggeſted for conducting the operations of the campaign, all tending to one object. General Sir William Howe takes the field; fails in his attempts to bring Waſhington to an action; retires to Amboy. Turns ſuddenly and advances upon the enemy. Skirmiſhes. Americans under Lord Sterling defeated. Waſhington regains his ſtrong camp. Royal army paſs over to Staten-Iſland. Alarm excited by the preparations for the grand expedition. General Preſcot carried off from Rhode-Iſland. Rate of intereſt upon the public loan, advanced by the Congreſs. Monuments decreed for the Generals Warren and Mercer. Fleet and army depart from Sandy Hook. Force embarked on the expedition. Congreſs and Waſhington alarmed by the loſs of Ticonderoga. Fleet arrives at the River Elk, after a tedious voyage, and difficult paſſage up Cheſapeak Bay. Army lands at Elk Ferry. Declaration iſſued by the General. Waſhington returns to the defence of Philadelphia. Advances to the Brandywine, and to Red-Clay Creek. Various movements on both ſides. Action at the Brandywine. General Knyphauſen makes an attack at Chad's Ford. Lord Cornwallis marches round to the forks of the Brandywine, where he paſſes, in order to attack the enemy's right. Defeats General Sullivan. Purſues his advantages until ſtopped by night. General Knyphauſen paſſes at Chad's Ford. Enemy, every where defeated. Loſs on both ſides. Reflections on the action. Victory not deciſive. Foreign officers in the American ſervice. Motions of the armies. Engagement prevented by a great fall of rain. Major-General Grey, ſurprizes and defeats a party of Americans under General Wayne. Royal army paſſes the Schuylkill, and advances to German-Town. Lord Cornwallis takes poſſeſſion of Philadelphia. Some of the

the principal inhabitants ſent priſoners to Virginia, upon the approach of the army. Attack on the new batteries at Philadelphia. Delaware frigate taken. Works conſtructed by the Americans to render the paſſage of the Delaware impracticable. Succeſsful expedition to Billing's Fort, and a paſſage made through the lower barrier. Royal army ſurprized and attacked by the Americans at German-Town. Americans repulſed with loſs and purſued. Brigadier-General Agnew, and Colonel Bird killed. Army removes to Philadelphia. Unſucceſsful attack upon the enemy's works on the Delaware. Heſſians repulſed with great loſs at Red Bank. Colonel Donop killed. Auguſta man of war and Merlin ſloop deſtroyed. New and effectual meaſures taken for forcing the enemy's works. Mud Iſland, and Red Bank, abandoned, and taken with their artillery and ſtores. Americans burn their gallies and other ſhipping. Paſſage of the Delaware opened to Philadelphia. General Sir William Howe, finding all his efforts to bring Waſhington to a general action fruitleſs, returns with the army to Philadelphia. Americans Hut their camp at Valley Forge for the winter.

WE have already ſhewn the ſtate and ſituation of the armies in America during the winter and greater part of the ſpring. As the ſeaſon opened, and enlarged the field of enterprize, our commanders did not neglect ſeizing thoſe advantages which nature and their naval ſuperiority preſented, in a country deeply interſected by navigable rivers, and continually laid open in other parts by the numberleſs inlets and channels, which the peculiar conſtruction of the iſlands and coaſts, admit in their junction with the ocean and thoſe rivers.

In the mean time a conſiderable body of provincial troops was formed under the auſpices of General Sir William Howe, which by degrees amounted to ſeveral thouſand men, and which under that denomination included, not only American, but Britiſh and Iriſh refugees from the different parts of the continent. This corps was entirely officered, either by thoſe gentlemen, who for their attachment to the royal cauſe had been obliged to abandon their reſpective provinces, or by thoſe who lived under that protection in the New-York iſlands. The new troops were placed for the temporary time of their ſervice, upon the ſame footing as to pay, ſubſiſtence, and clothing, with the eſtabliſhed national bodies of the royal army, with the further advantage to the private men and non-commiſſioned officers, that they were entitled to conſiderable allotments of vacant lands at the end of the troubles. This meaſure, beſides its utility in point of ſtrength, afforded ſome preſent proviſion to thoſe, who having loſt every thing in this unhappy conteſt, were now thrown upon the crown, as their only refuge, for ſupport; whilſt on the other ſide, inſtead of their being an heavy and unprofitable burden to the crown, they were placed in a condition which enabled them to become active and uſeful inſtruments in effecting its purpoſes. At the ſame time, this acquiſition of ſtrength, derived from, and growing in the country, carried a

moſt flattering appearance, and ſeemed to indicate reſources for the proſecution of the war in the very theatre of action.

As all new forces muſt of courſe be much fitter for defence, than for active ſervice in the field, ſo it added much to the apparent utility of this meaſure, that the royal provincials could immediately be diſpoſed of to the greateſt advantage, in the protection and defence of New-York and the adjacent iſlands, ſupplying thereby the place of veteran troops, and affording a free ſcope to the diſtant operations of the grand army. To render this defenſive ſyſtem for the iſlands more complete, Governor Tryon, who already in his civil capacity commanded the militia, and who had taken the utmoſt pains in its eſtabliſhment, was now placed by the commander in chief at the head of the new corps, under the title and rank of Major-General of the provincials, whereby he was enabled effectually to combine and bring into action the joint force of theſe ſeparate bodies.

The great natural ſtrength of the country, the vicinity of the North River, with its convenience in reſpect to the ſeat of war, had induced the Americans, during the winter, to erect mills and eſtabliſh their principal magazines, in that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtland. Thus it became their grand repoſitory, and truſting in the ſecurity of this natural citadel, neither induſtry was lacking, nor expence ſpared, in abundantly providing it with immenſe ſupplies of proviſions, forage, and ſtores, of all ſorts. A place, otherwiſe of no importance, called Peek's Kill, which lies about fifty miles up the North River from New-York, ſerved as a kind of port to Courtland Manor, by which it both received proviſions, and diſpenſed ſupplies.

Sir William Howe was well aware of theſe circumſtances in general, and was as well convinced of the deciſive conſequences which muſt enſue from the cutting off thoſe reſources, which the enemy had with ſuch infinite labour and expence accumulated for the ſupport and proſecution of the war. A general attempt upon Courtland Manor, would not only be dangerous, from the ſtrength of the country, and impracticability of the ground; but muſt from its own nature be rendered abortive; as the length, the parade, and the manner of the preparation, would afford the Americans time and warning to aſſemble their whole force in that quarter; where, if we ſtill perſiſted in our deſign, we muſt fight under every poſſible diſadvantage, and a moral certainty of great loſs; and if they did not chuſe, even upon theſe terms, to hazard an engagement with us, they would have ſufficient time to remove their magazines, before we could bring the point to any deciſion.

Peek's Kill, was, however, within reach, and the General determined to profit of that circumſtance. Colonel Bird, with a detachment of about 500 men, under the conduct of a frigate of war, and other armed veſſels, was ſent on board ſome tranſports up the North River for that ſervice. The enemy upon the approach of the Britiſh armament, finding, or thinking themſelves, unequal to Mar. 23d. 1777.

the defence of the place, and being convinced, that there was no poſſible time to remove any thing but their arms and bodies, ſet fire to the barracks and principal ſtore-houſes, and then retired to a ſtrong paſs at about two miles diſtance, which commanded the entrance into the mountains, and covered a road which led to ſome of the mills and other depoſits. The Britiſh troops upon their landing, perceiving that they could not have time or opportunity to bring off the proviſions or other articles, completed the conflagration. All the magazines were deſtroyed. The troops re-embarked when the ſervice was performed, and the armament, after deſtroying ſeveral ſmall craft laden with proviſions, returned.

This ſervice, however, was far from filling up the outline of the General's deſign. The magazines at Peek's Kill were not of the importance and magnitude which he had been led to expect, and ſomething, if poſſible, muſt ſtill be done, to weaken the enemy by cutting off their reſources. He obtained intelligence, that the Americans had depoſited large quantities of ſtores and proviſions in the town or village of Danbury, and other places in the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courtland Manor. An expedition was accordingly undertaken for the deſtruction of theſe depoſits, the charge of which, as an introduction to his new military command, was committed to Governor Tryon, who was aſſiſted by thoſe active and able officers, Brigadier-General Agnew, and Sir William Erſkine. The expedition was ſaid to be undertaken on a plan of General Tryon, who had flattered himſelf with finding a junction of many provincials in that quarter as ſoon as he ſhould appear wit the troops.

The detachment appointed to this ſervice conſiſted of about 2000 men, who being paſſed through the Sound, under the convoy of a proper naval armament, were landed near Norwalk in Connecticut, about 20 miles to the ſouthward of Danbury. As the country was in no ſtate of preparation, nor under any apprehenſion of the deſign, the troops advanced without interruption, and arrived at Danbury the following day. They now perceived that the country was riſing to intercept their return, and as no carriages could be procured, if it had been otherwiſe, to bring off the ſtores and proviſions, they immediately proceeded to the deſtruction of the magazine. In the execution of this prompt ſervice, the town was unavoidably burnt. April 25th.

The detachment returned on the 27th by the way of Ridgefield. In the mean time the Generals Wooſter, Arnold, and Silliman, having haſtily arrived from different quarters, and collected ſuch militia as were within their reach, endeavoured by every poſſible means to interrupt their march, until a greater force could arrive to ſupport them with effect in the deſign of cutting off their retreat. The firſt of theſe officers hung upon the rear of the detachment, whilſt Arnold, by croſſing the country gained their front, in order to diſpute their paſſage through Ridgefield. Nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the Britiſh forces, who had large cover-

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ing parties well furniſhed with field pieces on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which a militia not very numerous were got together, prevent the Americans, upon every advantage of ground, from making bold attempts to interrupt the progreſs of the King's army. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes, Wooſter, an experienced provincial officer, who had ſerved with ſome reputation in the two former wars, at an age approaching cloſely to ſeventy, and in the active exertion of a valour, which favoured more of raſhneſs, than of the temperance and diſcretion of that time of life, was mortally wounded, and died with the ſame reſolution that he had lived.

The royal forces had only got quit of Wooſter, when they found themſelves engaged with Arnold, who had got poſſeſſion of Ridgefield, and with leſs than an hour's advantage of time, had already thrown up ſome ſort of an entrenchment to cover his front. The courage and diſcipline of the Britiſh troops, would have triumphed over an enemy more equal in force and condition. The village was forced, and the Americans drove back on all ſides. The action was ſharp, and Arnold diſplayed his uſual intrepidity. His horſe having been ſhot within a few yards of our foremoſt ranks, he ſuddenly diſengaged himſelf, and drawing out a piſtol, ſhot the ſoldier dead who was running up to transfix him with his bayonet.

General Tryon lay that night at Ridgefield, and renewed his march on the morning of the 28th. The enemy having been reinforced with troops and cannon, the army was exceedingly harraſſed during this day's march. Every advantageous poſt was ſeized and diſputed, whilſt hovering parties on the flanks and rear, continually endeavoured to diſturb the order of march, and to profit of every difficulty of ground. The army at length gained, in good time, the Hill of Compo, within cannon ſhot of the ſhips. It was then evening, and their ammunition exhauſted, although it is reported; that they had been ſupplied with ſixty rounds a man at their outſet upon the expedition. The forces immediately formed upon the high ground, where the enemy ſeemed more determined and reſolute in their attack than they had been hitherto. In this ſituation, the General ordered the troops to advance, and to charge with their bayonets. This order was executed with ſuch impetuoſity, that the enemy were totally broken, and every thing being prepared at the ſhore for their reception, the troops were reimbarked without further moleſtation.

Large quantities of corn, flour, and ſalt proviſions, a great number of tents, with various military ſtores and neceſſaries, were deſtroyed in the courſe of this expedition. The loſs of men on the royal ſide, was, as uſual, much leſs conſiderable than could have been expected; the whole, in killed, wounded, and miſſing, amounting to 172, of whom more than two thirds were wounded. The general loſs under all theſe heads on the American ſide was more than double, and the number of the ſlain about four to one. On the Britiſh ſide no officer was killed. On theirs, beſides General Wooſter, they loſt three colonels, and a Dr. Atwater, a gentleman

of confidence in that country. The number of officers that happened to be in the country, and in arms upon the occasion, was out of all proportion to that of the private men; which the raw and undisciplined state of the militia together with their weakness in point of number, (though the former as well as the volunteer gentlemen who joined them, to the uncommon exertions) and to expose the whole in an extraordinary degree. The disproportion may account for the number of men of rank, in their service, who fell on that side.

Upon the whole, the effect of this expedition did not probably answer the expectation upon which it was founded. The active part of those at the head of affairs, were far inferior to what it may have been supposed to be; and though much mischief was done, it may appear doubtful, whether the loss sustained on this side, is equivalent to the slaughter committed on the other. Events, however, are not to be considered as rules of conduct, and it must ever be one of the first points with a great General, to render the force of the enemy ineffectual by cutting off their resources.

It was perhaps in return for this expedition that the Connecticut men not long after paid a visit to Long-Island. Having received intelligence that commissaries had for some time been employed on the east end of Long Island, in procuring forage, grain, and other necessaries for the British forces, and that these articles were deposited for embarkation at a little port called Sagg Harbour; the distance of that place from New-York, and the weakness of the protection, which consisted only in a detachment of four, and an armed schooner of twelve guns, afforded encouragement for a design to frustrate that scheme of supplying the wants of the army. The principal difficulty and danger lay in the sailing and repassing of the Sound, which was continually traversed by the British cruizers.

Colonel Meigs, an enterprizing officer, who had attended Arnold in the expedition to Quebec, and had been taken prisoner in the attempt to storm that city, conducted this enterprise. May 23d. Having passed the dangerous and narrow sound through the night, and landed on the north part of the island, where he was concealed by a bay that runs up the country the east end, it seems by the account, which is not in that part very clear, as if they had carried their boats over that arm of the land. They, however, embarked again on the bay, which he divided with 130 men, and landed on the south branch of the island, within four miles of Sagg Harbour. They arrived at the place before day, and notwithstanding the resistance they met with from the guard and the crews of the vessels, and the vigorous efforts of the schooner, which kept up a continued fire of round and grape shot at 150 yards distance, they fully completed their design; having burnt a dozen brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed every thing on the shore. They brought off with them about 90 prisoners, consisting of the officer who commanded with his men, the commissaries, and most of the masters and crews of the

the ſmall veſſels which they deſtroyed. A circumſtance which renders this expedition particularly curious, if a fact, is aſſerted by the Americans. They ſay, that the party returned to Guildford, in Connecticut, in 25 hours from the time of their departure, having during that ſpace, not only effectually completed the deſign of their expedition, but having traverſed no leſs, by land and by water, than 90 miles. A degree of expedition, which requires ſome credulity to be admitted; and from whence, if the fact is eſtabliſhed, it would appear that Meigs poſſeſſes no inconſiderable portion of that ſpirit which operated in the Canada expedition.

The ſeaſon for action was now advanced; but from ſome improvidence or inattention unaccounted for, at home, the army was reſtrained from taking the field through the want of tents and field equipage. Lord Cornwallis, however, made ſhift with the old tents, to encamp the forces at Brunſwick on the hills that commanded the Rariton, and along the communications upon that river to Amboy; the example being followed at the latter place by General Vaughan.

This delay was of the utmoſt importance to the Americans. The winter campaign had been principally carried on by detachments of the militia, the greater part of whom returned home when the time of their ſervice was expired. Others, more generous, more patient of toil, or more ſanguine in the common cauſe, outſtayed the allotted time, merely from a conſideration of the weakneſs of the army, and the ruin which muſt attend their departure before it was reinforced. In the mean time, the buſineſs of recruiting under an engagement of ſerving during the war, or even for three years, went on but ſlowly. The term of ſervice was contrary to the genius and habits of the people, and the different provinces found the greateſt difficulty in raiſing any thing near the ſtipulated proportion of troops which had been allotted for each by the congreſs. In this extremity, the making of draughts from the militia, was looked to in ſeveral as the dernier reſort. Such an act of force, however, upon thoſe who were contending for liberty on the moſt enlarged plans, and who conſidered all the rights of freemen as ſacred, was irkſome and dangerous. Every method was tried to avoid having recourſe to this diſagreeable meaſure and final reſource. In ſome of the colonies the enliſting of apprentices, and of Iriſh indented ſervants was permitted, contrary to former reſolutions and decrees, with a promiſe of indemnification to their maſters. As a farther check upon the increaſe of the force in the Jerſeys, the New-England provinces, which abounded with men, were taken up with their domeſtic concerns. An invaſion was expected on the ſide of Canada; Hudſon's River and Rhode-Iſland afforded continual room for apprehenſion; nor did an expedition againſt Boſton appear at all improbable; eſpecially, as the great number of Britiſh prizes which were brought into that port, had, beſides rendering it an object of the firſt importance, renewed, and even increaſed, if poſſible, the deteſtation and abhorrence with which that people had been long regarded.

In ſuch circumſtances, the advantages of an early campaign, and the benefit which the enemy derived from the delay, are obvious. The fine weather brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerſeys. Thoſe who ſhuddered at a winter's campaign, grew bold in ſummer; and the certainty of a future winter, had no greater effect than diſtant evils uſually have. Upon this increaſe of ſtrength, towards the latter end of May, General Waſhington quitted his former poſition in the neighbourhood of Morris-Town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunſwick, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong country along Middle Brook.

Upon this ſingle movement, hung a great part of the future events of the war in the Jerſeys. Waſhington turned that advantageous ſituation, to every account of which it was capable. His camp, winding along the courſe of the hills, was ſtrongly entrenched, fortified, and well covered with artillery; nor was it better ſecured by its immediate natural or artificial defences, than by the difficulties of approach which the ground in front threw in the way of an enemy. In this ſituation he commanded a view of the Britiſh encampment on the hills of Brunſwick, and of much of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy.

The great object of the campaign on the ſide of New-York ſeems to have been, that Sir William Howe ſhould have penetrated through the Jerſeys to the Delaware, driving Waſhington before him, ſo as to clear thoſe provinces entirely of the enemy, at the ſame time, reducing the inhabitants to ſo effectual a ſtate of ſubjection, as to eſtabliſh a ſafe and open communication between that city and the army. If in the proſecution of this deſign the enemy hazarded a battle, nothing was more wiſhed, nor could any great doubt be entertained of ſucceſs; or if they conſtantly retired, which was more to be expected, the conſequences in regard to the general objects would be nearly the ſame, and the army having, by the reduction of the Jerſeys, left every thing ſafe in its rear, and ſecured the paſſage of the Delaware, would of courſe become maſters of Philadelphia, which from its ſituation was incapable of any effectual defence, and could only be protected by Waſhington, at the certain expence and hazard of a battle.

In this manner ſeveral conceived and reaſoned on the operations in Jerſey. Others were clearly of opinion, that the bringing of Waſhington to a deciſive action upon terms of any tolerable equality with regard to ground, in ſuch a country, and againſt his inclinations, was a thing impracticable. That if he could not be brought to ſuch an action in ſuch a manner, ſo as wholly to drive him out of the Jerſeys, the attempt to paſs a river like the Delaware, full of armed veſſels in its ſtream, ſtrong forts in its iſlands, great obſtructions in its channels, with an enemy in front, and leaving a ſtrong army on their rear, would be a very unadviſed enterprize; and the failure in it would be the total and immediate ruin of the royal cauſe in America.

On the other hand, if the obſtacles in the Jerſeys were found ſo great, that they could not be overcome

come without much loſs of time and expence of blood, it was thought adviſeable, in thoſe circumſtances, to profit of the powerful naval force, and the infinite number of tranſports and veſſels of all ſorts which lay at New-York; to combine this powerful auxiliary (which had hitherto produced ſuch ſignal advantages, in every inſtance where it could be brought into action) with the land force, and by conveying the army by ſea to the place of its deſtination, to elude all thoſe difficulties, by which the paſſage through the Jerſeys might be clogged. In this alternative, the object was ſtill the ſame, the means of attaining it being only changed. Philadelphia was the immediate point in view. If that object was properly choſen, and the general opinion at that time pointed it out as the moſt eligible, the paſſage by ſea ſeemed the moſt ſecure of its effect, though unqueſtionably the ſloweſt in the operation. The Delaware, or the great Bay of Cheſapeak, opened the way into the heart of the richeſt and beſt of the central colonies, and led either directly, or by croſſing a country of no great extent, to the poſſeſſion of that place. That point gained, Philadelphia was to become the place of arms, and center of action, whilſt every part of the three hoſtile and flouriſhing Provinces of Pennſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, would, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, be expoſed to the combined powerful action, and continual operation of the land and marine force. However, before this plan was adopted, as we ſhall ſee, meaſures were taken in the Jerſeys, if poſſible, to bring Waſhington to an action.

The operations in the ſouthern or central provinces, however efficacious or extenſive, did not, by any means, include all the great objects of the campaign. Something was of courſe to be expected on the ſide of Canada, where a very conſiderable army had been collected, and by the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign on the lakes, had a way opened for it to penetrate into the back parts of the New-England and New-York provinces. The command in this expedition was committed to General Burgoyne, who was reported to be author of the plan. The great body was to be ſeconded by a leſſer expedition from the upper part of Canada, by the way of Oſwego to the Mohawk River. This ſcheme was eagerly adopted by the miniſters, who founded the greateſt hopes upon its ſucceſs. All the advantages that had ever been expected from the complete poſſeſſion of Hudſon's River, the eſtabliſhment of a communication between the two armies, the cutting off all intercourſe between the Northern and Southern Colonies, with the conſequent opportunity of cruſhing the former, detached and cut off from all aſſiſtance, it was now hoped would have been realized. The greater hopes were conceived of it, from the opinion entertained of the effect of the ſavages on the minds of the Americans. It was known, that the provincials in general were in great dread of them from their cruel and deſolating manner of making war. Theſe were therefore collected at great expence, and with much labour, from all parts of the continent. In a word, this expedition ſeemed to become the favourite object of the preſent year.

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The tents and field equipage, with a body of Anſpach troops, and a number of Britiſh and German recruits, having at length arrived at New-York by the beginning of June, the General, Sir William Howe, paſſed over to the Jerſeys, and took the field about the middle of that month. The enemy were now in a ſtrong ſtate of defence. Waſhington's army, beſides the advantages it derived from the inacceſſible poſts which it occupied, was become more conſiderable as to number and force. Several bodies of the New-England troops, under the Generals Gates, Parſons and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to paſs over to the Jerſeys, whenever opportunity invited their action, or the neceſſity of their friends demanded their aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, the Jerſey militia aſſembled from every quarter with the greateſt alacrity, ſo that in every poſition it took, and motion it made, the army was watched and environed by enemies.

The General left nothing untried that could provoke Waſhington to an engagement, nor no meaſure uneſſayed that could induce him to quit his poſition. He puſhed on detachments; and made movements, as if he intended to paſs him, and advance to the Delaware. This manœuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of his lines, where he continued for four days, exploring the approaches to his camp, and accurately examining the ſituation of his poſts, hoping that ſome weak or unguarded part might be found, upon which an attack could be ventured with a probability of ſucceſs, or that, in the nearneſs of the armies, chance, inadvertence, impatience, or error, might occaſion ſome movement, or be productive of ſome circumſtance, which would open the way to a general engagement. All theſe hopes were fruſtrated. Waſhington knew the full value of his ſituation. As he had too much temper to be provoked or ſurprized, into a dereliction of his advantages, ſo he had too much penetration to loſe them by circumvention or ſleight. And he had too long profited of that rule of conduct from which he had not once hitherto deviated during the courſe of the troubles, of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a ſingle action, to depart from it upon this occaſion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent neceſſity.

Sir William Howe did not yet ſeem to have abandoned his deſign, of enticing Waſhington to quit his faſtneſſes. He ſuddenly retreated, and June 19th. not without ſome apparent marks of precipitation, from his poſition in the front of the enemy, and withdrawing his troops from Brunſwick, returned with the whole army towards Amboy. If the General's deſign was what we have ſuppoſed, this movement produced all the immediate effect which he could have expected. The army was eagerly purſued by ſeveral large bodies of the American regular forces as well as of the Jerſey militia, under the command of the Generals Maxwel, Lord Sterling, and Conway; the latter of whom was a Colonel of the Iriſh Brigade, and one of that numerous train of officers in the French ſervice, who had taken an active part againſt

againſt Great Britain in this unhappy civil war.

Such trifling advantages as the beſt regulated retreat muſt afford to the purſuers, and ſome exceſſes committed, perhaps with a view to the general deſign, by the retiring ſoldiers, ſerved to increaſe the ardour, and inflame the paſſions of the Americans. The meaſures which the General immediately adopted at Amboy completed the deluſion. The bridge which was intended for the Delaware, was thrown over the channel which ſeparates the Continent from Staten Iſland. The heavy baggage, and all the incumbrances of the army, were paſſed over. Some of the troops followed, and every thing was in immediate preparation for the paſſage of the reſt of the army. By theſe judicious meaſures, if the immediate deſign failed of effect, every thing was forwarded as much as it could be for the intended embarkation; a meaſure of which the Americans had as yet no knowledge.

Every thing concurred, along with the vanity natural to mankind, in inducing the Americans to believe, that this retreat was not only real, but that it proceeded from a knowledge of their ſuperiority, and a dread of their power: Even Waſhington himſelf, with all his caution and penetration, was ſo far impoſed upon by this feint, that he quitted his ſecure poſts upon the Hills, and advanced to a place called Quibble town, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or ſupport of his advanced parties.

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In the mean time, Gen. Waſhington ſoon perceived, and ſpeedily remedied his error, by withdrawing his army from the plains, and again recovering his ſtrong camp on the hills. At the ſame time, penetrating into Lord Cornwallis's further deſign, he ſecured thoſe paſſes in the mountains, the poſſeſſion of which by the Britiſh troops, would have expoſed him to the neceſſity of a critical change of poſition, which could not have been executed without danger

Thus was this, apparently, well concerted ſcheme of bringing the enemy to an action, or at leaſt of withdrawing them from their ſtrong holds, rendered abortive, by the caution and prudence of Gen. Waſhington. Sir William Howe was now convinced, that he was too firmly attached to his defenſive plan of conducting the war, to be induced by any means, other than by ſome very clear and decided advantage, to hazard a general engagement. Nothing then remained to be done in the Jerſeys. To advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hoſtile, and with ſuch a force in his rear, appeared to the Britiſh commanders no better than madneſs. All delay was therefore not only fruitleſs, but a waſte of that time and ſeaſon, which might be employed to great advantage elſewhere. The General accordingly returned with the army to Amboy, on the ſecond day from its departure on the expedition, and paſſed it over on the next to Staten Iſland, from whence the embarkation was intended to take place.

The preparations for this grand expedition excited a general alarm throughout the Continent. Boſton, the North River, the Delaware, Cheſapeak Bay, and even Charles-Town, were alternately held to be its objects. General Waſhington, in purſuance of the intelligence which he continually received from New-York, and the other Iſlands, was conſtantly diſpatching expreſſes to put thoſe places upon their guard, againſt which, from immediate information, he ſuppoſed for the time the ſtorm to be directed. It was one of the manifeſt advantages of proceeding by ſea, that it was impoſſible for Waſhington directly to know where the ſtorm would fall. He muſt therefore keep his poſition; and the King's army muſt neceſſarily make a conſiderable progreſs towards its object, before he could be in a condition to reſiſt them; and ſuch a progreſs would not leave him that choice of poſts, by which hitherto he had avoided a general action.

During the ceſſation procured by preparation on the one ſide, and apprehenſion on the other, a ſpirited adventure on the ſide of Rhode Iſland, not only retaliated the ſurprize of Gen. Lee, but ſeemed to procure an indemnification for his perſon. Col. Barton, a Provincial, with ſeveral other officers and volunteers, paſſed by night from Providence to Rhode Iſland, July 10th. and though they had a long paſſage by water, they eluded the watchfulneſs of the ſhips of war and guard boats which ſurrounded the iſland, and conducted their enterprize

ſurprize with ſuch ſilence, boldneſs, and dexterity, that they ſurprized Gen. Preſcot, who commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him and his Aid-de-Camp, through all thoſe perils, ſafe to the Continent. This little adventure produced much exultation on the one ſide, and more regret than it ſeemed to deſerve on the other, from the influence which it muſt neceſſarily have on the deſtination of Gen. Lee. It was, however, particularly galling and grievous to Gen. Preſcot, who not long before had carried matters to ſuch a length, as to ſet a price upon Arnold, and offer a reward for taking his perſon, as if he had been a common out-law or robber; an inſult which Arnold immediately returned, by ſetting an inferior price upon the General's perſon.

Some time previous to theſe tranſactions, the Congreſs had found it neceſſary to advance the rate of intereſt upon the large loan which they propoſed for the ſervice and upon the credit of the united Provinces, from four, which was firſt offered, to ſix per cent. As a teſtimony of public gratitude, and a future incitement to, what they conſidered or held out, as virtue and patriotiſm, they ordered, that a monument ſhould be erected at Boſton, in honour of Major General Warren, who commanded and fell in the engagement at Bunker's Hill, and another in Virginia, in honour of Brigadier General Mercer, who was ſlain in the action near Prince Town; the reſolution conveying in a very few words, the higheſt eulogium on the character and merits of the deceaſed. They likewiſe decreed, that the eldeſt ſon of the former of theſe gentlemen, and the youngeſt ſon of the latter, ſhould be educated at the expence of the United States. As Mercer had a good landed eſtate, the propriety of adopting his youngeſt ſon as the child of the public is obvious.

Notwithſtanding the preparations that had already been made for the embarkation, and the aſſiſtance afforded by the crews of near 300 veſſels, yet ſuch are the unavoidable delays incident to ſuch operations when at all extenſive, that it was not until the 23d of July that the fleet and army were able to depart from Sandy Hook. In order more effectually to perplex and deceive the enemy, the General ordered ſome tranſports, with a ſhip cut down to act as a floating battery, up the North River, a little before the embarkation was completed; a feint which ſucceeded ſo far as to induce Waſhington to detach a conſiderable body of his army acroſs that river.

The force that embarked upon the expedition conſiſted of 36 Britiſh and Heſſian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New-York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horſe. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light horſe, and the remainder of the new Provincial corps, were left for the protection of New-York and the adjoining iſlands. Rhode Iſland was occupied by ſeven battalions. So much was the active force of the army reſtrained, by the poſſeſſion, which it was, however, indiſpenſably neceſſary to hold, of theſe important poſts. It is ſaid, that the General intended

intended to have taken a greater force with him upon the expedition; but that upon the repreſentations of Gen. Clinton, who was to command in his abſence, of the danger to which the iſlands would be expoſed, from the extenſiveneſs of their coaſts, and the great number of poſts that were neceſſarily to be maintained, he acknowledged the force of theſe arguments by relanding ſeveral regiments.

Whilſt both Gen. Waſhington and the Congreſs were ſufficiently engaged, by their attention to the movements, and apprehenſion of the deſigns, of the powerful fleet and army which was conducted by the brother Generals and Commiſſioners, the rapid progreſs of General Burgoyne on the ſide of the Lakes, and the unaccountable conduct of their own commanders in abandoning Ticonderoga; were events ſo alarming and unexpected, that they could not fail to perplex their counſels, and conſiderably to impede their defenſive preparations in other parts. The Congreſs behaved with firmneſs in this exigency. They immediately iſſued orders for a recal to head quarters, and an enquiry into the conduct of the general officers who had abandoned Ticonderoga; they directed Waſhington to appoint other commanders; and they likewiſe directed him to ſummon ſuch numbers of the militia from the eaſtern and central provinces for the northern ſervice, as he ſhould deem ſufficient for reſtraining the progreſs of the enemy.

The voyage was far from being favourable to the fleet and army, engaged on the expedition. It coſt them a week to gain the Capes of Delaware. The information which the commanders received there, of the meaſures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, afforded ſo little encouragement to the proſecution of their deſign by that way, that it was given up, and a paſſage by Cheſapeak Bay, to that part of Maryland which lies to the Eaſt of that vaſt inlet, and not at a very great diſtance to the South-Weſt of Philadelphia, was adopted in its place, as preſenting fewer obſtacles to their operations. The winds were ſo contrary in this part of the voyage, that the middle of Auguſt was turned before they entered Cheſapeak Bay; a circumſtance highly inconvenient and irkſome in that hot ſeaſon of the year, with ſo great a number of men and horſes crowded and cooped up in the veſſels; but which muſt have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, if the foreſight of the commanders had not guarded againſt every event by the unbounded proviſion they had made for the voyage, as a failure in any one article, even that of water, would have been probably irremediable.

The winds fortunately proved fair in the Bay, ſo that the fleet gained the mouth of the River Elk near its extremity, in ſafety, through a moſt intricate and dangerous navigation for ſuch a multitude of veſſels, in which the Admiral performed the different parts of a commander, inferior officer, and pilot, with his uſual ability and perſeverance. Having proceeded up the Elk as far as it was capable of admitting their paſſage, the army was at length relieved from its long and tireſome confinement on board the tranſports, being landed without

ut any oppoſition at Elk Fer-
a degree of health and con-
which could ſcarcely have
xpected, on the 25th of Au-
Whilſt one part of the army
ced to the head of Elk, the
continued at the landing
to protect and forward the
ry, ſtores, and neceſſary pro-
, the General not permitting
oops to be much incumbered
aggage; indeed the ſcarcity
riage rendered even a great
ment in the article of tents
ary.
he mean time, Gen. Waſh-
, with the army from the
s, had returned to the de-
of Philadelphia, and upon
of the deſcent at Elk, ad-
d to the Brandywine Creek,
ver, which, croſſing the coun-
out half way to that city,
into the Delaware. Their
including the militia, a-
ted to 15,000 men, which
robably about the number,
g the neceſſary allowance
ſts and communications, that
yal army could bring into

William Howe, in order to
and conciliate the minds of
ople in Penſylvania, the De-
Counties, and the adjacent
of Maryland, and to prevent
l deſertion and deſolation of
untry in the front of the ar-
publiſhed a declaration, in
he promiſed, that the ſtrict-
ularity, good order and diſ-
, ſhould be obſerved by the
and the moſt perfect ſecurity
fectual protection afforded to
Majeſty's peaceable and well
d ſubjects; extending at the
me this ſecurity and protec-
ſuch perſons, who not hav-
ing been guilty of aſſuming legi-
ſlative or judicial authority, might
otherwiſe have acted illegally in
ſubordinate ſtations, upon the pro-
viſion of their immediate return to
their habitations, and peaceable
demeanor for the future. He alſo
offered a free and general pardon to
all officers and ſoldiers in arms,
who ſhould ſurrender themſelves to
the royal army.

It was not till the 2d of Septem-
ber, that the army was enabled to
quit the head of Elk, and purſue
its courſe towards Philadelphia.
In the mean time, the enemy had
advanced from the Brandywine, and
taken poſt on Red Clay Creek,
from whence they puſhed detach-
ments forward, to occupy difficult
poſts in the woods, and to inter-
rupt, by continual ſkirmiſhes, the
line of march. As the country
was difficult, woody, and not
well known, and that the genius
of the enemy lay to profit of ſuch
circumſtances, the General advan-
ced ſlowly, and with extraordi-
nary caution. He was from neceſ-
ſity, as well as diſpoſition, ſparing
of his troops. Recruits were brought
from a prodigious diſtance, and
procured with difficulty even at the
ſource. Every man killed, wound-
ed, or taken, was to him an irre-
parable loſs, and ſo far as it went,
an incurable weakening of the ar-
my, for the preſent year at leaſt.
On the other hand, the enemy
were at home. Every loſs they
ſuffered was not only immediately
repaired, but the military ability
of the ſurvivors was increaſed by
every deſtruction of their fellows.

This caution could not, how-
ever, prevent ſome ſkirmiſhes, in
which the royal forces were almoſt
always victorious. It does not ap-
pear

pear that the Americans made all the uſe that might be expected of the advantages which the country afforded for harraſſing and impeding the progreſs of the Britiſh army. After ſeveral movements on both ſides, the enemy retired beyond the Brandywine, where they took poſſeſſion of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of diſputing the paſſage of that river.

In this ſituation the Britiſh army, Sept. 11th. at day break, advanced in two columns towards the enemy. The right, under the command of Gen. Knyphauſen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the center of the enemy's line, where they expected, and were prepared for the principal attack; their right and left covering other leſs practicable fords and paſſages for ſome miles on either hand. A heavy cannonade commenced on both ſides about ten o'clock, which was well ſupported during the day, whilſt the General, to amuſe and deceive the enemy, made repeated diſpoſitions for forcing the Ford, the paſſage of the River ſeeming to be his immediate and determined object. To impede or fruſtrate this deſign, they had paſſed ſeveral detachments to the other ſide, who, after a courſe of ſkirmiſhes, ſometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, were at length finally, with an eager purſuit, driven over the River. Thus the noiſe and ſemblance of a battle was held up, and the expectation kept continually alive to the moſt immediate and deciſive conſequences.

Whilſt the attention of the Americans was thus fully occupied in the neighbourhood of Chad's Ford, and that they ſuppoſed the whole royal force was in their front, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the ſecond column, took a long circuitous march to the left, until he gained the Forks of the Brandywine, where the diviſion of the river rendered it of courſe more practicable. By this very judicious movement, his Lordſhip paſſed both branches of the river at Trimbles' and at Jeffery's Ford, without oppoſition or difficulty, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then turning ſhort down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the enemy's right.

General Waſhington having, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon, endeavoured, as well as he could, to provide againſt its effect, by detaching General Sullivan, with all the force he could venture to withdraw from the main body, to oppoſe Lord Cornwallis. Sullivan, ſhewed a conſiderable ſhare of judgment and ability in the execution of this commiſſion. He took a very ſtrong poſition on the commanding grounds above Birmingham church, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, his artillery advantageouſly diſpoſed, and both flanks covered with very thick woods.

As this diſpoſition obliged Lord Cornwallis to form a line of battle, it was about four o'clock before the action began. Neither the good diſpoſition of the enemy, the advantages of ſituation, nor a heavy and well ſupported fire of ſmall arms and artillery, were at all ſufficient to reſtrain the impetuoſity of the Britiſh and Heſſian troops. The light infantry, chaſſeurs, grenadiers, and guards, ruſhing on through

gh all obſtacles and dangers, the enemy, in ſpite of all efforts, though not without a ed oppoſition, from their and purſued them pellmell the woods on their rear. In ean time, a part of the ene- right, which had not been en, took a ſecond ſtrong poſi- in a wood on the ſame ſide, whence, after ſome conſider- reſiſtance, they were diſlodged purſued by detachments from econd line.

veral bodies of the troops that firſt engaged, got ſo deeply gled in the woods through the neſs of purſuit, that they were ble to rejoin the army before t. In the mean time, as the and collected body continued acing, they came upon a of the enemy which had not been engaged, and which had poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt, to the retreat of the defeated of their army. A very warm gement now enſued, and this was ſo vigorouſly defended, it was ſome time after dark e it could be forced. The neſs, the uncertainty of the id, of General Knyphauſen's ion, together with the ex- fatigue which the troops had rgone, in a long march and e action, which had ſcarcely tted of the ſmalleſt reſpite g the whole courſe of the day, oncurred in preventing the from purſuing its advantages farther.

neral Knyphauſen, after ſuc- lly amuſing the enemy all day the apprehenſion of an attack he did not intend, made his e good in the evening, when and that they were already

deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon, which defended and covered Chad's Ford. At this inſtant, the approach of ſome of the Britiſh troops, who had been entangled in, and had penetrated through the woods, threw the enemy into ſuch a conſternation, that an immediate retreat, or rather flight, took place in all parts. The lateneſs and darkneſs of the evening, prevented a purſuit here, as it had done on the right.

A few hours more daylight, would have been undoubtedly productive of a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans.

A part of their troops, among whom were particularly numbered ſome of the Virginia regiments, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved exceedingly well in ſome of the actions of this day, exhibiting a degree of order, firmneſs, and reſolution, and preſerving ſuch a countenance in extremely ſharp ſervice, as would not have diſcredited veterans. Some other bodies of their troops behaved very badly. Their loſs was very conſiderable, which probably was the cauſe that it was not particularly ſpecified in their own accounts. In the Gazette it was computed, at about 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken priſoners. They alſo loſt ten ſmall field pieces, and a howitzer, of which all, but one, were braſs.

The loſs in the royal army was not in proportion, being ſomething under five hundred, of which the ſlain did not amount to one fifth. The officers ſuffered conſiderably, eſpecially in wounded, though no one of higher rank than

a captain was killed. The enemy retreated firſt to Cheſter, and on the next day to Philadelphia. The victorious army lay that night on the field of battle.

Waſhington, ſo far as we can judge at this diſtance, ſeems to have been more out-generalled in this action, than any other ſince the beginning of the war. This concluſion is not, however, to be conſidered as eſtabliſhed; as we are ſenſible that it may well be queſtioned, from the premiſes even before us. The defence of ſuch a length of river, interſected with fords, and ſome at remote diſtances, was undoubtedly impracticable. If it be aſked then why the attempt was made, it may be anſwered, that his great object was to harraſs, and to interrupt the progreſs of the royal army to Philadelphia, by every poſſible means, which did not involve his own in the riſque of a general engagement; that even a ſuperior loſs of men, was not to be conſidered by him, to whom perhaps it was neceſſary to learn, even by a dangerous experiment, the improvement and ſtate of his own troops. His choice of a poſt on the Brandywine, in preference to thoſe more defenſible that were nearer to Philadelphia, has been cenſured; but how far this choice was altogether in his power does not fully appear. And, however deficient he was in point of intelligence, with reſpect to Lord Cornwallis's movement, he ſhewed great ability in his endeavours to remedy that negligence, by the prompt and judicious meaſures which he took to cover his right. Whatever the merits or demerits were on this ſide of the queſtion, it muſt be acknowledged, that the movements of the royal army were judicious and maſterly.

The preſent unhappy conteſt was ſo intereſting to foreigners, and rendered America ſo conſpicuous a theatre of action, that it drew bold and enterprizing ſpirits, from different parts of Europe, either merely in ſearch of glory and rank, or to acquire military experience and improvement. Among the numerous inſtances of this nature which might be given, a few are neceſſary, and will be ſufficient. The Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, of the firſt rank, and of large fortune, was ſo carried away by this enthuſiaſm, as to purchaſe and freight a ſhip with military ſtores (in which he embarked with ſeveral of his friends) for the ſervice of the Americans; he bore a command, and was wounded in this action. The Baron St. Ovary, another French volunteer, for whoſe releaſe the Congreſs ſhewed a particular attention, was ſoon after made a priſoner. De Coudry, a French General, was about this time drowned in the Schuylkill, through his eagerneſs to come in time into action. Roche de Fermoy, was a member of the council of war, who had ſigned the reſolution for abandoning Ticonderoga. Pulawſki, a noble Pole, commanded a detachment of American light-horſe in the action of the Brandywine. Count Grabouſkie, another Poliſh nobleman, was about the ſame time killed on the North River, exhibiting great intrepidity on the Britiſh ſide, and beſtowing his laſt breath in encomiums on the undaunted courage diſplayed by the partners of his danger, and witneſſes of his fall.

It

It is to be obſerved, that in the battle of the Brandywine, the rebel forces were met in the open field, and with no very great advantage of ſituation. A victory was clearly obtained over them; but it was not of that final and deciſive kind which the publick had expected as the certain conſequence of ſuch a meeting. People rarely conſider how much trivial and accidental circumſtances render all things of this kind extremely uncertain, even with any ſuperiority of troops, or goodneſs of generalſhip.

Notwithſtanding the victory of the King's troops, and the precipitate flight of the enemy, the royal army proceeded with caution and circumſpection; and it did not ſeem unneceſſary; for the rebels were not diſheartened; and Mr. Waſhington exerted himſelf with ability and diligence to repair his defeat. The army was poſted in the neighbourhood of Concord and Aſhetown, whilſt a detachment was ſent to ſeize on Wilmington, which was made a receptacle for the ſick and wounded. Upon a movement towards Goſhen, the General received intelligence upon his march, that the enemy had quitted Philadelphia, and were advanced upon the Lancaſter road, a few miles above that place. Upon this advice, he took ſuch effectual meaſures for bringing them to an immediate engagement, that nothing but the event which followed could have fruſtrated his deſign. An exceſſive fall of rain, which overtook both armies upon their march, and which continued without intermiſſion for 24 hours, rendered both parties equally and totally incapable of action.

In the courſe of a number of movements on both ſides which took place for ſome days after, and in which every meaſure was ineffectually uſed, to involve the enemy in ſimilar circumſtances to thoſe which they had ſo lately and with ſuch loſs eſcaped, intelligence having been received, that General Wayne, with 1500 men, was lying in the woods upon ſome ſcheme of enterprize, in the rear; and at no great diſtance from the left wing of the army, Major-General Grey was detached at night, with two regiments, 20th. and a body of light infantry, to ſurprize that corps. That General conducted the enterprize with equal ability and ſucceſs; and, perhaps, in emulation of a remarkable action of the late war in Germany, took effectual meaſures that a ſingle ſhot ſhould not be fired in the courſe of the expedition, and that the execution ſhould only be done by the point of the bayonet. In the proſecution of this deſign, the enemy's out poſts and pickets were completely ſurprized and forced without noiſe, about one in the morning, and the troops being guided by the light of their fires, ruſhed in upon the encampment, where a ſevere and ſilent execution took place, about 300 being killed or wounded upon the ſpot, and a number of priſoners taken; the remainder eſcaping by the darkneſs of the night, and ſome prudent diſpoſitions made by the officer who commanded the Americans, with the loſs of the greater part of their baggage, arms, and ſtores. The victors, in this briſk action, loſt only a captain of light infantry and three private men, with about the ſame number wounded.

The General, finding that the enemy could not by any means be brought to action, and that they were evidently abandoning even the protection of the capital, rather than hazard that final decision, made ſuch movements and took ſuch poſitions as gave him the command of the Schuylkill, and enabled him, at length, to paſs the army over that river without oppoſition. There being nothing now to impede his progreſs, the army advanced to German-
Sept. 26th. Town, and Lord Cornwallis, on the next morning, took poſſeſſion of Philadelphia. Thus was the rich and flouriſhing city of Philadelphia, the capital late of the moſt riſing colony, and attended with the moſt ſingular circumſtances, that hiſtory can give any example of, and the ſeat of that general congreſs of delegates, who diſpenſed laws and government to the continent of North America, reduced without oppoſition, and conſequently without damage.

This circumſtance was more fortunate than had been expected. For it was generally apprehended, and had been even ſpoken of by themſelves as a ſettled and fixed determination, to deſtroy the city, whenever it was found that it could be no longer protected, rather than ſuffer it to become a place of arms, and the center of operation to the Britiſh fleets and armies. A number of the Quakers, and ſome other of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, to the amount of more than twenty, who had been juſtly conſidered as ſtrongly attached to the royal cauſe, and violently inimical to the preſent ruling powers, had been taken into cuſtody upon the immediate danger of an invaſion. Theſe gentlemen poſitively refuſed to give any ſecurity in writing, or even verbal atteſtation, of attachment, ſubmiſſion, or allegiance, to the preſent government, or of not holding a correſpondence with thoſe whom they repreſented as enemies. They even refuſed to confine themſelves to their reſpective dwelling-houſes, and boldly appealing to the laws for redreſs and ſecurity to their perſons, ſtrongly reproached thoſe, who under the pretence of aſſerting and protecting the liberties of the ſubject, had involved the whole continent in civil war and contention, and who thus, at the ſame time, in the moſt arbitrary and tyrannical manner, deprived him of his perſonal liberty, and of every ſecurity which he derived from the laws. They were anſwered, that the laws themſelves, and all other conſiderations muſt give way to the public ſafety, in caſes of great and imminent danger; that there was no new nor particular hardſhip in the preſent meaſure, which was juſtified by the practice of all ſtates in ſimilar circumſtances; that in England, in its higheſt ſtate of freedom, and under its happieſt governments, the Habeas Corpus law was ſuſpended in caſes of internal commotion, or the apprehenſion of foreign invaſion; that there, ſuſpicion only was a ſufficient ground for ſecuring the perſon of the ſubject, without regard to rank, quality, or to any ſecurity he might propoſe to give for his peaceable demeanour; but that their ſituation was much more favourable to themſelves, if their incorrigible obſtinacy, their dangerous deſigns againſt the ſtate, and their mortal enmity

enmity to the government, had not precluded them from its benefit; they were not retained in priſon merely upon ſuſpicion, however ſtrong and well founded that was, and however juſtifiable the meaſure would be upon that ground only; it was immediately in their power to return in the moſt unreſtrained liberty to their habitations, only by complying with that very moderate teſt of their principles and conduct which was required, and ſhewing that obedience to government, and good diſpoſition to the ſtate, which every member of ſociety owed to the community to which he belonged, as a return for the protection which he received. But that as they denied all allegiance to the ſtate, they of courſe diſclaimed its protection, and forfeited all the privileges of citizenſhip; whilſt by refuſing every ſecurity for their peaceable demeanour, they could only be conſidered as its moſt dangerous and determined enemies. As theſe gentlemen were unconquerable in their reſolution not to ſubmit to the propoſed teſt, they were all ſent off to Staunton, in Virginia, as a place of ſecurity, upon the approach of the royal army.

As ſoon as Lord Howe had received intelligence of the ſucceſs at the Brandywine, and the determined progreſs of the army to Philadelphia, he took the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for conducting the fleet and tranſports round to the Delaware, not only to be at hand to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to ſupply the army with thoſe proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries, which he knew, muſt by that time have been indiſpenſably neceſſary. The voyage was intricate, tedious, and dangerous; and nothing leſs than the ſuperior ſkill and ability which was exerted, in the conduct and management of ſo great a number of ſhips, could have prevented the loſs from being conſiderable. As the paſſage to Philadelphia was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the weſtern or Penſylvania ſhore, from Reedy Iſland to Newcaſtle.

When the Britiſh troops had taken poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, their firſt object was the erecting of batteries to command the river, as well to prevent the intercourſe of the American veſſels between their upper and lower poſts, as to protect the city from any inſult by water. The neceſſity of this meaſure became obvious, almoſt, as ſoon as it was determined upon. The very day after the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfiniſhed batteries, and being ſeconded by another frigate, with ſome ſmaller veſſels, they commenced, and ſupported for ſome hours, a very heavy cannonade, both upon the batteries and the town. They did not, however, diſplay the judgment, which their knowledge of the river might be ſuppoſed to afford. Upon the falling of the tide the Delaware grounded ſo effectually that ſhe could not be got off, which being ſoon perceived by the grenadiers, they brought their battalion field pieces to play upon her with ſo true a direction and excellent effect, that the Delaware being obliged to ſtrike her colours, was boarded and taken by an officer and detachment of that corps. Brigadier-General Cleveland immediately profited of the effect of the battalion guns, by directing the whole fire of the batteries to the other veſſels, which

were compelled to retire, with the loſs of a ſchooner which was driven aſhore.

The Americans had at vaſt expence, and with wonderful labour and induſtry, conſtructed great and numerous works, to render the paſſage of the Delaware up to Philadelphia impracticable. In the proſecution of this deſign, they had erected works and batteries upon a flat, low, marſhy iſland, or rather a bank of mud and ſand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware near the junction of the Schuylkill, and which from its nature was called Mud, but from theſe defences, Fort-Iſland. On the oppoſite ſhore of New Jerſey, at a place called Red-Bank, they had alſo conſtructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel, between, or under the cover of theſe batteries, they had ſunk ſeveral ranges of frames or machines, to which, from a reſemblance in the conſtruction, they had given the appellation of chevaux de friize, being compoſed of tranſverſe beams, firmly united, pointing in various directions, and ſtrongly headed with iron. Theſe were of ſuch a weight and ſtrength, and ſunk in ſuch a depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and deſtructive to any ſhip which had the misfortune of ſtriking againſt them. No attempt for raiſing them, or for opening the channel in any manner, could, however, be made, until the command of the ſhores on both ſides was fully obtained.

About three miles lower down the river, they had ſunk other ranges of theſe machines, and were conſtructing for their protection ſome conſiderable and extenſive works, which, though not yet finiſhed, were in ſuch forwardneſs as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object, at a place on the Jerſey ſide called Billing's Point. Theſe works and machines were further ſupported by ſeveral gallies mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed veſſels and ſmall craft of various kinds, and ſome fire ſhips. In a word, the Delaware ſeemed to teem with every defenſive preparation, which could render the hoſtile operations and movements of a fleet, in the confined and uncertain navigation of a river, extremely dangerous.

Upon the repreſentation of Captain Hammond, of the Roebuck, who with ſome other ſhips of war had arrived in the Delaware before Lord Howe, the General detached two regiments, conſiſting of three battalions, under Colonel Stirling, to diſlodge the enemy from Billingsfort. The detachment having croſſed the river from Cheſter, where the ſhips lay, performed the ſervice effectually without loſs or oppoſition. Oct. 1ſt. The enemy, without waiting to be attacked, as ſoon as they heard of their approach, immediately ſpiked their artillery, ſet fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greateſt precipitation. The detachment waited to deſtroy, or to render unſerviceable, thoſe parts of the works which fronted the river. This ſucceſs, with the ſpirit and perſeverance exhibited by the officers and crews of the ſhips under his command, enabled Captain Hammond, through great difficulties, and a vigorous oppoſition from the marine force of the enemy, to carry the principal object of the expedition

expedition into effect, by cutting away and weighing up ſo much of the chevaux-de-frize, as opened a a narrow and difficult paſſage for ſhips through this lower barrier.

Upon the return of the detachment from Jerſey, another regiment was ſent to meet them at Cheſter, in order that they might altogether form a ſufficient eſcort for a large convoy of proviſions to the camp. The army ſtill lay at German-Town, a very long and conſiderable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, ſtretching on both ſides of the great road to the northward, forms a continued ſtreet of two miles in length. The line of encampment croſſed German-Town at right angles about the center, the left wing extending on the weſt from the town to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front, by the mounted and diſmounted German chaſſeurs; a battalion of light infantry, and the Queen's American rangers, were in the front of the right; and the 40th regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were poſted at the head of the village. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers; and we have already ſeen, that three regiments had been detached on the ſide of Cheſter.

The enemy were encamped at Skippach Creek, about 16 miles from German-Town. They had received ſome reinforcements, and they were not ignorant that the royal army was weakened by the detachments it had made to Philadelphia and Cheſter. Theſe circumſtances induced an enterprize, little expected, and ſeemingly as little ſuited, to the general caution, and to the ſuppoſed genius and diſpoſition of Waſhington. Inſtead of ſhunning, as uſual, every thing that might lead to an action, the American army quitted its ſtrong poſt at Skippach Creek at ſix in the evening, and marched all night to ſurprize and attack the royal army in its camp at German-Town.

At three o'clock in the morning, their approach was 4th. diſcovered by the patroles, and the army was immediately called to arms. They began their attack upon the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry by which it was accompanied. Theſe corps, after a vigorous reſiſtance, being at length overpowered by numbers, were preſſed and purſued into the village. In this exigence, a meaſure upon which much of the future fortune of the day depended, was inſtantly and happily adopted by Lieutenant-Colonel Muſgrave, who threw himſelf with ſix companies of the 40th regiment into a large and ſtrong ſtone houſe, which lay full in the front of the enemy.

By this meaſure they were checked in their forward hope and deſign of gaining complete and immediate poſſeſſion of that long town; which among other great and obvious advantages, would have enabled them effectually to ſeparate the right and left wings of the royal army. The Colonel and his brave party, ſurrounded by a whole brigade, and attacked on every ſide with great reſolution, defended the houſe with the moſt undaunted courage; and though the enemy at length brought cannon up to the aſſault, he ſtill maintained his poſt with equal intrepidity, pouring a dreadful and un-

ceaſing fire through the windows, until affairs had taken ſuch a turn as afforded him relief.

This was accompliſhed by Major-General Grey, who bringing the front of a great part of the left wing by a timely movement to the village, led on three battalions of the 3d brigade, who attacked the enemy with vigour, and were as bravely ſupported and ſeconded, by Brigadier-General Agnew, at the head of the 4th brigade. The engagement was now for ſome time very warm; but the enemy being attacked on the oppoſite ſide of the village by two regiments of the right wing, were thrown into total diſorder, and driven out of the town with conſiderable ſlaughter.

In the mean time, the light infantry and pickets of the right wing, ſupported by the 4th, and ſeconded by the 49th regiment, were warmly engaged with the enemy's left; but General Grey, after forcing their troops in the village, having paſſed it, and bringing the left wing forward, they immediately retired on all ſides. The enemy was purſued for ſome miles; but the country being woody, ſtrong, and encloſed, the purſuit was attended with ſo little effect, that they carried their cannon clear off. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a ſquadron of light-horſe from Philadelphia, towards the cloſe of the engagement, and joined in the purſuit; whilſt three battalions of grenadiers from the ſame place, who had run themſelves out of breath in the ardour of ſuccouring their fellows, were too late to come in for any ſhare of the action.

It appears that the morning was exceedingly foggy, to which the Americans (who had conſiderable ſucceſs in the beginning of the action) attribute their not improving the advantages they at firſt gained, in the manner which they would otherwiſe have done. For they were not only, as they aſſert, through this circumſtance, prevented from obſerving the true ſituation of the enemy, by which the latter had time to recover from the effect of the firſt impreſſion they had made on them; but the different bodies of their own army were kept in ignorance of each others movements and ſucceſs, and were conſequently incapable of acting in concert. It is even ſaid, that ſome of their parties, in the thickneſs of the fog, had poured their fire upon each other under a blind miſtake on both ſides of being engaged with the enemy. Waſhington paid great compliments to the right wing for its good behaviour, of which he had been a witneſs, but he left the conduct of the left, at leaſt, doubtful, by ſaying that he had not yet received ſufficient information to found any opinion on.

The loſs of the royal army in this action, including the wounded and a few priſoners, rather exceeded that at the Brandywine, the whole amounting to 535; but the proportion of ſlain was ſtill ſmaller than in that engagement, and ſcarcely exceeded 70. In this number were unhappily ſome very brave and diſtinguiſhed officers; particularly Brigadier-General Agnew, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bird. The number of officers wounded was conſiderable. The American loſs was eſtimated in the Gazette, at between 200 and 300 ſlain, 600 wounded, and above 400 priſoners.

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Among the ſlain was General Naſh, and ſeveral other officers of all ranks; 54 officers were taken priſoners. In this action the Americans acted upon the offenſive; and though repulſed with loſs, ſhewed themſelves a formidable adverſary; capable of charging with reſolution, and retreating with good order. The hope therefore entertained from the effect of any fair action with them as deciſive and likely to put a ſpeedy termination to the war, was exceedingly abated.

The taking of Philadelphia was not attended with all the advantages expected from that conqueſt. The rebel army, however ſtraitned, ſtill kept the field; and until the Delaware could be cleared, it was obvious, that the army could not ſupport itſelf in that town for the winter. Therefore, as the whole effect of the campaign depended upon that operation, about a fortnight after the battle, the King's army removed from German-Town to Philadelphia, as being a more convenient ſituation for the reduction of Mud, or Fort Iſland, and for co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the river. The enemy had returned after the action at German-Town, to their old camp at Skippach Creek, where they ſtill continued.

Meaſures being concerted between the General and Admiral for removing the obſtructions of the river, the former ordered batteries to be erected on the weſtern ſhore, or Penſylvania ſide, in hopes of aſſiſting in diſlodging the enemy from Mud Iſland, the difficulty of acceſs to which, was found to render its reduction a much more tedious and difficult operation than had been expected. He alſo detached a ſtrong body of Heſſians acroſs the river at Cooper's Ferry, oppoſite the town, who were to march down and force the redoubt of Red Bank, whilſt the ſhips, and the batteries on the other ſide, were to carry on their attacks againſt Mud Iſland and the enemy's marine force. The Heſſian detachment was led by Colonel Donop, (who had gained great reputation in various actions of this war) and conſiſted, beſides light infantry and chaſſeurs, of three battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Mirbach. The American force at Red Bank was eſtimated at about 800 men.

Though nothing could exceed the good diſpoſitions made for theſe ſeveral attacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage diſplayed both by the land and naval force on their different elements, yet this enterprize not only failed of ſucceſs, but was in every reſpect unfortunate. Colonel Donop attacked the enemy's entrenchments with the utmoſt gallantry, and after a very ſharp action, ſucceeded in carrying an extenſive out-work; but he found the enemy better covered in the body of the redoubt, and the defence more vigorous than he expected. The brave Colonel was there mortally wounded and taken priſoner. Several of his beſt officers were killed or diſabled, and the Heſſians, after a deſperate engagement, were repulſed with great loſs. Colonel Mingerode, the next in command, being likewiſe dangerouſly wounded, the detachment was brought off by Lieutenant-Colonel Linſing, having ſuffered much in the approach to and retreat from

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from the aſſault, by the fire of the enemy's gallies and floating batteries. The loſs of the Heſſians, whether as to private men or officers, was never particularly authenticated; it was, however, known to be very conſiderable: probably not leſs than four or five hundred men.

The men of war and frigates deſtined for the attack, having made their way with difficulty through the lower barrier, took every poſſible diſpoſition that the nature and ſituation of the river would admit for the d ſtruction of the upper works and defences, where they commenced their aſſault at the ſame time that Colonel Donop was engaged at Red Bank. Fortune was not more favourable here than aſhore. The ſhips could not bring their fire to bear with any great effect upon the works. The extraordinary obſtructions with which the enemy had interrupted the free courſe of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought ſome alteration in its known and natural channel. By this means, the Auguſta man of war, and Merlin ſloop, were grounded ſo faſt at ſome diſtance from the chevaux-de-frize, that there was no poſſibility of getting them off. In this ſituation, though the ſkill and courage of the officers and crews of the ſeveral veſſels, prevented the effect of four fire ſhips which the enemy had ſent to deſtroy the Auguſta, ſhe unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which placed the others under a neceſſity of retiring with the utmoſt expedition, to get beyond the effect of the exploſion. In theſe urgent and difficult circumſtances, the Merlin was haſtily evacuated, and laid in a train of deſtruction, and the greater part of the officers and crew of the Auguſta ſaved; but the ſecond Lieutenant, Chaplain, and Gunner, with no inconſiderable number of the common men, unhappily periſhed.

The ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, by no means damped the reſolution of the commanders, in proſecution of the abſolutely neceſſary work of opening the navigation of the Delaware. New ground was taken, new meaſures adopted, and every preparation made that could inſure ſucceſs to the deſign. Nor were the enemy idle on their ſide. They well underſtood the great conſequence it was of to them to keep the naval force ſeparated from the army, and to render the communication between them tedious and difficult. They accordingly left nothing undone to ſtrengthen their defences.

The officers and ſeamen of the fleet were inceſſantly employed in conveying heavy artillery, proviſions and ſtores, up the river, by a difficult channel on the weſt ſide, to a ſmall moraſſy iſland, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the enemy's works on Mud Iſland. Every thing being prepared for an attack, the Iſis, and Somerſet, men of war, paſſed up the eaſt channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in front; ſeveral frigates drew up againſt a fort newly erected on the Jerſey ſide, near Manto Creek, which was ſo ſituated as to flank the men of war in their ſtation; and two armed veſſels, mounted with 24 pounders, ſucceſsfully made their way through the narrow channel on the weſtern ſide at the back of Hogg Iſland; a Nov. 15th.

matter

matter of the greateſt importance with reſpect to the ſucceſs of the attack, as theſe two veſſels, in concert with the batteries newly erected in Province Iſland, enfiladed the principal works which the enemy had erected on Mud Iſland.

A heavy fire was ſupported on both ſides. At length, the vigorous attack made by the Iſis in front, and by the two armed veſſels and the batteries in other quarters, ſo overpowered the enemy in the fort and works on Mud Iſland, that towards evening their artillery was entirely ſilenced. And they perceiving that meaſures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, and being alſo ſenſible that, in the preſent ſtate of things, they were not defenſible, they ſet fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it, and abandoned the place in the night.

The loſs of the enemy in men was ſaid to be very conſiderable; that of the fleet, was more trifling than could have been ſuppoſed. Their artillery and ſome ſtores were taken at Mud Iſland. In two days after, Lord Cornwallis paſſed over with a detachment from Cheſter to Billing's Fort, where he was joined by a body of forces juſt arrived from New York. They proceeded all together to Red Bank, which the enemy abandoned at their approach, leaving their artillery with a conſiderable quantity of cannon-ball and ſtores behind them. The works were demoliſhed.

The enemy's ſhipping having now loſt all protection on either ſide of the river, ſeveral of their gallies and other armed veſſels took the advantage of a favourable night, to paſs the batteries of Philadelphia, and eſcape to places of ſecurity farther up. The diſcovery of this tranſaction occaſioned the ſending an officer with a party of ſeamen to man the Delaware frigate lately taken, and lying at Philadelphia, and the taking of ſuch other meaſures, as rendered the eſcaping of the remainder impracticable. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and ſet fire to their veſſels, which were all conſumed to the amount of ſeventeen of different ſorts, including the two floating batteries, and fire-ſhips. With all theſe advantages, the ſeaſon of the year, and other impediments, rendered the clearing of the river, in any conſiderable degree, impracticable; ſo that the making or diſcovering of ſuch a channel, as might admit the paſſage of tranſports and veſſels of eaſy burden with proviſions and neceſſaries for the uſe of the army at Philadelphia, was all that could be obtained at preſent.

General Waſhington being reinforced by 4000 men from the northern army, advanced within 14 miles of Philadelphia, to a place called White Marſh, where he encamped in a very ſtrong poſition, with his right to the Wiſſahichon Creek, and the front partly covered by Sandy Run. As this movement ſeemed to indicate a diſpoſition to adventure, General Howe was not without hopes, that the late reinforcement would encourage them to hazard a battle for the recovery of Philadelphia. If ſuch was their intention, he was determined that they ſhould not cool in it, for want of an opportunity of bringing it into action; or if they ſtill adhered to their uſual ſyſtem of

of caution and defence, it was ſtill reaſonably to be hoped that upon a cloſe inſpection of their ſituation, ſome part of their camp would be found ſo vulnerable as to admit of a ſucceſsful impreſſion.

Upon theſe grounds the General marched the army from Philadelphia on the 4th of December at night, and took poſt on Cheſſnut Hill, in the front of the enemy's right on the next morning. Finding that their right afforded no opening for an attack, he changed his ground before day on the 7th, and took a new poſition oppoſite to their center and left. Some ſkirmiſhes happened, in which the enemy were conſtantly defeated, and their flying parties purſued home almoſt to their works. The General, at length, after continuing above three days conſtantly in their ſight, advancing within a mile of their lines, and examining their works with the cloſeſt attention, finding that nothing could provoke or entice them to action, and that their camp was in every part inacceſſible, gave up the proſecution of a deſign which was evidently fruitleſs. The army alſo ſuffered greatly from the ſeverity of the weather, both officers and ſoldiers being totally deſtitute of tents and field equipage.

The General accordingly began his march to Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 8th, in full view of the enemy, without being purſued, or in the ſmalleſt degree incommoded on his return. As the ſeaſon was now too far advanced, to admit of any other attention than what related to the accommodation of the army, a grand detachment was ſent out to procure forage for the winter, which was ſucceſsfully performed. In the mean time, Waſhington removed his camp from White Marſh to Valley Forge, upon the Schuylkill, about 15 or 16 miles from Philadelphia, in a very ſtrong, and conſequently ſecure poſition. Nothing could afford a ſtronger proof, to whoever conſiders the nature and diſpoſition of thoſe people, of the unbounded influence on the minds both of his officers and men which that General poſſeſſed, than his being able, not only to keep them together, but to ſubmit to the incommodities and diſtreſſes incident to living in a hutted camp, during the ſevere winter of that climate, and where all his ſupplies of proviſion and ſtores muſt come from a great diſtance, at much expence and no ſmall hazard. It was alſo a proof with many others, of the general ſtrong diſpoſition of America, to ſuffer all things rather than ſubmit to force.

Such was the iſſue of the campaign upon the Delaware. A campaign which affords much room for the moſt ſerious reflection. The Britiſh arms were crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. Two very conſiderable victories were obtained. In all leſſer actions, bating the affair at Red Bank, they were equally triumphant. Yet with all this tide of ſucceſs, all the fruit derived from our victories at the cloſe of the campaign, amounted to no more than ſimply a good winter lodging for our army in the city of Philadelphia; whilſt the troops poſſeſſed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. It was ſtill more diſcouraging, that the enemy had given repeated proofs, that however he might

might engage them when he thought it to his advantage, it was impoſſible for the royal army to bring him to action againſt his conſent. This gave occaſion to much uneaſineſs in England; where the news of the firſt ſucceſſes had cauſed the greateſt exultation, which was now ſucceeded with very gloomy reflections on the peculiar and fatal circumſtances, which, from the nature of the country, and other co-operating cauſes, had diſtinguiſhed this war, from all others in which we had ever been concerned; and in which victory and defeat were nearly productive of the ſame conſequences.

CHAP. VIII.

Canada. Conduct of the northern expedition committed to General Burgoyne. Preparations made by General Carleton. Line of conduct purſued by him upon the new arrangement. Different opinions upon the utility and propriety of employing the Savages. State of the force under the command of General Burgoyne. Canadians obliged to contribute largely to the ſervice. Expedition under Colonel St. Leger. War feaſt, and ſpeech to the Indians at the river Bouquet. Manifeſto. Royal army inveſt Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Council of war held, and the forts abandoned by the Americans. Boom and bridge cut through. Purſuit by land and water. American gallies and batteaux deſtroyed near Skeneſborough Water-falls. Americans ſet fire to, and abandon their works. Rear of the Americans overtaken by General Frazer near Hubberton. Colonel Francis defeated and killed. General St. Clair, with the remains of his army, take to the woods; and arrive at length at Fort Edward. Enemy bravely repulſed by Colonel Hill, and the 9th regiment, who are obliged to engage under a vaſt ſuperiority of force. Americans ſet fire to, and abandon Fort Anne. Extraordinary difficulties encountered by the royal army in the march to Fort Edward. American Army retires to Saratoga.

WE now turn from exemplifying victory without equivalent advantage in one quarter, to behold the moſt miſchievous conſequences of defeat in another. The war upon the ſide of Canada and the lakes was committed to the charge of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne; an officer whoſe ability was unqueſtioned, and whoſe ſpirit of enterprize, and thirſt for military glory, however rivalled, could not poſſibly be exceeded.

This appointment, however palliated or juſtified, by the propriety or ſuppoſed neceſſity of the Governor's conſtant reſidence in his province, could not fail of being ſenſibly felt, and could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed not to give umbrage, to General Carleton, to whoſe abilities, and reſolution, this nation in general acknowledged, and the world attributed, the preſervation of Canada. It was ſaid, that his powers had been diminiſhed in proportion to the greatneſs of his ſervices. His military command extended before to every part of America, whither he might find it fitting to conduct the army under his direction. It was now ſuddenly

reſtrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had, ſaid his friends, in the preceding campaign, not only driven the enemy out of Canada, but a great naval armament had been formed, the enemy's force on Lake Champlain deſtroyed, and Crown Point recovered, under his authority. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon only, prevented him from attacking Ticonderoga, and immediately proſecuting the war to the ſouthward. He had, during the winter, exerted his uſual induſtry, and applied his military ſkill and judgment, in the forwarding of every preparation, which might conduce to the ſucceſs of the deſign in the enſuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, inſtead of the reinforcement which he had required and expected for the completion of his purpoſe, he received an arrangement totally new, which as it had been framed without any reference to his judgment, or attention to his approbation, left nothing to his diſcretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in each of which, the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular ſervice of each corps, with its ſubdiviſions, and the ſmalleſt detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and preciſely ſpecified by the Miniſter. He was not even conſulted as to the number or nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the defence or ſecurity of Canada. In a word, the army which he had lately commanded was taken out of his, and placed in other hands, and officers who lately acted under his direction, were by a detraction from his authority, virtually placed in independent commands; for their inſtructions to put themſelves under the orders of Sir William Howe, ſeemed little more than a mockery, as that General had informed Sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign on his ſide, would lead him to ſuch a diſtance, as to render any communication of that nature impracticable.

That the Governor felt and underſtood this arrangement and theſe appointments in the manner we have related from the complaints of his friends in England, ſeems evident from the immediate reſignation of his government which then took place; but as the notification, the appointment of another, and the paſſage of his ſucceſſor from Europe, were all works of time, he was ſtill, however ungrateful the taſk, obliged to continue in the exerciſe of his office, during a longer period than that of which we are treating.

Under theſe circumſtances, and in this trying and difficult ſituation, he endeavoured to ſhew that reſentment could not warp him from his duty, and he applied himſelf with the ſame diligence and energy, to forward by every poſſible means, and to ſupport in all its parts the expedition, as if the arrangement was entirely his own. This conduct, however praiſeworthy, was not leſs neceſſary, from the peculiar nature of the ſervice which was to be performed; a ſervice exceedingly complicated in the arrangement, uncommonly numerous in the parts; and many unuſual in practice. It will not be difficult to conceive, how effectually negligence, diſlike, obſtinacy, or even a colourable and rational difference

difference of opinion in ſome diſputable points, might fruſtrate all the hopes founded upon ſuch a ſyſtem.

Nothing of this ſort intervened, to damp the ſpirit or to defeat the ſucceſs of the expedition. The preparations were carried on with vigour.

We have before taken notice, that the miniſters, and more particularly the noble Lord at the head of the American department, were not only particularly intereſted in the event, but had founded the moſt ſanguine hopes upon the ſucceſs of this expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their ſide, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be ſpared for that particular ſervice, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. Beſides, Canada it was hoped would ſupply a warlike though undiſciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted with, the peculiar nature of the ſervice and country.

To ſtrengthen and increaſe this irregular, but neceſſary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided, to ſupply thoſe numerous loyaliſts, who were expected to join the royal army as ſoon as it approached or penetrated the frontiers of the adjacent provinces. As a powerful artillery is conſidered to be the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undiſciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in difficult poſts, and driven out of woods and faſtneſſes, ſo this part of the ſervice was particularly attended to, and the braſs train that was ſent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the fineſt, and probably the moſt excellently ſupplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to ſecond the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the preſent in number.

Beſides theſe forces, ſeveral nations of ſavages had been induced to come into the field. This meaſure was defended upon the ſuppoſed neceſſity of the caſe; as if from their character it was preſumed they could not lie ſtill, and if not engaged in the King's ſervice, would have joined the Americans. Whatever advantages were hoped from them, General Carleton did not in the preceding year make much uſe of them; but civilly diſmiſſed them at the cloſe of the campaign, on a promiſe of their appearing in the next if required. There has been a good deal of diſcuſſion, which we want materials to ſettle, how far he approved of their employment at all. The friends of miniſtry ſaid, that he had recommended and forwarded the meaſure. Others ſaid, that partly from humanity, partly from his forming a juſt eſtimate of their ſervices, and knowing by experience the extent of their powers and ability in war, he was unwilling to uſe them, knowing that they were capricious, inconſtant, and intractable. That as their ideas of war and of courage were totally different from thoſe of civilized nations, ſo, notwithſtanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible ſpecimens of paſſive valour which they ſometimes exhibited in caſes adapted to their own opinions, they not only abhorred, but dreaded, whatever is conſidered as fair and generous ſervice among Europeans, wherein the contending parties bravely ſeek and are included

included in one common danger, truſting only for ſucceſs to their ſuperior ſkill and courage. That their object and deſign in all wars, was not to fight, but to murder; not to conquer, but to deſtroy. In a word, that their ſervice was uncertain, their rapacity inſatiate, their faith ever doubtful, and their action cruel and barbarous.

Whatever his reaſons were for not employing them in a more early and effectual manner, if it were in his power to do it, as early and effectually as was imagined, this conduct was far from being generally approved of at home. Thoſe who were particularly warm in their zeal againſt the colonies, began ſomewhat to forget their natural humanity in their anger. They inſiſted, that every appearance of lenience in ſuch circumſtances was actual cruelty in the effect, by acting as an incentive to diſobedience, and increaſing the objects of puniſhment. That on the contrary, partial ſeverity was general mercy; as timely exertions of juſtice, and ſtrict inflictions of puniſhment, were at all times the ſure means of preventing crimes. That the only method of ſpeedily cruſhing the rebellion, was to render the ſituation of the actors in it ſo intolerable, that a ceſſation from danger, and the bleſſings of repoſe, ſhould become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. That the means were but little to be attended to, when they led to the accompliſhment of ſo great and happy a purpoſe, as the deſtruction of rebellion, and the reſtoration of order and legal government. And that in all convulſions of ſtates, the innocent were too frequently involved in the calamities which were intended or wiſhed to be confined entirely to the guilty; but ſuch was the lot and condition of mankind, and this evil, however deplored, could not in numberleſs inſtances be avoided or prevented. This doctrine was ſupported by the avowed friends of government, whether out of office, or in the ſubordinate departments of the ſtate; it was alſo generally ſuppoſed to be conſonant to the opinions of the miniſters, and that General Carleton's ſcruples or nicetics upon this point were by no means acceptable.

However this was, in the preſent arrangement, the aid of the ſavages was conſidered as a principal member of that force which was deſtined to the proſecution of the northern war, and the Governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to uſe his utmoſt weight and influence, in bringing the Indian nations forward in ſupport of the expedition. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this duty, as it was in every other which appertained to the preſent ſervice. Nor was his ſucceſs diſproportioned to his zeal. Whether it proceeded from the Governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to ſeize the preſents which were now liberally diſtributed amongſt them, from their own innate thirſt for war and plunder, or more probably, from the joint operation of all theſe cauſes, their remote as well as near nations poured forth their warriors in ſuch abundance, that he became at length apprehenſive, that their numbers might render them an incumbrance rather than an aid to the army.

The regular force allotted to the expedition conducted by General Burgoyne,

Burgoyne, conſiſting of Britiſh and German troops, amounted to 7173 men; excluſive of the artillery corps. Of theſe, the German corps (conſiſting moſtly of Brunſwickers) amounted to 3217. The force required by that General in the propoſals which he laid before the Miniſter, conſiſted of 8000 regulars, rank and file, beſides the artillery, a corps of watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hatchetmen, and other workmen, with a thouſand, or more, ſavages. We have no certain information what numbers of theſe auxiliaries were in actual ſervice upon the expedition.

Canada was largely rated, and its inhabitants muſt have ſenſibly felt the proportion which they were allotted to contribute towards this ſervice. In the propoſals laid before the Miniſter, beſides the militia and various ſpecies of workmen ſuppoſed neceſſary to be immediately attached to the army, and to accompany it on the expedition, chains of their militia, patroles, and poſts, were expected to occupy the woods in the frontiers on the rear of the army, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill affected in Canada, partly to prevent deſertion and to procure intelligence, and for various other duties neceſſary towards keeping the country in quiet. Another great call upon them was for workmen to complete the fortifications at Sorel, St. John's, Chamblee and Iſle au Noix, which it was ſuppoſed would amount to 2000 men. A ſtill greater call upon the Canadians, and the more grievous, as it was at their ſeed-ſowing ſeaſon, was for the tranſport of all the proviſions, artillery-ſtores, and baggage of the army, from the different repoſitories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying places, beſides the corvees for making the roads. It was eſtimated that this ſervice would for ſome time before, and at the opening of the campaign, require no leſs than 2000 men, beſides a very large proportion of horſes and carts.

General Burgoyne was ſeconded by able and excellent officers. Of theſe, Major-General Philips of the artillery, who had gained ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown by his conduct in that ſervice during the late war in Germany, deſerves to be particularly mentioned. He was likewiſe aſſiſted by the Brigadier-Generals, Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all diſtinguiſhed officers, with the Brunſwick Major-General Baron Reideſel, and Brigadier-General Speeht. The army was, in every reſpect, in the beſt condition that could poſſibly be expected or wiſhed, the troops being in the higheſt ſpirits, admirably diſciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The detachment on the expedition to the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, did not probably exceed ſeven or eight hundred men, conſiſting of 200 drawn from the 8th and 34th regiments, a regiment of New-Yorkers, lately raiſed by, and under the command of, Sir John Johnſon, being moſtly emigrants from his own country adjoining to the intended ſcene of action, with ſome Hanau chaſſeurs, a company of Canadians, and another of newly raiſed rangers, Theſe were joined by a ſtrong body of ſavages, in part conducted, or if it may be termed officered, by a number of Britiſh and Americans, The regular force left in Canada,

including the Highland emigrants under that denomination, amounted to about 3700 men.

The army being at length arrived and encamped at the River Bouquet, on the weſt ſide of Lake Champlain, and at no very great diſtance to the northward of Crown Point, General Burgoyne, there met the Indians in congreſs, and afterwards, in compliance with the cuſtoms of thoſe people, gave them a war feaſt. The ſpeech which he made to the ſavages upon this occaſion has been publiſhed. It was calculated, in thoſe powerful ſtrains of elocution by which that gentleman is diſtinguiſhed, to excite their ardour in the common cauſe, and at the ſame time to repreſs their barbarity. For this purpoſe he took pains in explaining to them the diſtinction, between a war carried on againſt a common enemy, in which the whole country and people were hoſtile, and the preſent, in which good and faithful ſubjects were largely, and of neceſſity, intermixed with rebels and traitors. Upon this principle he laid down ſeveral injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they ſhould only kill thoſe who were oppoſed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and priſoners, ſhould be held ſacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they ſhould only ſcalp thoſe whom they had ſlain in fair oppoſition; but th under no pretence, ſubtlety, o lour of prevarication, they ſcalp the wounded, or ev much leſs kill perſons dition, by way of ev

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junction. And they were pr a compenſation for priſoner informed that they ſhould be to account for ſcalps. The deavours did in ſome meaſu tigate, but were not of force to reſtrain their ferocity, of ſome unhappy inſtances afte appeared.

The General ſoon after dif a manifeſto, calculated to terror among the contuma and particularly to revive in minds every latent impreſſi fear derived from knowledge formation of the cruel operati the ſavages, whoſe numbers accordingly magnified, and eagerneſs to be let looſe to prey, deſcribed with uncor energy. The force of that power, which was now ſpre ſea and land, to embrace cruſh every part of America diſplayed in full, lofty, an preſſive language. The rebe with its effects, and the cond the preſent governors and go ments, were charged with higheſt colouring, and exhibi moſt hideous picture, of un leled injuſtice, cruelty, perfec and tyranny. Encouragem employment were aſſured who with a diſpoſi ſuited to the tually aſſiſ country re-eſ me

in their moſt terrific forms, were denounced againſt thoſe who perſevered in their hoſtility.

The army having made a ſhort ſtay at Crown Point, for the eſtabliſhment of magazines, an hoſpital, and other neceſſary ſervices, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to inveſt Ticonderoga, which was the firſt object of their deſtination. Although the raſh and ill conducted attempt made upon that place in the year 1758, with the conſequent repulſe and heavy loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh army, rendered it at that time an object of general attention, it may not at this diſtance of time be wholly unneceſſary to take ſome notice of its ſituation, as well as of its ſtate of defence.

Ticonderoga lies on the weſtern ſhore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown Point lies about a dozen miles farther north at the extremity of that inlet. The firſt of theſe places is ſituated on an angle of land, which is ſurrounded on three ſides by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth ſide was covered by a deep moraſs, and where that fails, the old French lines ſtill continued as a defence on the north-weſt quarter. The Americans ſtrengthened theſe lines with additional works and a blockhouſe. They had other poſts with works and blockhouſes, on the left, towards Lake George. To the right of the French lines they had alſo two new blockhouſes with other works.

On the eaſtern ſhore of the inlet, and oppoſite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken ſtill more pains in fortifying a high circular hill to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the ſummit of this, which is Tableland, they had erected a ſtar fort, encloſing a large ſquare of barracks; well fortified and ſupplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the weſt ſide projected into the water, was ſtrongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, ſuſtained and covered theſe lower works.

The Americans, with their uſual induſtry, had joined theſe two poſts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This was, like many other of their performances, a great and moſt laborious work. The bridge was ſupported on 22 ſunken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal diſtances; the ſpaces between theſe were filled with ſeparate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, ſtrongly faſtened together with chains and rivets, and as effectually attached to the ſunken pillars. On the Lake Champlain ſide of the bridge, it was defended by a boom compoſed of very large pieces of timber, faſtened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half ſquare. Thus not only a communication was maintained between theſe two poſts, but all acceſs by water from the northern ſide was totally cut off.

It is to be obſerved, that as the inlet immediately after paſſing Ticonderoga, aſſumes a new form, ſuddenly widening to a conſiderable breadth, and becoming navi-

gable to veſſels of burden, ſo from thence it alſo holds the name of Champlain, although it is not yet properly a part of the lake. On the other hand, the ſouthern gut from Lake George, beſides being narrow, is alſo rendered unnavigable by ſhallows and falls; but on its arrival at Ticonderoga, it is joined by a great body of water on the eaſtern ſide, called, in this part, South River, but higher up towards its ſource, before the junction of the elder branch with the younger, which runs from South Bay, it is known under the appellation of Wood Creek. The confluence of theſe waters at Ticonderoga, forms a ſmall bay to the ſouthward of the bridge of communication, and the point of land formed by their junction, is compoſed of a mountain called Sugar Hill.

Notwithſtanding the apparent ſtrength of Ticonderoga from what we have hitherto ſeen, it is entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded by Sugar Hill. This circumſtance occaſioned a conſultation among the Americans as to the fortifying of that Mount; but their works were already far too extenſive for their powers of defence, and would require ten or twelve thouſand men to be effectually manned. It was likewiſe hoped, that the difficulty of acceſs to the Sugar Mount, and the ſavage inequality of its ſurface, would prevent the enemy from attempting to profit of its ſituation.

It would be exceedingly difficult from the information before us, to form any authentic eſtimate of the number of Americans that were in the actual defence of theſe two poſts. It appears by the commander in chief, General St. Clair's exculpatory letter to the congreſs, as well as by the reſolutions of the council of war, which accompanies it, that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, was only about 3000 men; that theſe were ill equipped, and worſe armed; particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm ſo eſſential in the defence of lines, that they had not one to ten of their number. This account would ſeem not only ſatisfactory but concluſive, if it had not been contradicted by others. In a detail of the tranſactions of the campaign, tranſmitted by the war office of Maſſachuſetts Bay to the American deputies in France, and for the conveyance of which a light ſhip was ſent out on purpoſe, they ſtate St. Clair's force at near 5000 men well equipped and armed. It is, however, to be obſerved, that they talk with great bitterneſs of that General's conduct, as he had done in his firſt letter to congreſs, with reſpect to the behaviour of two of their regiments: It may alſo be ſuppoſed, that in a ſtatement of their affairs intended to operate upon the ſentiments and conduct of a court, from which they already received eſſential benefits, and looked forward to much greater, they would rather increaſe the weight of blame upon an unfortunate officer, than detract from the public opinion of their own conduct and power, by attributing weakneſs to their councils, or inefficacy to their arms.

As

As the royal army approached to the object of its deſtination, it advanced with equal caution and order, on both ſides of the lake, the naval force keeping its ſtation in the centre, until the one had begun to encloſe the enemy on the land ſide, and the frigates and gun-boats caſt anchor juſt out of cannon ſhot from their works Upon the near approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga ſide, upon the 2d of July, the Americans immediately abandoned and ſet fire to their works, block-houſes, and ſaw-mills, towards Lake George, and without ſally, interruption, or the ſmalleſt motion of diverſion, permitted Major General Phillips to take poſſeſſion of the very advantageous poſt of Mount Hope, which beſides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. The ſame ſupineneſs and total want of vigour appeared in every thing on their ſide, except in the keeping up of an ineffectual roar of cannon, which was ſo much contemned on the other as not to be once returned.

In the mean while, the royal army proceeded with ſuch expedition in the conſtruction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, ſtores and proviſions, and the eſtabliſhment of its poſts and communications, that by the 5th, matters were ſo far advanced, as to require little more time for compeatly inveſting the poſts on both ſides of the lake. Sugar Hill was alſo examined, and the advantages it preſented were ſo important, though attended with infinite labour and difficulty, from the neceſſity of making a road to its top through very rough ground, and conſtructing a level there for a battery, that this arduous taſk was undertaken, and already far advanced towards its completion, through the ſpirit, judgment, and active induſtry of General Phillips.

In theſe circumſtances, a haſty council was on that day held by the American Generals, to which their principal went, as he informs us, already predetermined as to his conduct. It was repreſented, that their whole effective numbers were not ſufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole muſt conſequently be upon conſtant duty, it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the fatigue for any length of time; and that as the enemy's batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely inveſted on all ſides within 24 hours, nothing could ſave the troops, but an immediate evacuation of both poſts. This determination was unanimouſly agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated on that night.

However juſtly this repreſentation of their condition and circumſtances was founded, and however neceſſary the determination of the council was in the preſent ſtate of their affairs, one apparently capital error on the ſide of the commanders, muſt ſtrike every common obſerver. If their force was not ſufficient for the defence of the works, why did they not form this reſolution in time? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and ſtores, and demoliſh the works

before the arrival of the enemy? Why did they wait to be nearly ſurrounded, until their retreat was more ruinous than a ſurrender under any conditions that could be propoſed, and little leſs deſtructive in the event, than if the works had been carried by ſtorm?

Theſe are queſtions that time and better information alone can anſwer, if ever they ſhould clearly anſwer, in favour of the American Generals.

The baggage of the army, with ſuch artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, as the neceſſity of the time would permit, were embarked with a ſtrong detachment on board above 200 batteaux, and diſpatched, under convoy of five armed gallies, up the ſouth river, in their way to Skeneſborough. The main army took its route by the way of Caſtletown, to reach the ſame place by land.

July 6th. The firſt light of the morning had no ſooner diſcovered the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly purſued by Brigadier General Frazer, at the head of his brigade, conſiſting of the light troops, grenadiers, and ſome other corps. Major General Reideſel was alſo ordered to join in the purſuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunſwick troops, either to ſupport the Brigadier, or to act ſeparately, as occaſion might require, or circumſtances direct. The enemy left a prodigious artillery behind them, which with thoſe taken or deſtroyed in the armed veſſels at Skeneſborough, amounted to no leſs than 128 pieces, of all ſorts, ſerviceable and unſerviceable. They alſo left ſome military ſtores of different ſorts, and no inconſiderable ſtock of proviſions in the forts.

General Burgoyne conducted the purſuit by water in perſon. That brigde and thoſe works, which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in leſs time by the Britiſh ſeamen and artificers, than it would have coſt them to have deſcribed their ſtructure. In a word, they did their buſineſs with ſuch ſpeed and effect, that not only the gun boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had paſſed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the veſſels, and the purſuit up the river was ſupported with ſuch vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremoſt brigade of the gun-boats, was cloſely engaged with the enemies gallies near Skeneſborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, aſcended and paſſed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their ſpeedy flight prevented the execution of that deſign. Upon the approach of the frigates, the gallies, which were already overborne by the gun-boats, loſt all ſpirit; two of them were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The rebels now giving way to their deſpair, ſet fire to their works, ſtockaded fort, mills, and batteaux, after which they eſcaped as well as they could up the Wood Creek.

Creek. This ſtroke ſeemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army, for the batteaux were deeply loaded, beſides their baggage, with ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions; ſo that they were now left naked in the woods, deſtitute of proviſion, and without any other means of defence, than what they derived from the arms in their hands.

Confuſion and diſmay, equally attended their main body on the left. The ſoldiers had loſt all reſpect for, and confidence in their commanders. It would be fruitleſs to expect reſolution, where no order nor command could be maintained.

Brigadier Frazer continued and ſupported the chace through the vehement heat of a burning day, with his uſual activity and vigour. Having received intelligence that the enemy's rear were at no great diſtance, and were commanded by Colonel Francis, one of their beſt and braveſt officers, his troops lay that night on their arms. He came up with the enemy, at five in the morning, whom he found ſtrongly poſted, with great advantage of ground, and a ſtill greater ſuperiority in point of number. As he expected every moment to be joined by General Reideſel, and was apprehenſive that the enemy might eſcape if he delayed, he did not heſitate to begin the attack. The advantages which they poſſeſſed in ground and number, and perhaps more than both, the goodneſs of their commander, induced them to make a better ſtand than might have been expected from their condition in other reſpects.

7th.

As Frazer's corps was not ſupported near ſo ſoon as had been expected, the engagement was long; and though the light infantry and granadiers gave ſeveral ſtriking proofs of their ſuperiority, affairs were ſtill undecided and critical. The arrival of the Germans was at length deciſive. The enemy fled on all ſides, leaving their brave commander, with many other officers, and above 200 private men, dead on the field. About the ſame number, beſides a Colonel, ſeven Captains, and ten Subalterns were taken priſoners. Above 600 were ſuppoſed to be wounded, many of whom periſhed miſerably in the woods. The principal loſs on the ſide of the royal army, was that of Major Grant, a brave officer, who was killed. St. Clair, with the van of the American army, was at this time at Caſtletown, about ſix miles farther on. Upon the account of this diſaſter, and of the more fatal ſtroke at Skeneſborough, and under the apprehenſion of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he ſtruck on to the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he ſhould direct his courſe towards the New England provinces and the upper part of the Connecticut, or to Fort Edward.

During theſe advantages on the left, Colonel Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skeneſborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood Creek, whilſt another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to diſlodge the enemy from that poſt.

In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a body of the enemy, conſiſting, as he conceived, of ſix times the number of his detachment, who finding all their efforts in front ineffectual to force the judicious poſition which he had taken, attempted to ſurround the regiment. This alarming attempt, put him under a neceſſity of changing his ground in the heat of action. Nothing leſs than the moſt perfect diſcipline, ſupported by the cooleſt intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute ſo critical a movement in the face of the enemy, and in ſuch circumſtances. It was however performed with ſuch ſteadineſs and effect, that the enemy, after an attack of three hours, were ſo totally repulſed, and with ſuch loſs, that after ſetting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudſon's river.

The loſs of the royal army, in all this ſervice, and in ſo many different engagements, ſome of which were warm, and ſeemed liable to loſs, was very ſmall. The whole in killed and wounded, not much exceeding two hundred men.

Such was the rapid torrent of ſucceſs, which ſwept every thing away before the northern army in its outſet. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their fortune, and deemed that and their proweſs to be irreſiſtible; if they regarded their enemy with the greateſt contempt, conſidered their own toils to be nearly at an end, Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of ſome time, than an arduous taſk full of difficulty and danger.

At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all thoſe who hoped or wiſhed the unqualified ſubjugation, and unconditional ſubmiſſion of the colonies. The loſs in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal conſequences, than even that of ground, of poſts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and moſt degrading charges which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the reſolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Thoſe who ſtill regarded them as men, and who had not yet loſt all affection to them as brethren; who alſo retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon conſtitutional principles, without ſacrificing the dignity or the juſt authority of government on the one ſide, or a dereliction of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impoſſible, notwithſtanding their favourable diſpoſitions in general, could not help feeling upon this occaſion, that the Americans ſunk not a little in their eſtimation. It was not difficult to diffuſe an opinion, that the war in effect was over; and that any further reſiſtance, would ſerve only to render the terms of their ſubmiſſion the worſe. Such were ſome of the immediate effects of the loſs of thoſe grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes.

General Burgoyne continued for ſome days, with the army partly at Skeneſborough, and partly ſpread in the adjoining country.

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They were under the neceſſity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and proviſions. In the mean time, no labour was ſpared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing againſt the enemy. Equal induſtry was uſed in clearing the Wood Creek from the obſtacles of fallen trees, ſunken ſtones, and other impediments which had been laid in the way by the enemy, in order to open a paſſage for batteaux, for the conveyance of artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and camp equipage. Nor was leſs diligence uſed at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, proviſion veſſels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. Theſe were all laborious works, but the ſpirit of the army was at that time ſuperior to toil or danger.

General Schuyler was at Fort Edward upon the Hudſon's river, where he was endeavouring to collect the militia, and had been joined by St. Clair, with the wretched remains of his army, who had taken a round about march of ſeven days through the woods, in which, from the exceeding badneſs of the weather, with the want of covering, proviſions, and all manner of neceſſaries, they had ſuffered the moſt extreme miſery. Many others of the fugitives had alſo arrived; but ſo totally broken down, that they were nearly as deſtitute of arms, ammunition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, and ſpirit, to uſe them with effect.

Although the direct diſtance from Fort Anne, where the batteaux navigation on Wood Creek determined, or even from Skeneſborough to Fort Edward, was no greater, than what in England would be conſidered as a moderate ride of exerciſe, yet ſuch is the ſavage face and impracticable nature of the country, and ſuch were the artificial difficulties which the induſtry of the enemy had thrown in the way, that the progreſs of the army thither, was a work of much preparation, time, and labour. It will ſcarcely be believed in after times, and may now be received with difficulty in any other part of the world, that it coſt an active and ſpirited army, without an enemy in force to impede its progreſs, not many fewer days in paſſing from one part to another of a country, than the diſtance, in a direct line, would have meaſured miles. Yet ſuch, however extraordinary, is the fact. Beſides that the country was a wilderneſs in almoſt every part of the paſſage, the enemy had cut large timber trees in ſuch a manner, on both ſides of the road, as to fall acroſs and lengthways, with their branches interwoven; ſo that the troops had ſeveral layers of theſe frequently to remove, in places where they could not poſſibly take any other direction. The face of the country was likewiſe ſo broken with creeks and marſhes, that in that ſhort ſpace, they had no leſs than forty bridges to conſtruct, beſides others to repair; and one of theſe was of log work, over a moraſs two miles in extent. All theſe toils and difficulties were encountered and overcome by the troops with their uſual ſpirit and alacrity. The enemy were too weak, too much diſpirited, and probably too much afraid of the Indians, to add very materially

to

to theſe difficulties. Some ſkirmiſhing and firing there was, however, on every day's march, in which, as uſual, they conſtantly came off loſers.

It is true, that General Burgoyne might have adopted another route to Hudſon's river, by which moſt of theſe particular difficulties would have been avoided. By returning down the South river to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort which takes its name, and lies at its head, from whence there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. To this it was objected, and probably with reaſon, that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation of the troops, to call them off from the proſecution of their ſucceſs, to a cold and ſpiritleſs voyage; and that their expedition would undoubtedly be checked by the reſiſtance and delay which they muſt expect at Fort George; whereas when the garriſon perceived that the army was marching in a direction, which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would undoubtedly conſult their ſafety in time, by abandoning the poſt.

The enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga, at the approach of the royal army, which, from the impediments we have ſeen in the march, was not until the end of July. The enthuſiaſm of the army, as well as of the General, upon their arrival on the Hudſon's river, which had been ſo long the object of their hopes and wiſhes, may be better conceived than deſcribed. As the enemy, by previouſly abandoning Fort George, and burning their veſſels, had left the lake entirely open, a great embarkation of proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries, was already arrived at that poſt from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly fully and immediately employed, in tranſporting theſe articles, with artillery, batteaux, and ſuch other matters as they judged neceſſary for the proſecution of their future meaſures, from Fort George to Hudſon's river.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

General terror excited by the loſs of Ticonderoga, and the expected progreſs of the ſavages. New England governments notwithſtanding ſhew no appearance of ſubmiſſion. Arnold ſent with a reinforcement to the northern army. Ill effects produced by the cruelties of the Indians. Difficulties experienced by the royal army in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, and in the conveyance of proviſions and ſtores from Lake George. Movement made down the North River, and a bridge of rafts thrown over near Saratoga, in order to facilitate the operations of Colonel St. Leger. Expedition to ſurprize the magazines at Bennington, under the conduct of Colonel Baum. Colonel Breyman ordered forward to ſupport the expedition. Baum defeated and taken priſoner; Breyman alſo defeated. Ill conſequences. Fort Stanwix obſtinately defended againſt Colonel St. Leger. General Harkimer attempts to relieve the fort with a body of militia, who are moſtly cut to pieces. Cruelty, and ill conduct of the ſavages; grow ſullen and intractable; oblige Colonel St. Leger to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation and loſs. Villainy of their behaviour on the retreat. Siege raiſed before the arrival of Arnold and his detachment to the relief of the fort. General Gates takes the command of the American army. General Burgoyne with the royal army paſs the North River at Saratoga, and advance to attack the enemy near Still Water. Difference of opinion upon that meaſure, as well as the motives which led to its being adopted. Severe and heavy action on the nineteenth of September. Both armies fortify their camps. Unfortunate action on the ſeventh of October. Camp ſtormed. Death of General Frazer, Colonel Breyman, and Sir James Clarke. Diſtreſſed ſituation of the royal army. Maſterly movement made, and an entire new poſition taken in the night. New engagement eagerly ſought, but refuſed on the next day by the enemy. Retreat to Saratoga. Previous deſertion of the Indians and others. Royal army reduced to the utmoſt ſtreights. Nearly ſurrounded on all ſides. Cut off from all means of ſubſiſtence, and poſſibility of retreat. Councils of war. Convention concluded with General Gates. Terms of the convention. State of the army. Succeſsful expedition by Sir Henry Clinton and General Vaughan up the North River. Several forts taken; Eſopus and other places deſtroyed. Colonel Campbell, with the Majors Sill and Grant, and Count Grabouſkie, a Poliſh nobleman, killed in this expedition. Some obſervations on the campaign.

NOTHING could exceed the aſtoniſhment and terror, which the loſs of Ticonderoga, and its immediate conſequences, ſpread throughout the New England provinces. The General's manifeſto, in which he diſplayed the powers and numbers of the ſavages, added perhaps to the effect. It was remarkable, however, that in the midſt of all theſe diſaſters, and conſequent terrors, no ſort of diſpoſition to ſubmit appeared in any quarter.

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The New England governments in particular, though moſt immediately menaced, did not ſink under their apprehenſion of the common danger. They, as well as the congreſs, acted with vigour and firmneſs in their efforts to repel the enemy. Arnold, whom we have lately ſeen at the engagement at Danbury, was immediately ſent to the reinforcement of the northern army, who carried with him a train of artillery which he received from Waſhington. On his arrival he drew the American troops back from Saratoga to Still Water, a central ſituation between that place, and the mouth of the Mohawk river, where it falls into Hudſon's. This movement, was to be the nearer at hand to check the progreſs of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing upon the former of theſe rivers. His forces were daily increaſed through the outrages of the ſavages, who, notwithſtanding the regulations and endeavours of General Burgoyne, were too prone to the exerciſe of their uſual cruelties, to be effectually reſtrained by any means. The friends of the royal cauſe, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their indiſcriminate rage. Among other inſtances of this nature, the murder of Miſs M'Crea, which happened ſome ſmall time after, ſtruck every breaſt with horror. Every circumſtance of this horrid tranſaction ſerved to render it more calamitous and afflicting. The young lady is repreſented to have been in all the innocence of youth, and bloom of beauty. Her father was ſaid to be deeply intereſted in the royal cauſe; and to wind up the cataſtrophe of this odious tragedy, ſhe was to have been married to a Britiſh officer on the very day that ſhe was maſſacred.

Occaſion was thence taken to exaſperate the people, and to blacken the royal party and army. People were too apt to jumble promiſcuouſly, and to place in one point of view, the cruelties of theſe barbarians, and the cauſe in which they were exerted. They equally execrated both. Whilſt they abhorred and deteſted that army, which ſubmitted to accept of ſuch an aid, they loudly condemned and reprobated that government, which could call ſuch auxiliaries into a civil conteſt; thereby endeavouring, as they ſaid, not to ſubdue but to exterminate, a people whom they affected to conſider, and pretended to reclaim as ſubjects. General Gates, in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, was not wanting by ſeveral publications to aggravate and inflame the picture of theſe exceſſes; and with no ſmall effect.

By this means, the advantages expected from the terror excited by theſe ſavage auxiliaries were not only counteracted; but this terror rather, it may be thought, produced a directly contrary effect. The inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting; they had no means of ſecurity left, but by abandoning their habitations, and taking up arms. Every man ſaw the neceſſity of becoming a temporary ſoldier, not only for his own ſecurity, but for the protection and defence of thoſe connections which are dearer than life itſelf. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods,

woods, mountains, and marſhes, which in this part were thickly ſown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army ſeemed to be entirely waſted, the ſpirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force.

In the mean time, the army under General Burgoyne, in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience thoſe difficulties, which increaſed as it farther advanced, until they at length became inſurmountable. From the 30th of July, to the 15th of Auguſt, the army was continually employed, and every poſſible meaſure uſed, for the bringing forward of batteaux, proviſions and ammunition, from Fort George to the firſt navigable part of Hudſon's River, a diſtance of about 18 miles. The toil was exceſſive in this ſervice, and the effect in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads were in ſome parts ſteep, and in others required great repairs. Of the horſes which had been ſupplied by contract in Canada, through the various delays and accidents attending ſo long and intricate a combination of paſſage by land and carriage by water, not more than one third were yet arrived. The induſtry of the General had been able to collect no more than 50 teams of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched, or this in which he at preſent ſojourned. Theſe reſources were totally inadequate to the purpoſes of ſupplying the army with proviſions for its current conſumption, and to the eſtabliſhment at the ſame time of ſuch a magazine as would enable it to proſecute the further operations of the campaign. Exceeding heavy rains added to all theſe difficulties; and the impediments to the ſervice were ſo various and ſtubborn, that after the utmoſt exertions for fifteen ſucceſſive days, there was not above four days proviſion in ſtore, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudſon's River.

In theſe embarraſſing and diſtreſſing circumſtances, the General received intelligence, that Colonel St. Leger had arrived before, and was conducting his operations againſt Fort Stanwix. He inſtantly and juſtly conceived, that a rapid movement forward at this critical juncture would be of the utmoſt importance. If the enemy proceeded up the Mohawk, and that St. Leger ſucceeded, he would be liable to get between two fires; or at any rate, General Burgoyne's army would get between him and Albany, ſo that he muſt either ſtand an action, or by paſſing the Hudſon's River, endeavour to ſecure a retreat higher up to the New-England provinces. If, on the other hand, he abandoned Fort Stanwix to its fate, and fell back to Albany, the Mohawk country would of courſe be entirely laid open, the junction with St. Leger eſtabliſhed, and the combined army at liberty and leiſure to preſcribe and chuſe its future line of operation.

The propriety of the movement was evident; but the difficulty lay, and great indeed it was, in finding means to carry the deſign into execution. To maintain ſuch a communication with Fort George during the whole time of ſo extenſive a movement, as would afford a daily ſupply of proviſion to an army,

army, whilſt its diſtance was continually increaſing, and its courſe liable to frequent variation, was obviouſly impracticable. The army was too weak to afford a chain of poſts for ſuch an extent; continual eſcorts for every ſeparate ſupply would be a ſtill greater drain; and in either caſe, the enemy had a body of militia within a night's march, at White Creek, ſufficient to break the line of communication.

Some other ſource of ſupply was therefore to be ſought, or the deſign to be dropped, and the proſpect of advantage which it preſented totally relinquiſhed. The enemy received large ſupplies of live cattle from the New-England provinces, which paſſing the upper part of the Connecticut river, took the route of Mancheſter, Arlington, and other parts of the New Hampſhire grants, a tract of land diſputed between that province and New York, until they were at length depoſited at Bennington, from whence they were conveyed as occaſion required to the rebel army. Bennington lies between the forks of the Hoſick River, before their obtaining that name, and without being touched by either, and not 20 miles to the eaſtward of Hudſon's; a place ſo obſcure, and ſo incapable from ſituation of being otherwiſe, that nothing but the preſent troubles could have called it into notice. It was however at this time, beſides being a ſtore for cattle, a depoſit for large quantities of corn and other neceſſaries; and what rendered it an object of particular attention to the royal army, a large number of wheel carriages, of which they were in particular want, were alſo laid up there. This place was guarded by a body of militia, which underwent ſuch frequent changes that its number was neceſſarily uncertain.

The General ſaw that the poſſeſſion of this depoſit, would at once remove all the impediments that reſtrained the operations of the army, and enable him to proceed directly in the proſecution of his deſign. He accordingly laid a ſcheme to ſurprize the place, and entruſted the execution of it to the German Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, who had been already ſelected, and was then preparing to conduct an expedition tending to ſimilar purpoſes, towards the borders of the Connecticut River.

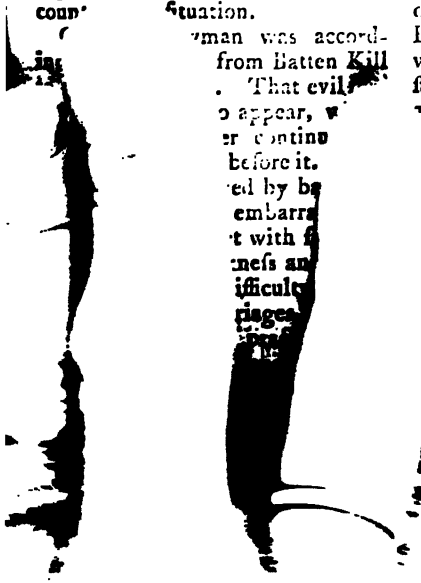
The force allotted to this ſervice amounted to about 500 men, conſiſting of about 200 of Reideſel's diſmounted German dragoons, Captain Frazer's markſmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of provincials who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and about a hundred Indians; the corps carried with them two light pieces of artillery.

In order to facilitate this operation, and to be ready to take advantage of its ſucceſs, the army moved up the eaſt ſhore of Hudſon's River, where it encamped nearly oppoſite to Saratoga, having at the ſame time thrown a bridge of rafts over, by which the advanced corps were paſſed to that place. At the ſame time Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps, conſiſting of the Brunſwick grenadiers, light infantry, and chaſſeurs, were poſted at Batten Kill, in order if neceſſary to ſupport Baum.

The latter in his march fell in with a party of the enemy who were

were eſcorting ſome cattle and proviſions, both of which he took with little difficulty and ſent back to the camp. The ſame fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, viz. the want of horſes and carriages, concurred with the badneſs of the roads in rendering Baum's advance ſo tedious, that the enemy were well informed of his deſign, and had time to prepare for his reception. Upon his approach to the place, having received intelligence that the enemy were too ſtrong to be attacked by his preſent force with any proſpect of ſucceſs, he took a tolerable good poſt near Santeclick Mills, on the nearer branch of what becomes afterwards the Hoſick River, which is there called Walloon Creek, and at about four miles diſtance from Bennington; diſpatching at the ſame time an expreſs to the General with an account of his ſituation.

A General Starke, who commanded the militia at Bennington, determined not to wait for the junction of the two parties, advanced in the morning, whilſt Breyman was yet ſtruggling with the difficulties of his march, to attack Baum in his poſt, which he had entrenched, and rendered as defenſible as time and its nature would permit. The loyal provincials who were along with him, were ſo eager in their hopes to find what they wiſhed to be real, that when the enemy were ſurrounding his poſt on all ſides, they for ſome time perſuaded him, that they were bodies of armed friends who were coming to his aſſiſtance. The colonel ſoon diſcovered their error, and made a brave defence. His ſmall works being at length carried on every ſide, and his two pieces of cannon, moſt of the Indians, and [illegible] of the provincials, [illegible] Britiſh markſmen, [illegible] woods. The Germans [illegible] ſtill kept together [illegible] ſmmunition [illegible] their [illegible] urge with [illegible] te from [illegible] given. [illegible]



beginning from two or three different hills on which they had poſts. They were however at length overpowered, and their ammunition being unfortunately expended, although each ſoldier had brought out forty rounds in his pouch, they were obliged with great reluctance to abandon the two pieces of artillery they had brought with them, and to retreat in the beſt manner they could; a circumſtance to which the lateneſs of the evening was very favourable.

The loſs of men ſuſtained by theſe two engagements could not be leſs than five or ſix hundred, of whom, however, the greater part were priſoners. But this was not the only or the greateſt loſs. The reputation and courage which it afforded to the militia, to find that they were able to defeat regular forces; that neither Engliſhmen nor Germans were invincible, nor invulnerable to their impreſſion; and the hope and confidence excited by the artillery, and other trophies of victory, were of much greater conſequence. This was the firſt turn which fortune had taken in favour of the Americans in the northern war, ſince ſome time before the death of Montgomery; misfortune had ſucceeded misfortune, and defeat had trod upon the heel of defeat, ſince that period. This was the firſt inſtance in the preſent campaign, in which ſhe ſeemed even wavering, much leſs that ſhe for a moment quitted the royal ſtandard. The exultation was accordingly great on the one ſide; nor could the other avoid feeling ſome damp to that eagerneſs of hope, and receiving ſome check to that aſſured confidence of ſucceſs, which an unmixed ſeries of fortunate events muſt naturally excite.

St. Leger's attempt upon Fort Stanwix, (now named by the Americans Fort Schuyler) was ſoon after its commencement favoured by a ſucceſs ſo ſignal, as would in other caſes, and a more fortunate ſeaſon, have been deciſive as to the fate of a ſtronger and much more important fortreſs. General Harkimer, a leading man of that country, was marching at the head of eight or nine hundred of the Tryon county militia, with a convoy of proviſions, to the relief of the fort. St. Leger, well aware of the danger of being attacked in his trenches, and of withſtanding the whole weight of the garriſon in ſome particular and probably weak point at the ſame inſtant, and equally well underſtanding the kind of ſervice for which the Indians were peculiarly calculated, judiciouſly detached Sir John Johnſon, with ſome regulars, the whole or part of his own regiment, and the ſavages, to lie in ambuſh in the woods, and intercept the enemy upon their march.

It ſhould ſeem by the conduct of the militia and their leader, that they were not only totally ignorant of all military duties, but that they had even never heard by report of the nature of an Indian war, or of that peculiar ſervice in the woods, to which from its nature and ſituation their country was at all times liable. Without examination of their ground, without a reconnoitring, or flanking party, they plunged blindly into the trap that was laid for their deſtruction. Being thrown into ſudden and inevitable diſ- Aug. 6th. order, by a near and heavy fire on almoſt

almoſt all ſides, it was completed by the Indians, who inſtantly purſuing their fire, ruſhed in upon their broken ranks, and made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter amongſt them with their ſpears and hatchets. Notwithſtanding their want of conduct, the militia ſhewed no want of courage in their deplorable ſituation. In the midſt of ſuch extreme danger, and ſo bloody an execution, rendered ſtill more terrible by the horrid appearance and demeanour of the principal actors, they recollected themſelves ſo far as to recover an advantageous ground, which enabled them after to maintain a ſort of running fight, by which about one third of their number was preſerved.

The loſs was ſuppoſed to be on their ſide about 400 killed, and half that number priſoners. It was thought of the greater conſequence, as almoſt all thoſe who were conſidered as the principal leaders and inſtigators of rebellion in that country were now deſtroyed. The triumph and exultation were accordingly great, and all oppoſition from the militia in that country, was ſuppoſed to be at an end. The circumſtance of old neighbourhood and perſonal knowledge between many of the parties, in the preſent rage and animoſity of faction, could by no means be favourable to the extenſion of mercy; even ſuppoſing that it might have been otherwiſe practiſed with prudence and ſafety, at a time when the power of the Indians was rather prevalent, and that their rage was implacable. For according to their computation and ideas of loſs, the ſavages had purchaſed this victory exceeding dearly, 33 of their number having been ſlain, and 29 wounded, among whom were ſeveral of their principal leaders, and of their moſt diſtinguiſhed and favourite warriors. This loſs accordingly rendered them ſo diſcontented, intractable, and ferocious, that the ſervice was greatly affected by their ill diſpoſition. The unhappy priſoners were however its firſt objects; moſt of whom they inhumanly butchered in cold blood. The New-Yorkers, rangers, and other troops, were not without loſs in this action.

On the day, and probably during the time of this engagement, the garriſon, having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, endeavoured to make a diverſion in their favour, by a vigorous and well-conducted ſally, under the direction of Colonel Willet, their ſecond in command. Willet conducted his buſineſs with ability and ſpirit. He did conſiderable miſchief in the camp; brought off ſome trophies, no inconſiderable ſpoil, ſome of which conſiſted in articles that were greatly wanted, a few priſoners, and returned with little or no loſs. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous expedition. They paſſed by night through the beſiegers works, and in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the ſavages, made their way for 50 miles through pathleſs woods and unexplored moraſſes, in order to raiſe the country, and bring relief to the fort. Such an action demands the praiſe even of an enemy.

Colonel St. Leger left no means untried to profit of his victory by intimidating the garriſon. He ſent verbal and written meſſages,

ſtating their hopeleſs ſituation, the utter deſtruction of their friends, the impoſſibility of their obtaining relief, as General Burgoyne, after deſtroying every thing in his way, was now at Albany receiving the ſubmiſſion of all the adjoining countries, and by prodigiouſly magnifying his own force. He repreſented, that in this ſtate of things, if, through an incorrigible obſtinacy, they ſhould continue a hopeleſs and fruitleſs defence, they would, according to the practice of the moſt civilized nations, be cut off from all conditions, and every hope of mercy. But he particularly dwelt upon the pains he had taken in ſoftening the rage of the Indians for their late loſs, and obtaining from them ſecurity, that in caſe of an immediate ſurrender of the fort, every man of the garriſon ſhould be ſpared; whilſt on the other hand they declared with the moſt bitter execrations, that if they met with any further reſiſtance, they would not only maſſacre the garriſon, but that every man, woman and child in the Mohawk country would neceſſarily, and however againſt his will, fall ſacrifices to the fury of the ſavages. This point he ſaid he preſſed entirely on the ſcore of humanity; he promiſed on his part, in caſe of an immediate ſurrender, every attention which a humane and generous enemy could give.

The Governor, Colonel Ganſevort, behaved with great firmneſs. He replied, that he had been entruſted with the charge of that garriſon by the United States of America; that he would defend the truſt committed to his care at every hazard, and to the utmoſt extremity; and that he neither thought himſelf accountable for, nor ſhould he at all concern himſelf about any conſequences that attended the diſcharge of his duty. It was ſhrewdly remarked in the fort, that half the pains would not have been taken, to diſplay the force immediately without, or the ſucceſs at a diſtance, if they bore any proportion at all to the magnitude in which they were repreſented.

The Britiſh commander was much diſappointed in the ſtate of the fort. It was ſtronger, in better condition, and much better defended than he expected. After great labour in his approaches, he found his artillery deficient, being inſufficient in weight to make any conſiderable impreſſion. The only remedy was to bring his approaches ſo near that they muſt take effect; which he ſet about with the greateſt diligence. In the mean time, the Indians continued ſullen and intractable. Their late loſſes might have been cured by certain advantages; but the misfortune was, they had yet got no plunder, and their proſpect of getting any ſeemed to grow every day fainter. It is the peculiar characteriſtic of that people, to exhibit in certain inſtances degrees of courage and perſeverance which ſhock reaſon and credibility, and to betray in others the greateſt irreſolution and timidity; with a total want of that conſtancy which might enable them for any length of time to ſtruggle with difficulty.

Whilſt the commander was carrying on his operations with the utmoſt induſtry, the Indians received a flying report that Arnold was coming with a thouſand men to relieve the fort. The commander endeavoured to hearten them, by promiſing to lead them himſelf,

to

to bring all his beſt troops into action, and by carrying their leaders out to mark a field of battle, and the flattery of conſulting them upon the intended plan of operation. Whilſt he was thus endeavouring to ſoothe their temper, and to revive their flagging ſpirits, other ſcouts arrived with intelligence, probably contrived in part by themſelves, which firſt doubled, and afterwards trebled the number of the enemy, with the comfortable addition, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. The Colonel returned to camp, and called a council of their chiefs, hoping that by the influence which Sir John Johnſon, and the ſuper-intendants Claus and Butler had over them, they might ſtill be induced to make a ſtand. He was diſappointed. A part of the Indians decamped whilſt the council was ſitting, and the remainder threatened peremptorily to abandon him if he did not immediately retreat.

Aug. 22d. The retreat was of courſe precipitate; or it was rather, in plain terms, a flight, attended with diſagreeable circumſtances. The tents, with moſt of the artillery and ſtores, fell into the hands of the garriſon. It appears by the Colonel's own account, that he was as apprehenſive of danger from the fury of his ſavage allies, as he could from the reſentment of his declared American enemies. It alſo appears from the ſame authority, that the Meſſaſages, a nation of ſavages to the weſt, plundered ſeveral of the boats belonging to the army. By the American accounts, which are in part confirmed by others, it is ſaid that they robbed the officers of their baggage, and of every other article to which they took any liking; and the army in general of their proviſions. They alſo ſay, that at a few miles diſtance from the camp, they firſt ſtripped of their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets, all thoſe Britiſh, German, and American ſoldiers, who from an inability to keep up, fear, or any other cauſe, were ſeparated from the main body.

The ſtate of the fact with reſpect to the intended relief of the fort is, that Arnold had advanced by the way of Half Moon up the Mohawk River with 2000 men for that purpoſe; and that for the greater expedition, he had quitted the main body, and arrived by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment of 900 at the fort, on the 24th in the evening, two days after the ſiege had been raiſed. So that upon the whole, the intractableneſs of the Indians, with their watchful apprehenſion of danger, probably ſaved them from a chaſtiſement, which would not have been tenderly adminiſtered.

Nothing could have been more untoward in the preſent ſituation of affairs, than the unfortunate iſſue of this expedition. The Americans repreſented this and the affair at Bennington as great and glorious victories. Nothing could exceed their exultation and confidence. Ganſevort and Willet, with General Starke and Colonel Warner, who had commanded at Bennington, were ranked amongſt thoſe who were conſidered as the ſaviours of their country. The northern militia began now to look high, and to forget all diſtinctions between themſelves and regular

[illegible] Arnold's residence, with [illegible] and publications [illegible] preparations of General Burgoyne's army [illegible] from Canada to the [illegible] Hudſon's River, and encamped [illegible] Albany. [illegible] Gates [illegible] Fort Edward, [illegible] Burgoyne [illegible] Fort Miller, [illegible] Saratoga, [illegible] Fort George [illegible] Fort Edward [illegible] Fort Miller [illegible] Saratoga

country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and a continual repair of bridges neceſſary. Being at length arrived in the front of the enemy, ſome woods only of no great extent intervening, the General put himſelf at the head of the Britiſh line which compoſed the right wing. That wing was covered by General Frazer and Colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers, and light infantry of the army, who kept along ſome high grounds which commanded its right flank, being themſelves covered by the Indians, provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under the Majors General Phillips and Reideſel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river ſide.

Sept. 19th.

The enemy, being incapable from the nature of the country of perceiving the different combinations of the march, iſſued from their camp in great force, with a deſign of turning the right wing, and taking the Britiſh line on the flank. Being unexpectedly checked in this deſign, by the ſtrong poſition of General Frazer, they immediately countermarched, and the ſame particularity of country which had occaſioned their miſtake, now operating as effectually to prevent the diſcovery, and conſequently the taking any advantage of their ſubſequent movement, they directed their principal effort to the left of the ſame wing.

The Britiſh troops were not a little ſurprized, at the boldneſs with which they began the attack, and the vigour and obſtinacy with which it was ſuſtained, from three o'clock in the afternoon, till after ſunſet. Arnold led on the enemy, and ſought danger with an eagerneſs and intrepidity, which though much in his character, was at no time more eminently diſtinguiſhed. The enemy were, however, continually ſupplied with freſh troops, whilſt the weight of the action lay principally for a long time upon the 20th, the 21ſt, and 62d regiments. It will be needleſs to ſay, that they behaved with their uſual firmneſs and gallantry, though it may not be totally ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the greater part of theſe three regiments, were engaged for near four hours without intermiſſion.

Moſt of the other corps of the army, bore alſo a good ſhare in the buſineſs of the day. The 24th regiment, which belonged to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and a part of the light infantry, were for ſome time brought into action, and charged with their uſual ſpirit and bravery. Breyman's riflemen, and ſome other parts of his corps, alſo did good ſervice; but theſe troops only acted partially and occaſionally, as the heights on which they had been originally poſted, were of too great importance to be totally evacuated.

Major General Phillips upon firſt hearing the firing, made his way with Major Williams and a part of the artillery through a very difficult part of the wood, and from that time rendered moſt eſſential ſervice. It ſeems as if in one inſtance his preſence of mind had nearly ſaved the army, when, in the moſt critical point of time, he reſtored the action by leading up the 20th regiment, the enemy having then obtained a great ſuperiority of fire. Though every part of the artillery performed, almoſt,

wonders, the brave Captain Jones (who was unfortunately, though gloriouſly, killed) with his brigade, were particularly diſtinguiſhed. Major-General Reideſel alſo exerted himſelf to bring up a part of the left wing, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with bravery and effect. Juſt as the light cloſed, the enemy retired; and left the royal army maſters of the field of battle. The darkneſs equally prevented purſuit and priſoners.

Upon the whole, the royal army gained nothing but honour by this arduous ſtruggle and hard-fought battle. They had now grappled with ſuch an enemy as they had never before encountered in America; and ſuch as they were too apt to imagine it could not produce. The flattering ideas that the Americans could only fight under the covert of walls, hedges, or entrenchments, and were incapable of ſuſtaining a fair and open conflict in the field, were now at an end. This opinion had alſo been in ſome meaſure ſhaken in the ſouth. Here they met with a foe who ſeemed as eager for action, as careleſs of danger, and as indifferent with reſpect to ground or cover as themſelves; and after a hard and cloſe conteſt of four hours, hand to hand, when darkneſs put an end to the engagement, the royal forces but barely kept the field, and the Americans only returned to their camp.

We loſt many brave men in this action, and it was not much matter of comfort that the Americans had loſt a greater number. The army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning took a poſition nearly within cannon ſhot of the enemy's camp tifying their right wing, an tending their left ſo as to thoſe meadows through whic river runs, and where thei teaux and hoſpitals were p The 47th regiment, with t Heſſe Hanau, and a corps c vincials, were encamped i meadows as an additional fe The enemy's right was inc of approach, and their left w ſtrongly fortified to be inſult

The zeal and alacrity of t dians began from this ti ſlacken. Though the Genera plains in his diſpatches of effects of their deſertion, h not ſpecify the particular t their abandoning the army. cloſe and dangerous ſervice no means ſuited to their c tion, and the proſpects of p were narrowed to nothing. lity and honour were princi which they had no terms, which they could frame no Some letters had lately paſſ tween Gates and General goyne, in which bitter rep relative to the barbarities c ted by the ſavages were thro by the one, and thoſe charg in general denied, and in p liated on the other. The likewiſe received ſome ch account of the murder c M'Crea. Upon ſome or theſe accounts they deſert army in the ſeaſon of its dan diſtreſs, when their aid wou been moſt particularly uſefu afforded a ſecond inſtance w ſhort time of the little relia ſhould be placed on ſuch ries.

A great deſertion alſo p amongſt the Canadians and prov

provincials, nor does it ſeem as if the fidelity or ſervices of thoſe who remained were much depended on or eſteemed. General Burgoyne had from the beginning, nor did it entirely forſake him to this time, a firm hope of being powerfully ſuccoured if wanted, or at any rate of being met and joined at Albany, by a ſtrong force from the army at New-York. He now received with great difficulty a letter in cypher from Sir Harry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diverſion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery, and ſome other fortreſſes which the rebels had erected in the highlands, in order to guard the paſſage up that river to Albany. Though this diverſion fell far ſhort of the aid which the General expected, he, however, hoped that it might afford eſſential ſervice by obliging Gates to divide his army. He accordingly returned the meſſenger, and afterwards diſpatched two officers in diſguiſe, and other confidential perſons, all ſeparately and by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact ſtate, ſituation, and condition; to preſs him urgently to the immediate proſecution of his deſign; and to inform him, that he was enabled in point of proviſion, and fixed in his determination, to hold his preſent poſition, in the hope of favourable events, until the 12th of the following month.

In the mean time every means were uſed for fortifying the camp, and ſtrong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hoſpitals, not only to guard againſt any ſudden attack, but for their ſecurity in any future movement which the army might make in order to turn the enemy's flank. The ſtricteſt watch on the motions of the enemy, and attention on every quarter to their own ſecurity, became every day more indiſpenſible, as Gates's army was continually increaſing in force by the acceſſion of freſh bodies of the militia.

The ſpirit of exertion and enterprize which was now raiſed in the New-England provinces, was become too general, and too much animated by ſucceſs, to be eaſily withſtood at once in all the different points of its direction. Whilſt General Burgoyne was fully engaged with Gates and Arnold, and found himſelf immediately involved in circumſtances ſufficiently perplexing, all his difficulties were increaſed, and his ſituation was rendered much more critical and precarious, by an unexpected enterprize of the militia from the upper parts of New Hampſhire and the head of the Connecticut, totally to cut off all means of communication with Canada, by recovering the forts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and becoming again maſters, at leaſt, of Lake George.

The expedition was under the direction of General Lincoln, and the immediate execution was committed to the Colonels Brown, Johnſton, and Woodbury, with detachments of about 500 men each. They conducted their operations with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that they effectually ſurprized all the Sept. 17th. out poſts between the landing place at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortreſs of Ticonderoga. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-houſe, with 200 bat-

teaux, an armed ſloop, and ſeveral gun-boats, were almoſt inſtantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the veſſels, were made priſoners; whilſt they afforded freedom to a number of their own people, who were confined in ſome of the works they had taken. In this heat of ſucceſs, they brought the cannon out of the armed veſſel they had taken, and after repeated ſummons to Brigadier Powel who commanded, and who gallantly rejected all their propoſals, they for four days made reiterated attacks upon the works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; until finding that they were repulſed in every aſſault, and totally unequal to the ſervice, they at length abandoned the deſign.

In the beginning of October, General Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the uncertainty of his ſituation, to leſſen the ſoldiers rations of proviſion; a meaſure, which however diſagreeable to an army, was now ſubmitted to with a chearfulneſs which merited the higheſt regards, and did the greateſt honour to the troops. Things continued in this ſtate until the 7th of October, when there being no appearance or intelligence of the expected co-operation, and the time limited for the ſtay of the army in its preſent camp within four or five days of being expired, it was judged adviſeable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to diſcover whether there were any poſſible means of forcing a paſſage, ſhould it be neceſſary to advance, or of diſlodging them for the convenience of retreat, but alſo to cover a forage of the army, which was exceedingly diſtreſſed by the preſent ſcarcity.

A detachment of 1500 regular troops, with 2 twelve-pounders, 2 howitzers, and 6 ſix-pounders, were ordered to move, being commanded by the General in perſon, who was ſeconded by thoſe excellent officers the Majors General Phillips and Reideſel, with Brigadier General Frazer. No equal number of men was ever better commanded, and it would have been difficult indeed, to have matched the men with any equal number. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds, was committed to the Brigadiers General Hamilton and Speight; that of the redoubts and the plain near the river, to Brigadier Goll. The force of the enemy immediately in the front of the lines, was ſo much ſuperior, that it was not thought ſafe to augment the detachment beyond the number we have ſtated.

The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were puſhed on through bye ways to appear as a check on their rear. But the further intended operations of the detachment were prevented, by a very ſudden and moſt rapid attack of the enemy upon the Britiſh grenadiers, who were poſted to ſupport the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, ſuſtained this fierce attack with great reſolution; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend the attack along the whole front of the Germans, who were poſted immediately on the right of the grenadiers,

it became impracticable to move any part of that body, for the purpoſe of forming a ſecond line to ſupport the flank, where the great weight of the fire ſtill fell.

The right was ſtill unengaged; but it was ſoon perceived that the enemy were marching a ſtrong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppoſe this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, which were joined with them at that poſt, were thrown into a ſecond line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into camp.

Whilſt this motion was yet in proceſs, the enemy puſhed a freſh and ſtrong reinforcement to decide the action on the left, which being totally overpowered by ſo great a ſuperiority, was compelled by dint of force to give way; upon which, the light infantry and 24th regiment were obliged, by a very quick movement, to endeavour to ſave that wing from being totally ruined. It was in this movement, that the brave Brigadier General Frazer was mortally wounded. An officer whoſe loſs would have been ſeverely felt, and his place with difficulty ſupplied, in a corps of the moſt accompliſhed officers.

The ſituation of the detachment was now exceedingly critical; but the danger to which the lines were expoſed was ſtill more alarming and ſerious. Phillips and Reideſel were ordered to cover the retreat, and thoſe troops which were neareſt, or moſt diſengaged, returned as faſt as they could for their defence. The troops in general retreated in good order, though very hard preſſed. They were obliged to abandon ſix pieces of cannon; the horſes not only being deſtroyed, but moſt of the brave artillery men, who had, as uſual, under the conduct of Major Williams, diſplayed the utmoſt ſkill and ability in their profeſſion, along with the moſt undaunted reſolution, being either killed or dangerouſly wounded.

The enemy purſued their ſucceſs with great eagerneſs. The troops had ſcarcely entered the camp, when the Americans ſtormed it in different parts with uncommon fierceneſs; ruſhing to the lines through a ſevere fire of grape ſhot and ſmall arms, with the utmoſt fury. Arnold led on the attack with his uſual impetuoſity, againſt a part of the entrenchments into which the light infantry under Lord Balcarres, with a part of the line, had thrown themſelves by order. He there met with a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance. The action continued very warm for ſome time, each ſide ſeeming to vie with the other in ardour and perſeverance. In this critical moment of glory and danger, Arnold was grievouſly wounded, juſt as he was forcing his way into, or had already entered the works. This could not fail to damp his party, who after long and repeated efforts were finally repulſed.

Affairs were not ſo fortunate in another quarter. Colonel Breyman, who commanded the German reſerve, being killed, the entrenchments defended by that corps were carried ſword in hand, and they were totally routed with the loſs of their baggage, tents, and artillery. This misfortune was not retrieved, although orders for the

the recovery of the pol. were dif-patched by the General, and the relation of the transaction seems to imply some blame to those who failed in the execution. By this means the enemy gained a dangerous opening on our right and rear. The night only put an end to the engagement.

It would seem that nothing could now exceed the dejection and calamity of the army. They bore it with that excellency of temper and that uncommunicable firmness and reluctance, which are natural to and were worthy of British soldiers. It was evidently impossible to continue in their present situation without hazarding to a certainty the destruction of the enfeebled body. A total change of pro-ject was accordingly undertaken, and as it seems to have been conceived with great judgment, was executed with equal courage during the night. The baggage of the heels, [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], and [illegible] never expected [illegible] the movement of a body of troops, it was a general retreat of the whole army, of the camp and artillery from the high ground, to the lower above the bridge; but by so subtle change of front, to retain the enemy in the security of pursuing their own objects. All this was accomplished in the darkness, and under the cover and protection of fog and night, so silently observed, and accompanied with such circumstances of [illegible] judgment, as were sufficient to elude the best formed plans, and to leave the bravest [illegible], without rule, and what was still more, without disorder.

Many brave men fell on this unfortunate day. The officers suffered exceedingly. Several had been grievously wounded in the late action, and who did not absent from any danger which their fellows were in were again wounded in this many those of greater note, were distinguished by nights who fell, besides General [illegible] and Colonel Breyman, who have mentioned. Sir James C[illegible] Adjutant to General [illegible] was mortally wounded taken prisoner. Major Wi[illegible] of the artillery, and Major A[illegible] of the grenadiers, were all taken. The latter being wou[illegible] For the whole, the loss o[illegible] killed and wounded, though av[illegible] imperfect, and not incl[illegible] the Germans, were long an[illegible] lamentably.

On the next day, the army being sensible that nothing less than a successful action could extricate them from their present difficulties without effect, determined to offer battle repeated their new position, to the en[illegible] They were preparing with [illegible] the carrying of this into execution, which were [illegible] engaging, though not less [illegible] than the attack of a [illegible] and desperate enemy, in [illegible] are formed ground. A [illegible] ued formation of skirmishes however, carried on, and the[illegible] not part without loss on both

In the mean time, the B[illegible] General observed, that the [illegible] my had pushed a strong body [illegible] ward to turn his right, whi[illegible] effected, he would have been [illegible] pletely enclosed on every

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Nothing was left to prevent this fatal conſequence, but an immediate retreat to Saratoga. The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at night; and tho' the movement was within muſket ſhot of the enemy, and the army encumbered in the retreat with all its baggage, it was made without loſs. A heavy rain which fell that night, and continued on the enſuing day, though it impeded the progreſs of the army, and increaſed the difficulties of the march, ſerved at the ſame time to retard, and in a great meaſure to prevent the purſuit of the enemy. In this unhappy neceſſity, the hoſpital with the ſick and wounded, was of courſe, and muſt have been inevitably, abandoned. In this inſtance, as well as in every other which occurred in the courſe of theſe tranſactions, General Gates behaved with an attention and humanity, to all thoſe whom the fortune of war had thrown into his hands, which does honour to his character.

On the ſide of the Americans, the loſs in killed and wounded was great; and it is ſuppoſed exceeded that of the Britiſh. They, however, loſt no officer of note; but the Generals Lincoln and Arnold were both dangerouſly wounded.

From the impediments in the march which we have mentioned, the army did not paſs the fords of the Fiſh Kill Creek, which lies a little to the northward of Saratoga, until the 10th in the morning. They found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them, who retired at their approach over a ford of the Hudſon's river, and there joined a greater force, which was ſtationed to prevent the paſſage of the army. No hope now remained but that of effecting a retreat, at leaſt as far as Fort George, on the way to Canada. For this purpoſe, a detachment of artificers under a ſtrong eſcort, was ſent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward. But they were not long departed from the camp, when the ſudden appearance of the enemy in great force, on the oppoſite heights, with their apparent preparation to paſs the Fiſh Kill, and bring on an immediate engagement, rendered it neceſſary to recal the 47th regiment, and Frazer's marksmen, who, with Mackoy's provincials, compoſed the eſcort. The workmen had only commenced the repair of the firſt bridge, when they were abandoned by their provincial guard, who ran away, and left them to ſhift for themſelves, only upon a very ſlight attack of an inconſiderable party of the enemy. All the force of diſcipline, and all the ſtubbornneſs derived from its moſt confirmed habits, were now neceſſary to ſupport even the appearance of reſolution.

The farther ſhore of the Hudſon's river, was now lined with detachments of the enemy, and the batteaux loaded with proviſions and neceſſaries, which had attended the motions of the army up the river, ſince its departure from the neighbourhood of Still Water, were expoſed, notwithſtanding any protection which could poſſibly be afforded, to the continual fire and attacks of theſe detachments. Many boats were taken, ſome retaken, and a number

ber of men loſt in the ſkirmiſhes, upon theſe occaſions. At length it was found that the proviſions could only be preſerved by landing and bringing them up the hill to the camp; a labour which was accompliſhed under a heavy fire with difficulty and loſs.

In theſe deplorable circumſtances, councils of war were held, to conſider of the poſſibility of a further retreat. The only meaſure that carried even the appearance of practicability, hard, difficult, and dangerous as it was, was by a night march to gain Fort Edward, the troops carrying their proviſions upon their backs. The impoſſibility of repairing the roads and bridges, and of conveying in their preſent ſituation the artillery and carriages, were too evident to admit of a queſtion. It was propoſed to force the fords at or near Fort Edward.

Whilſt preparations were making for carrying this forlorn and deſperate reſolve into execution, intelligence was received, that the enemy had already with great foreſight, provided for every poſſible meaſure that could be adopted for an eſcape, and that this final reſort was accordingly cut off. Beſides, being ſtrongly entrenched oppoſite to the fords which it was intended to paſs, they had a camp in force, and provided with artillery, on the high and ſtrong grounds, between Fort Edward and Fort George; whilſt their parties were every where ſpread along the oppoſite ſhore of the river, to watch or intercept the motions of the army, and on their own, the enemy's poſts were ſo cloſe, that they could ſcarcely make the ſmalleſt movement without diſcovery.

Nothing could be more deplorably calamitous, than the ſtate and ſituation of the army. Worn down by a ſeries of hard toil, inceſſant effort, and ſtubborn action; abandoned in their utmoſt neceſſity and diſtreſs by the Indians; weakened by the deſertion, or diſappointed and diſcouraged by the timidity and inefficacy of the Canadians and Provincials; and the regular troops reduced by repeated and heavy loſſes, of many of their beſt men and moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, to the number of only 3,500 effective fighting men, of whom not quite 2,000 were Britiſh. In theſe circumſtances, and in this ſtate of weakneſs, without a poſſibility of retreat, and their proviſion juſt exhauſted, they were inveſted by an army of four times their own number, whoſe poſition extended three parts in four of a circle round them; who refuſed to fight from a knowledge of their condition; and who from the nature of the ground could not be attacked in any part.

In this helpleſs condition, obliged to lie conſtantly on their arms, whilſt a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape ſhot fell in every part of the lines, the Britiſh troops retained their conſtancy, temper, and fortitude, in a wonderful and almoſt unparalleled manner. As true courage ſubmits with great difficulty to deſpair, they ſtill flattered themſelves with the hope of ſuccour from their friends on the New York ſide, or, perhaps with not leſs fervent wiſhes, of an attack from the enemy; thereby to

quit

quit all ſcores at once, and either to have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating themſelves with honour. In the mean time, the enemy's force was continually increaſed by the pouring in of the militia from all parts, who were all eager to partake of the glory, the ſpoil, or the pleaſure of beholding the degradation of thoſe whom they had ſo long dreaded, and whom they unhappily conſidered as their moſt implacable enemies.

At length, no ſuccour appearing, and no rational ground of hope of any kind remaining, an exact account of the proviſions was taken on the evening of the 13th of October, when it was found that the whole ſtock in hand, would afford no more than three days bare ſubſiſtence for the army. A council was immediately called; and the General thinking it right and juſt, in a matter ſo momentous to individuals, as well as the whole, to obtain the general opinion and ſuffrage of the army, ſo far as it could with propriety be collected, invited, beſides the Generals and field officers, all the Captains commanding corps or diviſions, to aſſiſt at the council. The reſult was, an unanimous determination to open a treaty and enter into a convention with General Gates.

Gates ſhewed no marks of arrogance, nor betrayed no ſigns of being carried away by the preſent extraordinary torrent of ſucceſs. The terms were moderate, conſidering the ruined ſtate and irretrievable circumſtances of the army; and that it was already in effect at the enemy's mercy, being equally incapable of ſubſiſting where it was, and of making its way to a better ſituation. The principal difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the Britiſh Generals and troops were peremptory, and Gates far from being ſtiff.

The principal articles of the convention, Oct. 17th. excluſive of thoſe which related to the proviſion and accommodation of the army, in its way to Boſton, and during its ſtay at that place, were, That the army ſhould march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and its camp artillery, to a fixed place where they were to depoſit their arms: To be allowed a free embarkation and paſſage to Europe from Boſton, upon condition of their not ſerving again in America, during the preſent war; the army not to be ſeparated, particularly the men from the officers; roll-calling, and other duties of regularity to be admitted; the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their ſide arms; all private property to be ſacred, and the public delivered upon honour; no baggage to be ſearched or moleſted; all perſons of whatever country, appertaining to, or following the camp, to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation; and the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to its conditions.

General Gates fulfilled all the conditions, ſo far as he was, or could be concerned in them, with the utmoſt punctuality and honour. His humanity and politeneſs, in every part of this buſineſs, have been much celebrated; without a ſingle detraction, ſo far as we have heard, from the moſt favourable accounts that have been given of his

his conduct. This was the more praiſe-worthy, as ſome late, as well as former circumſtances, had highly enraged the American militia; the army in its laſt movements, whether from military neceſſity, or the vexation and ill-temper incident to their ſituation, or the joint operation of both, having burnt and deſtroyed many houſes, and ſome of them buildings of great value. The extraordinary and ſevere execution which now took place upon the North River, would alſo have afforded too much colour for a different mode of conduct. It is even ſaid, and we do not find that it has been contradicted, that this General paid ſo nice and delicate an attention to the Britiſh military honour, and to the character and feelings of thoſe brave troops, who now experienced ſo deplorable a reverſe of fortune, that he kept his army cloſe within their lines, and did not ſuffer an American ſoldier to be a witneſs to the degrading ſpectacle of piling their arms.

The Americans ſtate the whole number who laid down their arms, including Canadians, Provincials, volunteers, regulars, and irregulars, of all ſorts, at 5752 men. In this number is undoubtedly included, though not ſpecified, all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. They alſo ſtate the number of ſick and wounded left in the hoſpitals at the retreat from the camp near Still Water, to 528 men, and the loſs beſides in the army, in killed, wounded, taken, or deſerted, from the 6th of July downwards, to 2,933; the total amount of theſe numbers being 9,213 men. By another account, the number is carried above ten thouſand. They alſo got a fine train of artillery, amounting to 35 of different ſorts and ſizes.

During theſe unfortunate ſactions, Lieutenant Gener Henry Clinton, conducted h pedition up the North River great ſucceſs. He had emb about 3000 men for that ſe accompanied by a ſuitable force, conſiſting of ſhips of armed gallies, and ſmaller v under the conduct of Comm Hotham. Their firſt objec the reduction of the forts M gomery and Clinton, which of conſiderable ſtrength, bei that time in a very ungu ſtate, it was determined t tempt by a coup de main. were ſituated on either ſide creek, which deſcended fro mountains to the North Rive their communication preſerv a bridge. Several neceſſary tions being made to maſk th deſign, the troops were land two diviſions, at ſuch a di from their object, as occaſio conſiderable and difficult through the mountains; was however calculated and ducted with ſuch preciſion, the two detachments arrive the oppoſite ſides of the and began their ſepa- Oct rate attack on the forts, at nearly the ſame time. Th prize and terror of the gar was increaſed by the appea of the ſhips of war, and the val and near fire of the g which approached ſo cloſe ſtrike the walls with their The aſſault on both ſides o creek was exceedingly vig and the impetuoſity of the t ſo great, that notwithſtand

very conſiderable defence, both the forts were carried by ſtorm. As the ſoldiers were much irritated, as well by the fatigue they had undergone, and the oppoſition they met, as by the loſs of ſome brave and favourite officers, the ſlaughter of the enemy was conſiderable.

Upon the loſs of the forts, the rebels ſet fire to two fine new frigates, and to ſome other veſſels, which with their artillery and ſtores were all conſumed. Another fort called Conſtitution, was in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined land and naval force, precipitately ſet on fire and abandoned. General Tryon alſo, at the head of a detachment, deſtroyed a new and thriving ſettlement called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, with conſiderable ſtores. The artillery taken in the three forts, amounted to 67 pieces of different ſizes. A large quantity of artillery and other ſtores, with ammunition, and proviſions, were alſo taken. A large boom and chain, the making of which was ſuppoſed to have coſt 70,000 l. and the conſtruction of which was conſidered as an extraordinary proof of American labour, induſtry, and ſkill, was in part deſtroyed, and in part carried away. Upon the whole, the American loſs in value, was probably greater than upon any other occaſion ſince the commencement of the war. Their ſtrength and attention were drawn away to the northward, and other things muſt have been neglected, whilſt they applied both to the principal object.

Our loſs in killed and wounded was not great as to number, but ſome diſtinguiſhed and much lamented officers fell. Of theſe, beſides Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who commanded the attack on Fort Montgomery, Major Sill, was from the general eſteem he had acquired through his many excellent qualities, univerſally regretted. Major Grant of the New York volunteers, and Count Grabouſki, a Poliſh nobleman, and Aid de Camp to General Clinton, were alſo ſlain in the aſſault on theſe forts.

The expedition did not end with this ſucceſs. Sir James Wallace, with a flying ſquadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan, with a conſiderable detachment of troops, continued, for ſeveral days, their excurſion up the river, carrying terror and deſtruction wherever they went. At the very time that General Burgoyne was receiving the moſt favourable conditions for himſelf and a ruined army, the fine village or town of Eſopus, at no very great diſtance, was reduced to aſhes, and not a houſe left ſtanding. The extraordinary devaſtation which attended every part of this expedition, of the neceſſity of which we are not judges, was productive of a pathetic but ſevere letter, from General Gates, then in the height of victory, to General Vaughan.

On the approach of Gates, the troops and veſſels retired to New York, having diſmantled the forts, and for a time at leaſt, having left the river defenceleſs. But that enterprize, though conducted with ſpirit and ability, was of little moment in the general account.

Such was the unfortunate iſſue of the northern campaign: The event of an expedition which was under-

undertaken with the moſt confident hopes, and for ſome time purſued with very flattering appearances of ſucceſs. It was ſuppoſed the principal means for the immediate reduction of the colonies; but it has only ſerved, in conjunction with other operations, which in the firſt inſtance have ſucceeded better, to demonſtrate the difficulties attending the ſubjugation of a numerous people at a great diſtance, in an extenſive country marked with ſtrong lines, and abounding in ſtrong natural defences, if the reſources of war are not exceedingly deficient, and that the ſpirit of the people is in any degree proportioned to their ſituation. It may now, whatever it was in the beginning, be a matter of doubt, whether any ſuperiority of power, of wealth, and of diſcipline, will be found to over-ballance ſuch difficulties.

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CHAP. X.

Amicable change of diſpoſition in the courts of Madrid and Liſbon, upon the death of the King of Portugal. Some account of that Monarch. Succeeded by his daughter the Princeſs of Braxil. Marquis of Pombal removed from power. Public joy upon that occaſion. Some account of that miniſter. State priſoners enlarged, and popularity acquired by that act. Orders ſent to South America for a ceſſation of hoſtilities. Account of the ſtate and progreſs of the armament which had been ſent out from Cadiz in the latter end of the preceding year. Takes the iſland of St. Catharine's. Reduces the colony of St. Sacrament. Preliminaries of peace, and a treaty of limits concluded between Spain and Portugal. Obſervations on that event. Armaments ſtill continued in Spain. Differences between Ruſſia and the Porte. Rival Chans. Petty war in the Crimea. Both ſides unwilling to proceed to extremities. War between the Turks and Perſians. State of Ruſſia. King of Sweden viſits that court. Dreadful inundation at Peterſburg. Emperor viſits France. Treaty between France and Switzerland. Death of the Elector of Bavaria.

EUROPE has had the fortune to preſerve her tranquillity during the year of which we are treating. The ſtorm which was gathering ſo heavily to the ſouthward, if not entirely diſpelled, has at leaſt changed its direction. The death of the late king of Portugal has given a new colour to the politicks of that quarter. That event of courſe removed a perſonal animoſity, and a kind of peculiar malignity, which had been long ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt between that monarch and his potent neighbour. Spain being thus diſengaged from what ſhe conſidered as rather a ſort of domeſtic ſquabble, is left at large to purſue a more extenſive policy, and to direct her ambition to objects which may at preſent appear of greater importance.

The late king of Portugal, Don Joſeph the firſt, was born at Liſbon on the 6th of June, 1714; where he alſo died, after a long and grievous illneſs, on the 24th of February, 1777, in the 63d year of his age, and 27th of his reign. He married, in the year 1732, Maria Anna Victoria, Infanta of Spain, who had then juſt compleated her fourteenth year, and who had experienced the unuſual fortune of being ſent a child to France, received as queen, bred up as the deſtined bride of the late king of that country, and of being afterwards returned, upon a change in the political ſyſtem of that court, under the pretence of nonage.

The late king ſucceeded his father, Don John of Braganza, in the throne, on the 31ſt of July, 1750. As he had no male iſſue, in order to preſerve the crown in the full blood of the family on both ſides, or perhaps to guard againſt the danger of a diſputed ſucceſſion, his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs of Brazil, was in the year 1760 married to her uncle Don Pedro, her father's brother, ſhe being then in her 26th year, and he about forty-three. Their ſon, the

prince of Beira, in purſuance of the mode of marriage, which ſeems in a manner eſtabliſhed in that court, and which already approaches cloſely to that antiently practiſed in the royal houſe of the Ptolemies, was married juſt before the king's death, to his mother's youngeſt ſiſter, the princeſs Maria Benedicta, ſhe being then in her 31ſt year, and the prince in his ſixteenth.

The late king's reign was neither happy to himſelf, nor fortunate to his people. It was early marked by one of thoſe awful calamities, thoſe tremendous ſtrokes of providence, or convulſions of nature, which bring man to a ſenſe of his condition, and lay his proudeſt works in the duſt. The fatal earthquake in 1755, overwhelmed his capital, and ſhook his kingdom to the centre. His ſucceeding adminiſtration was not much diſtinguiſhed, by the affection it acquired at home, or the reputation which it ſuſtained abroad. It was deeply ſtained with domeſtic blood; and rendered odious by an exceſſive and horrible cruelty. The firſt families of the kingdom were ruined, tortured, and nearly cut off from the face of the earth, without that clearneſs of evidence to the eſtabliſhment of their guilt, or even that attention to the uſual forms of juſtice and modes of enquiry, which ſo dreadful and exemplary an execution undoubtedly demanded. From that time, ſuſpicion, or the will of a favourite, ſupplied the place of all evidence, until the numerous dungeons of the kingdom ſeemed at length ſcarcely capable of affording room to the wretched bodies of thoſe who had been its principal citizens. The king himſelf had nearly pe diſgracefully, by the hands of ſins, in ſome idle nocturnal e ſion; and if it had not bee the powerful intervention great and faithful ally, he probably have ſeen his kin overrun, if not finally ſubv by a foreign enemy.

It muſt, however, in juſtice memory of the late king be ac ledged, that he gave a ſtrikin ſtance both of firmneſs and vir the conſtancy with which he ſu ed his engagements and faith Great Britain, during the circumſtances, and ſurrou dangers of the late war. W wiſhing to detract in any from the merit of ſuch a co it muſt alſo with equal truth knowledged, that he coul conſiſtently with the charact ſtateſman and politician, acted otherwiſe. That he h other alternative than the which he took, or to ado weak, deſperate, and at all to be conſidered moſt fatal ſure, of reſigning the key ſtrength, and the arms of his dom into the hands, and even his own perſon at the of an envious and inveterate who had an old, and new gotten claim upon the whole

The expulſion of the jeſui Portugal, which firſt opened to the diſſolution and ruin of lebrated and extraordinary men in every other part of the will for ever render the la diſtinguiſhed. A great d alſo done, to diminiſh the numbers and overgrown and influence of all orders clergy, as well as to abate gours of the inquiſition.

togation however from the latter merit, that tribunal was ſtill kept up as an engine of ſtate tyranny, when it was enfeebled as an inſtrument of religious perſecution.

Upon the death of the king, the princeſs of Brazil was immediately acknowledged as ſovereign, and entered into the adminiſtration of public affairs. It was reported, but we cannot ſay with what foundation, that a conſiderable party, who were ſuppoſed to be ſecretly ſupported by the prime miniſter, had ſome intention of placing the crown directly upon the head of the preſumptive heir, the prince of Beira. If any ſuch ſcheme was in agitation, it was not avowed, nor have any of thoſe reſentments appeared, which might have been expected from the knowledge of ſuch a deſign.

One of the firſt acts of the new government, was the removal from power of the Marquis de Pombal, who had for many years governed the kingdom with a moſt unbounded authority, and which his numerous enemies ſay, was directed to the moſt cruel and arbitrary purpoſes. This miniſter was let down from his high authority with great gentleneſs, for that country, and that ſpecies of government. He was informed by a note from the queen, that, in conſideration of the great regard and eſteem which the late king her father had for him, as well as of his own age and infirmities, he was permitted, at his own deſire, to retire from the royal ſervice to his eſtate in the country. In the ſame note, the queen granted him a continuance of the appointments of his office as ſecretary of ſtate, and beſtowed on him a vacant Commandery of St. James.

March 6th. 1777.

No public bleſſing or advantage; neither the deliverance from a foreign enemy, nor a domeſtic tyranny, could have excited a greater or more univerſal joy, than the removal of this nobleman from power, and his ſubſequent diſgrace, which became every day more apparent. Whether it proceeded from the boldneſs, wiſdom, and rectitude of his meaſures, his oppoſing national vices, and popular prejudices, the deſpotiſm of his adminſtration, or more probably, from the mixed operation of all theſe cauſes, he had the fortune to incur the abhorrence and dread of every order of men in the ſtate and kingdom. The antient nobility, conſidered him equally the deſtroyer of their order, and the exterminator of their race; the clergy anathematized him, as the enemy of religion in general, as well as the ſubvertor of their particular inſtitutions, and the deſtroyer of their general and perſonal rights: the common people execrated him, as the ſcourge and curſe of their country. To add to the weight of domeſtic enmity and clamour, he had continual diſputes with the Engliſh merchants and factory, (who form a great body in that country) upon matters relative to trade, and to their real or ſuppoſed rights and immunities.

In ſuch a ſtate of public diſlike and violent prejudice, it would not be an eaſy matter to obtain the real character of a miniſter, at a much nearer diſtance, and in a country where enquiry was much more open, and diſquiſitions of that nature better underſtood and more liberally conducted, than

Portugal. His friends repreſent him as a miniſter of great abilities, and as a bold reformer, who endeavoured by the moſt vigorous exertions to reſtore to its antient power, reputation, and ſplendour, a country which had been long fallen into the moſt humiliating ſtate of weakneſs, and the people ſunk in the moſt degrading barbariſm. The country, they ſay, was little and badly cultivated; the arts were loſt; induſtry extinct; and every ſort of buſineſs was conducted by ſtrangers. Thus, the people depended entirely on foreigners for corn and cloathing, the crown was without treaſure, and the ſtate without finances. The military glory of the kingdom was extinct; and its ſafety depending upon the precarious caprice or negligence of its neighbours, whilſt it maintained a nominal army, without ſoldiers or arms. Under all theſe diſtreſſing circumſtances, the nation was devoured by an idle, vicious, and abandoned nobility, with a moſt ignorant and luxuriant clergy, both of whom were poſſeſſed of exorbitant riches.

It was impoſſible, ſay they, to remove evils of ſuch a ſtrength and magnitude, but by the boldeſt ſtrokes of policy, and a purſuit of the moſt deciſive meaſures. The Herculean taſk could only be undertaken, with a full determination to encounter all the power and violence of the nobility and clergy, and to endure all the obloquy of an extremely ignorant, and exceedingly ſuperſtitious populace. It was not to be expected that the court of Rome would behold with approbation, a reduction of the exorbitant power and wealth of the clergy, attended with an equal reſtraint of their numbers. It was as little to be ſuppoſed, that the avarice of foreigners would not be alarmed at the internal improvement of the country, who knew that their former gains aroſe from its uncultivation and anarchy, as that its dangerous neighbours could behold with ſatisfaction their ambitious views fruſtrated, by the growing ſtrength of the kingdom, and the increaſing reputation of its government.

This is a very ſhort and ſlight ſketch, but as much as we have room for, of the various ground taken by the numerous foes, and few, indeed, friends, in the condemnation or defence, of this fallen, and once all-powerful miniſter. It would ſeem upon the whole, that he poſſeſſed no inconſiderable ſhare of ability; that a ſtrong ſpirit of enterprize, and turn for innovation, were among the leading features of his character; and that his natural boldneſs of diſpoſition, and an exceſſive confidence of ſucceſs in his deſigns, led him into ſome extremes, which the prudent attention of a more cautious ſtateſman to times, circumſtances, and the character of the people, would have avoided.

Few princes have had an opportunity of acquiring popularity at an eaſier rate than the queen of Portugal. After the degradation of the favourite, it was only to open the priſon doors, and to acquire at once the univerſal love and applauſe of her ſubjects. This meaſure was ſaid to have been recommended by the late king in his laſt moments. The appearance of eight hundred wretches, riſing from their dungeons where they had been ſo long buried, and

in

in their ſqualid condition, afforded no faint repreſentation of a reſurrection of the dead. Many of theſe were of family and condition, whoſe friends having no ſuſpicion of their fate, had long ſuppoſed that they had periſhed by the hands of aſſaſſins, or by ſome untoward accident of which they could frame no idea. Near 4000 more it was ſaid had periſhed in thoſe priſons, during the deſpotiſm of the favourite. Of the living, it may well be ſuppoſed, that even the moſt criminal declared and proteſted their innocence. Each had his tale of woe; and each the particular hiſtory, of the cruelties he had experienced, and the ſufferings he had undergone, to recite. The emotions of the hearers may poſſibly be conceived. Their execration and abhorrence of the late miniſter will be eaſily ſuppoſed.

Among thoſe of high rank, who were now reſtored to the light of heaven, was, ſaid to be, a ſon of the Marquis of Tavora, who was committed to priſon at five years of age, and having ſeen no perſon ſince that time but a keeper, and that only at the ſtated and ſhort ſeaſons, allotted for the adminiſtration of his ſcanty proviſion, exhibited the ſhocking ſpectacle of a human being, almoſt deſtitute of language and ideas, and without the ſmalleſt memory or knowledge of his family or former condition.

The ancient biſhop of Coimbra, who had been committed to priſon about the time of the ſuppreſſion of the jeſuits, for ſome enthuſiaſtical writings he had publiſhed, in which, along with a direct charge of hereſy againſt the miniſter, he ſaid it was approaching faſt to the throne, and would ſoon overſpread the nation, now preſented a piteous ſpectacle to the people, appearing before them almoſt naked, as he came out of priſon, and relating to them, among his other ſufferings, that he had lain upon nothing but bare boards during the whole time of his confinement, whilſt his age, venerable appearance, and the ſanctity attributed to his character, excited all the mixed emotions of pity and horror in his hearers.

The remains of the unfortunate family of Tavora, conſiſting of the Marquis de Alorna, and his three brothers, who had been obliged to adopt their mother's name of Lorena, that of Tavora having been for ever aboliſhed, were, in ſome time after their releaſe, reſtored to all their antient honours and rights by a public decree, in which the queen declared, that the important affair in which they were concerned, had been ſcrupulouſly enquired into, by the Solicitor General, and miniſters of ability appointed for that purpoſe, who had unanimouſly declared them entirely innocent. Two of the Marquis's brothers were appointed to honourable commands in the army. M. de Andrada, formerly miniſter from that court to the United Provinces, who had been thrown into priſon immediately after his recal, and who now refuſed to quit it, until he obtained a promiſe of a full enquiry into his conduct, received the ſatisfaction of having his innocence publicly acknowledged by a ſimilar decree, and was appointed High Chancellor of the kingdom. Several who had ſuffered the loſs of their offices, and endured all the

miſeries of a priſon, without any charge being laid or pretended againſt them, were now reſtored to their places in the court or army, without any formal exculpation.

On the other hand, thoſe who had been particularly attached to the late miniſter, generally loſt their places, or were otherwiſe diſgraced. In ſome time, his eſtates were ſequeſtered, under the claim or pretence of his being indebted to the crown, in the courſe of his adminiſtration. Upon the approach of the day of the queen's public acclamation, as it is termed, a ceremonial ſimilar to that of a coronation, and attended with the ſame renewal of conditions between the ſovereign and the people, either to pleaſe the populace, or under the apprehenſion of ſome outrage on the enſuing feſtival, the buſt of the late miniſter, which had been fixed on the pedeſtal of the king's equeſtrian ſtatue, was ordered for the preſent to be covered with plaiſter, and that it ſhould afterwards be replaced by the city arms. Of ſuch little permanency and value, are ſtatues, buſts, or the favour of kings, to thoſe who have the misfortune of incurring the odium of their country.

The death of the late king immediately changed the politicks of the court of Madrid, with reſpect to the intended war againſt Portugal, and put as ſpeedy an end to the preparations, which had been carried on with induſtry, for the invaſion of that kingdom. A perfect good underſtanding immediately took place between the two courts, and orders were diſpatched from each, as ſoon almoſt as it could be done, for a ceſſation of hoſtilities in South America. Spain, it is true, has ſince continued, and ſtill does, her military preparations both by ſea and land, and her naval armament in particular, has been attended to with ſuch vigour, and ſupported with ſuch expence, as have rendered it very formidable, and undoubtedly alarming, to ſuch as may not know its deſtination, and are liable to its impreſſion. Whatever the deſign of this extraordinary preparation may be, it has certainly changed its object, if Portugal ever was really ſuch.

The expreſſes that were diſpatched to South America were much too late, to prevent all the effect of the great force which had ſailed from Cadiz for that part of the world, about the middle of the preceding month of November. The fleet upon this expedition amounted to no leſs than 116 ſail of all ſorts, including ſix ſhi of the line, with ten frigates a bombs, being under the condu of the Marquis of Caſa Til The land forces exceeded 90 and were under the command Don Pedro de Cevallos. whole number of men on b the fleet fell little ſh 20 and the tonnage ru 10 ſame number.

When the flee rived at the Ile Catharine's, on zil, they found ſtate of prepar which, if plac vantages of in other hand a greater force able as that ficulties of thoſe ſeas

a well fortified caſtle, ſupported at a moderate diſtance by two ſtrong forts, to encounter; and theſe, beſides being well provided with artillery, and all other proviſion for war, were defended by about 4000 Portugueſe, excluſive of the Indian natives of the iſland, and a body of Indian auxiliaries from the main. If the fortreſſes were rendered untenable, the iſland abounded with fortified works and ſtrong poſts, which might have been ſucceſſively defended, until the reduction of the whole became a work of much labour and difficulty. But the defence was not equal to theſe advantages.

The Spaniards not only landed without oppoſition, but the Governor of the iſland abandoned his caſtle and all it contained, with the greateſt precipitation, and without firing a ſingle gun, at their approach. This example was immediately followed, in all its circumſtances, by the Governors of the forts, and in three days time the whole iſland, with all its works and defences, were entirely evacuated. The garriſon paſſed over to the main, where, being at a great diſtance from their ſettlements, without any means of ſubſiſtence, and perhaps, in their preſent recreant condition, afraid of becoming a prey to the Indians, they, in theſe pleaſant circumſtances, ſent back to the iſland to propoſe a capitulation to the Spaniſh commanders. They could obtain no other condition than that of returning with their arms in their hands, to become priſoners of war. Of this garriſon, four battalions, beſides 200 of the artillery, were regular troops, the reſt were regimented militia. It has been reported that the Portugueſe commander, Don Antonio de Mendoza, has been ordered home to anſwer for his conduct.

It would not be fitting to omit, that a Portugueſe ſquadron of twelve ſail, which had been ſtationed for the protection of the iſland, immediately fled upon the appearance of a Spaniſh frigate, which had been ſent to reconnoitre, two days before the arrival of the fleet. The Spaniſh force proceeded to the Rio de la Plata, where it reduced the colony of St. Sacrament and ſome other places before the order for a ceſſation of hoſtility arrived.

In the mean time, the preliminaries of peace were agreed upon, and a treaty of limits concluded, between the courts of Spain and Portugal. Theſe preliminaries have, ſince the concluſion of the year, been extended, completed, and finally ratified, into the fulleſt and moſt perfect treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip, between the two crowns and nations. By this treaty, the King of Spain ſeems to have fully obtained that great object which has been ſo long and ſo diligently ſought by that crown; and which he himſelf ſo explicitly avowed, in the memorial that preceded his declaration of war in the year 1762, viz. That "conſidering the intereſts of the moſt faithful King as his own, he wiſhes to unite the one with the other, *ſo that either in peace or in war, Spain and Portugal may be conſidered as belonging to one maſter.*" The ſame idea is ſtill preſerved and comprehended in the introduction or preamble of the preſent treaty, which contains

tains the following words; "and, by that means, eſtabliſh the moſt permanent indiſſoluble union and friendſhip between the two crowns, which their natural ſituation, the vicinity of their territories, the ancient and modern connections, and conſanguinity of their reſpective ſovereigns, the identity of origin, and the recriprocal intereſt of the two nations claims."

Thus was Portugal thrown into the arms of the houſe of Bourbon, and once more virtually become a member of the Spaniſh monarchy. It is ſaid, that ſhe has ſince acceded to the family compact; but whether any formal act of that nature has taken place, does not ſeem a matter of conſequence, as ſhe in effect acceded to it, the moment ſhe was under a neceſſity of ſigning the preſent treaty. Nations are governed in their conduct by ſituation and circumſtance, not by wax or by ſignatures. Thoſe who defend the conduct of Portugal in this point, affirm that ſhe cannot be charged with meanneſs in reſpect to herſelf, nor reproached with breach of faith in regard to others, for her conduct in this tranſaction. As ſhe found herſelf, they ſaid, abandoned by England, or which was the ſame thing, as ſhe found that power incapable of affording the protection which ſhe wanted and had a right to expect, and was herſelf totally incapable of reſiſting that great force which encloſed her on all ſides, and was ready to trample her to deſtruction, ſhe had no other reſource than to ſubmit to whatever terms were preſcribed.

Every perſon who has any concern in, and knowledge of, our political and commercial intereſts, muſt deeply lament the unhappy ſituation of public affairs, which diſabled us from preventing the completion of a ſcheme, ſo loaded with the moſt deſtructive conſequences to both. The actors had ſeen for ſome years that the time was faſt approaching, which would prove favourable to the execution of this long laid and favourite deſign, and they were during that time aſſiduouſly preparing to ſeize the golden opportunity. All the quarrels about limits, and all the events of the petty war carried on in South America, tended to this ſingle point. It may not perhaps be a very hazardous aſſertion to advance, that of all the misfortunes that have been or may be the conſequence of our unhappy civil war, this event, excepting only the irrecoverable loſs of the colonies, would hold the firſt place as to magnitude and effect.

Whilſt peace was thus preſerved in one part of Europe, the aſpect borne by the great empires of Ruſſia and Turky, ſeemed to portend a renewal of all the calamities of war in another. We have ventured in the courſe of the late war repeatedly to hazard an opinion, that nothing leſs than the moſt deplorable ſtate of weakneſs, and irreſiſtable neceſſity, could ever induce the Porte to admit Ruſſia to a free paſſage through the Dardanelles, with an open trade, and the conſequent eſtabliſhment of a marine force on the Black Sea. The events of the war were, however, ſuch, as compelled a ſubmiſſion to this neceſſity. But when a full compliance with all the terms of this condition came to be demanded,

manded, and that Ruſſia probably expected and inſiſted, that they ſhould be underſtood in the utmoſt latitude of every ſenſe to which they could be extended in her own favour, all the fatal conſequences which muſt inevitably attend this meaſure, again appeared to the Porte in their moſt dreaded forms. They ſaw that a compliance, in the utmoſt extent, would be at once to ſurrender the keys of the Ottoman empire; and, in fact, it would have been no leſs.

Various delays and difficulties were accordingly thrown in the way, and the veſſels which had paſſed from the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, were ſtopped at Conſtantinople, and have never been permitted to proceed farther on their voyage. In the mean time, freſh cauſes of debate aroſe, and new troubles ſprung up in the Crimea, which in ſome degree ſerved to leſſen the attention to the preſent buſineſs; a circumſtance highly pleaſing to the Turks, who would by no means acknowledge the ſmalleſt diſpoſition to any violation of faith, or breach of treaty.

The entire independence of the Crim Tartars, and particularly their freedom of choice in the election of their Chans, had been laid down as principles not to be departed from by the late peace. As in other caſes of election, the great neighbours here endeavoured to influence the electors. Each had great influence as well as power. The Ruſſians had a ſtrong faction among the Tartars, excluſive of their troops; an order of men who are ſuppoſed to have no right to meddle in elections, but who notwithſtanding frequently decide them. The Turks had a ſtronger faction than the Ruſſians, but no ſoldiers. Each had his favourite candidate. A double return of courſe enſued, and the names of Dewlet Gueray and Sahib Gueray were echoed by their reſpective partizans from one end to the other of the Crimea.

Each ſide now inſiſted with equal truth, that the Chan ſupported by the other had not been elected by the free voice of the people. A civil war neceſſarily enſued. The oppoſite faction, by the aid of the Ruſſians, drove Dewlet Gueray out of the country. His party notwithſtanding revived, with greater ſtrength than before. Beſides the aſſiſtance they received from the Porte, the Nogais, Budziack, and other nations or tribes of Tartars who dwell without the peninſula, inſtead of being influenced by the Ruſſians, diſplayed their hereditary enmity by a violent oppoſition to their Chan, who they conſidered merely as their inſtrument, to take a faſt hold of the Crimea. A petty war has accordingly been continued, of little conſequence to the reſt of mankind, but in which the Ruſſians, as well as their antagoniſts, have at different times been roughly handled.

It would ſeem upon the whole, that the two great principals are very unwilling to enter into a new war. If it had been otherwiſe, other ſort of hoſtilities than thoſe we have mentioned, would ere now have taken place. It has been reported and believed, that a great weſtern power, equally noted for ambition and dexterity in intrigue, was the real fomentor of theſe

no time in forms; it was laid out, with the attention of a philoſopher, and the inquiſitiveneſs of a ſtateſman, in examining the different eſtabliſhments of that country, whether civil, military, mercantile, or appertaining to any great order of manufacture. After ſix weeks ſpent in this manner in the capital, he made the tour of the kingdom, to the Pyrenees, in the ſame ſpirit.

Europe has preſented little intereſting matter this year, beſides what we have taken notice of. A new treaty of alliance which has taken place between France and Switzerland, would have been once a matter of conſideration; but in the late very extraordinary change which the general ſyſtem of policy in Europe has undergone, is not of weight enough to deſerve much reflection. The death of the Elector of Bavaria, which happened on the laſt day but one of the year, will unhappily render Germany again the theatre of war, and afford too much ſubject for future hiſtory.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1ſt. THE rector and churchwardens of two adjoining pariſhes near Portſdown-Hill, Hants, were cited before the biſhop, to ſhew cauſe why they did not attend their duty on the general faſt-day.

3d. The half-yearly dividend of the Eaſt-India company was this day declared to be three and a half per cent.

4th. Some villains broke into the houſe of Mr. Beale, of Marlborough, ſteward to Lord Bruce, and ſtole an iron cheſt, containing ſeven hundred guineas, and Bank notes to the value of ſix hundred pounds. This robbery alarmed the whole country, and was evidently perpetrated by ſome perſons who knew that the money received at the late audits of Lord Bruce's tenants, was depoſited at Mr. Beale's.

8th. The River Thames was frozen over at Kingſton, and many perſons croſſed over on the ice. The froſt, however, has not this year been very intenſe.

9th. An allegation, pleaded by Miſs Butterfield, againſt the validity of the will of the late Mr. Scawen, was debated before Sir George Hay, in Doctors-Commons. After a variety of arguments, the doctor allowed the plea; the lady, therefore, will be admitted to prove the truth of it in a future proceeding. The plea urged on the part of Miſs Butterfield is, that "the laſt will was founded in error."

13th. A rencounter happened at the Adelphi tavern in the Strand, between Capt. Stony, and Mr. Bates, editor of the Morning Poſt. The cauſe of quarrel aroſe from ſome offenſive paragraphs that had appeared in the Morning Poſt, highly reflecting on the character of a lady of rank. After having diſcharged their piſtols at each other without effect, they drew ſwords, and Mr. Stony received a wound in the breaſt and arm, and Mr. Bates one in the thigh. Mr. Bates's ſword bent, and ſlanted againſt the Captain's breaſt-bone, which Mr. Bates apprizing him of, Capt. Stony called to him to ſtraighten it, and in the interim, while the ſword was under his foot for that purpoſe, the door was broken open, or the death of one of the parties would moſt certainly have been the iſſue.—On the Saturday following Capt. Stony was married to the lady in whoſe behalf he had thus hazarded his life.

15th. This day came on the trial of the Rev. Dr. Storer, for

for ſhooting Capt. Keith. By the evidence it appeared, that on the 28th of December, between twelve and one in the night, the deceaſed forced himſelf into the houſe of Mr. White, maſter of the Swan tavern, near Weſtminſter bridge; that as ſoon as he found entrance, he made a lounge at Mr. White, which Mr. White parried with an oaken ſtick; that the noiſe waked Mr. Storer, who lay in the houſe, and he, imagining that ſome robbers had broke in, armed himſelf with a piſtol, and came down ſtairs; that on his demanding of the deceaſed, who he was, and what he wanted, he made a lounge at the doctor, which the doctor avoided by retreating back; that the deceaſed kept advancing on him as he retreated, and that when Dr. Storer could retreat no farther, after bidding the deceaſed deſiſt, and the ſword being cloſe to his breaſt, the doctor fired, and ſhot the Captain in the belly, who inſtantly dropt the ſword, and ſoon after died. The judge, after ſumming up the evidence, acquainted the jury, that the priſoner was guilty of *juſtifiable homicide* only, and that they muſt acquit him, which they inſtantly did.

Franckfort, Dec. 14. Our letters from Italy mention, that the commiſſaries appointed by the court of Vienna, and the republic of Venice, to terminate the differences which ſubſiſted about the limits of Morlachia, have concluded a convention, of which the following are the heads:

Firſt, That this agreement ſhall not be called a treaty, but a convention: ſecondly, that the cultivated land, of which the Venetians are in poſſeſſion, ſhall be declared the lawful property of the republic: thirdly, that the land between Mount Stolla, and Mount Poſtock, ſhall be divided into two equal portions, and a line drawn between them to Mount Bilibich, which line ſhall be the frontiers between the Venetian ſtates, and the territories of the court of Vienna. Fourthly, that pillars ſhall be erected along the ſaid line to mark the confines, which are mutually agreed upon. Fifthly, that meaſures ſhall be taken amicably to determine all conteſts and diſputes which may ariſe between the neighbouring countries, with regard to the juriſdiction of the confines, without their being obliged to have recourſe to the reſpective ſovereigns.

Cherbourg, Dec. 19. The baſon of our port, which we have been many years cleanſing, is at laſt effected, and on Dec. 14, the firſt ſhip entered it, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants.

15th. Mr. Foote and Mr. Colman met, agreeable to their appointment, and executed the articles which confirm the latter's purchaſe of the former's patent, together with all his property in the Hay-market theatre. By the terms of the demiſe, Mr. Colman obliges himſelf to pay Mr. Foote a clear annuity of 1600l. per. ann. by four quarterly payments; he alſo ſtipulates to pay Mr. Foote a handſome ſum for the right of acting all his unpubliſhed pieces. Mr. Foote, on the other hand, agrees to put Mr. Colman in immediate poſſeſſion of the premiſes, and engages not only to give him the refuſal of all ſuch dramatic writings as he may hereafter produce, but alſo to perform on no other ſtage in London

London than that of the Hay-market theatre.

Extract of a Letter from Portſmouth, Jan. 16.

"This morning, as the workmen were removing a quantity of hemp out of his majeſty's ware-houſe in the dock-yard, they found a machine amongſt the hemp, conſiſting of a large piece of wood, hollowed out and filled with combuſtibles; it was covered over with tin, full of holes to admit the air, and a tube and match at each end, which appeared to have been ſet on fire; but providentially went out of itſelf before it had done any other damage."

17th. The report was made to his majeſty in council of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, when the following were ordered for execution on Wedneſday the 29th inſt. viz. Richard Wright, alias Brent, and Benjamin Eyres, for breaking into the houſe of Frederick Commerell, Eſq; at Hemwell, and ſtealing ſeveral ſilver ſpoons, and other things; John Kelly and Thomas Latham, for ſtealing goods to a conſiderable amount, the property of Thomas Colcomb, in his houſe in Cecil-court: Thomas Burrows, for committing an unnatural crime at a houſe in a court in Drury-lane, on a perſon who, with about 14 others, had aſſembled for the like abominable purpoſes; and Thomas Moreton, for robbing Benjamin Goode, in the Willow-walk, Shoreditch.

The following were reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure; William Catherall, for robbing Thomas Hammond in Ranelagh Walk, Chelſea, of a metal watch: John Calcott, alias Cocket, and Thomas Hughes, for robbing Sarah Jennings in a field at Iſlington of a cloke and hat; W. Davis, for robbing James Gray, a ſervant of John Sawbridge, Eſq; at Turnham-green, of two guineas and a half; he was alſo convicted on another indictment, of robbing John Sawbridge at the above place of a gold watch and ſome money.

20th. On Saturday, during the drawing-room at St. James's, a ſharper found means to cut off from Sir George Warren's ribbon the enſigns of the order of the Bath, ornamented with diamonds.

This day Lord North preſented to the Houſe of Commons a bill to enable the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ſhips of war to cruize againſt the Americans.

Extract of a Letter from Briſtol, Jan. 22.

"Thurſday morning laſt, a providential diſcovery was made of a moſt diabolical plot, which might have terminated in the general conflagration of this city. Early that morning a fire was perceived on the deck of the Savannah la Mar, a veſſel belonging to Meſſ. Meyler and Maxſe, lying at the quay, and bound for Jamaica, which, before it could be extinguiſhed, communicated itſelf to the mizen-maſt, and did other damage. It evidently appeared to have been deſignedly done. This opinion was ſoon after confirmed by the diſcovery of ſome combuſtible materials placed on board the Fame, lying at a diſtance from the Savannah la Mar, and deſtined for the ſame voyage, which fortunately did not take the like effect. A third attempt was made on the Hibernia, Capt. Knethell, a Corke

trader, ſituated at another part of the quay; on board this veſſel was found a bottle of turpentine, beſides other inflammable matters. The intended wickedneſs of thoſe villains did not ſtop here, for they broke open a ware-houſe of Meſſ. Morgan and ſons, druggiſts, in Cypher lane, Corn-ſtreet, and therein ſet fire to a box, in which they had alſo put ſome combuſtibles, which happily went out. Several pieces of touch-paper were found juſt by it.

"On the 19th we were again alarmed by a fire in Key lane, which was all in a blaze, but happily it did not burn above ſix ware-houſes; and the Bell in Broad ſtreet, where Mr. Ferguſon uſed to read his lectures, was five times on fire, but did little damage. As the people were about the fire, they found ſome of the combuſtibles, which I ſaw; they ſeemed to be a compound of roſin, pitch, gunpowder, oil, and other inflammable matter. Several people are taken up on ſuſpicion.

"On Monday night the city was again thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, by a fire breaking out at three different places at the ſame time: happily it was diſcovered before it got to head; we found a train of combuſtible matter laid in ſuch a manner, that if it had catched fire, the flames muſt have ſpread over great part of the city."

His majeſty's pardon, and a reward of one thouſand pounds were offered by government for the diſcovery of the perſons concerned in the ſaid fire, and alſo an additional reward of five hundred pounds by the city of Briſtol.

This morning, at half paſt nine, came on, in the conſiſtory court of the dioceſe of London, before Dr. Betteſworth, the very intereſting cauſe depending between Eliſabeth late Ducheſs of Kingſton, and the Right Hon. Auguſtus John Earl of Briſtol, reſpecting a ſentence of the ſaid court, pronounced in the year 1768, in a ſuit of jactitation. 24th.

The counſel for the ducheſs, were Dr. Calvert and Dr. Wynne; and for the Earl of Briſtol, Dr. Marriot and Dr. Harris. The pleadings ended at half paſt one, when Dr. Betteſworth, in a clear candid manner, took a review of the arguments on both ſides——He obſerved in the firſt place, that he looked upon the ſuit of jactitation to be ſtill ſubſtantially before the court. The cauſe he ſaid was ſhortly this; Mr. Hervey, in the year 1768, was ſuppoſed to brag or declare, that Elizabeth Chudleigh was his wife. This offended the lady: ſhe brought him to the proof. He would not, nor could not prove it. The court declared, as far as appeared to them, the allegation to be falſe; on which Mr. Hervey, one of the preſent parties, was injoined ſilence, and there the matter reſted. Since then, the firſt judicature in the kingdom had decided that the marriage was legal. In conſequence of that decition, Lord Briſtol was bound in ſeveral reſpects. It did not appear whether it was in his lordſhip's power to give the information at the time of the paſſing of the ſentence, that has ſince come out; whether or no in his opinion it was proper that the whole proceedings ſhould be enquired into, and the matter

matter fully received. And on the whole he took it to be a clear incontrovertible principle in the canon law, that marriages, however decided, are always open to reverſion and future enquery. To ſtrengthen what he offered on this point, he alluded to a paſſage in Burnet's hiſtory of the reformation, where the Pope, after declaring the marriage of Henry VIII, with the Queen Catherine of Arragon, to be valid, adds, as a general propoſition, that matters of that kind are always open to future examination and enquiry, and accordingly diſcharged the rule; by which deciſion the lady will be obliged to ſhew cauſe why the ſentence ſhould not be revoked, and Lord Briſtol let in to prove the marriage.

25th. Benjamin Bates, John Green, and James Grant, convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, for a burglary in the houſe of Mr. Penleaze, were on Saturday diſcharged, his majeſty having been pleaſed to grant them his free pardon.

29th. This morning at half paſt eight o'clock, the following convicts were executed at Tyburn, viz. Thomas Burrows, Benjamin Eyres, and Richard Wright, alias Brent, John Kelley, Thomas Latham, and Thomas Moreton.—Juſt before they were turned off, Burrows threw a paper among the croud, to the ſame purport with the following words, which he ſpoke with an audible voice: "I am as innocent as the child unborn of the crime which I am about to ſuffer for: however, I hope to receive mercy from my gracious God. I forgive my proſecutors, and pray God to do the ſame."

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, Jan. 25.

"The Earl of Buckingham, who embarked at Holyhead laſt night, arrived ſafe in this port this morning. His lordſhip was received at landing by the lord mayor, aldermen, ſheriffs and commons of the city of Dublin. The foot forces in garriſon lined the ſtreet, through which his lordſhip, attended by a ſquadron of dragoons, proceeded to the caſtle; and the council having been ſummoned to meet at three o'clock, his lordſhip was introduced in form to Lord Harcourt, who received him, ſitting, under the canopy of ſtate, in the preſence chamber; from whence a proceſſion was made to the council chamber, where his lordſhip's commiſſion was read, and the oaths adminiſtered to him; after which, his lordſhip having received the ſword from Lord Harcourt, the great guns in his majeſty's park the Phœnix were fired, and anſwered by the regiments on duty, which were drawn up in College Green. His excellency then received the compliments of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction."

Leeds, Jan. 28. The following affair happened on Monday the 13th inſt. at Lincoln: a match having been made to fight for five guineas a ſide between James Cheaven, the noted bruiſer of Lincoln, and Benjamin Wike, of Barnſley, in Yorkſhire; in the firſt engagement Wike had the misfortune to break his arm; after which they fought for upwards of forty minutes, with various ſucceſs, the odds being ſometimes on the one ſide and ſometimes on the other; at laſt victory decided in

favour of the Yorkſhire man: his ſecond aſking him why he did not uſe his other arm, he immediately ſhewed it to the company. The gentlemen of Lincoln were ſo pleaſed with this man's courage, that they made him a very handſome ſubſcription, and got him a ſkilful ſurgeon to ſet his arm, and we hear he is likely to do well.

DIED the 10th inſtant, Spranger Barry, Eſq; of Covent-garden theatre. He was born in St. Warburgh's pariſh, Dublin, Nov. 20. 1719. He made his firſt appearance on the ſtage in 1744, in the character of Othello, and was received with aſtoniſhing applauſe. In 1746, he came over to England, and was at firſt engaged at Drury-lane, which he afterwards quitted for Covent-garden. In his perſon he was by much the fineſt figure, in our time at leaſt, upon the Britiſh ſtage; to this, he poſſeſſed a ſuperiority of voice, an engaging manly addreſs, with powerful and communicating feelings. Thus eminently gifted by nature, he turned his attention very properly to the pathetic character of tragedy, and the fine gentleman of comedy; in both of which lines we will venture to ſay he had not his equal, if we except Mr. Garrick, with whom, during a long conteſt, he in a great meaſure divided the applauſe of the town.

Capt. Symons, of Stepney, who, having no relations, left 5000l. for the benefit of ſeamen in the merchants ſervice.

Dr. Robert Brown, at Utrecht, agent from the King of Great-Britain, and paſtor of the Engliſh church in that city.

Mr. Oliver Cromwell, aged 92, of Hampton Court Park, thought to be the only deſcendant left of the Protector Cromwell.

John Roſs, L L. D. Profeſſor of languages in the king's univerſity of Aberdeen. His death was occaſioned by ſwallowing a ſpider, in a glaſs of claret. Upon diſſecting, his ſtomach was found to be ulcerated, and extended beyond the ordinary ſize.

Rev. Mr. Metcalf, aged near 100, Rector of Toft and Hardwicke, both in Cambridgeſhire.

FEBRUARY.

4th. A man who calls himſelf James Hill, otherwiſe John the Painter, was brought to the Public Office in Bow-ſtreet, from Odiam gaol, in Hampſhire, by two of the king's meſſengers, being ſuſpected of ſetting fire to the dock-yard at Portſmouth. He was examined before Sir John Fielding and ſeveral of the lords of the admiralty, who deſired him to diſcloſe all he knew of the affair, and diſcover his accomplices, ſo as they might be brought to juſtice, and ſeveral queſtions were aſked him, but he refuſed to give any anſwer. He was apprehended at Hook, in Hampſhire, and committed to Odiam gaol, on Sunday ſe'nnight, for breaking into a linen-draper's ſhop at Calne, in Wiltſhire, and ſtealing ſeveral things of value.—A veſſel, containing ſome ſpirits of turpentine, a paper with gunpowder, a tinder-box, matches, &c. were found on him when taken, which were produced, as were ſeveral pamphlets written by two gentlemen, which he ſaid he ſhould abide by.

8th. This

8th. This evening's Gazette contains an addreſs of congratulation to his majeſty, from the mayor, aldermen, burgeſſes, and principal inhabitants of the town of Stockton upon Tees, in the county of Durham, upon the rapid progreſs of his majeſty's arms in America.

A few days ago, ſome navy lieutenants were again under the cuſtody of a peace officer, for aſſaulting Stephen Richardſon, in Leadenhall-ſtreet. —— Mr. Gates, the city marſhal, being preſent, executed his orders, and brought them before the lord-mayor, when Captain Kirke, the regulating officer, attended. After Richardſon had made his complaint, the defendants produced a warrant from the admiralty, backed by Mr. Alderman Harley, by way of juſtification. The lord-mayor, however, would not receive it as a ſufficient anſwer to the charge; he ſaid, that in the opinion of the court of aldermen, that was no authority to commit, within the juriſdiction of the city, any violence upon the perſon of a Britiſh ſubject; that he conſidered the lieutenants to have acted, as though they had never been in poſſeſſion of ſuch a warrant; and therefore, if Richardſon ſhould inſiſt upon a proſecution, he would call upon the defendants for bail. Richardſon declined any further proceedings, ſo the matter, of courſe, fell to the ground.

Richardſon was going out of the room, when Lieutenant Hills expreſſed his determination to take him on board the tender, inſiſting that he was impreſſed under a lawful authority: this revived the confuſion afreſh. The lord-mayor declared his reſolution to keep the man out of their hands, and, to effect it, directed him to ſtay in the room. Capt. Kirke begged for a copy of the reſolution of the court of aldermen: this the lord mayor objected to, till he had adviſed with the recorder; his lordſhip offered to have it read from the journals; but this the captain thought would be giving unneceſſary trouble, as his memory would hardly be able to retain the preciſe words. Thus the matter ended.

10th. His majeſty has been pleaſed to grant to Andrew Robinſon Stony, Eſq; and Mary Eleanor Bowes, Counteſs of Strathmore, his royal licence to uſe the ſaid ſirname of Bowes, purſuant to the will of the counteſs's father.

11th. The barons of the exchequer gave their opinion on a motion made laſt term, for a new trial in the great cauſe between Sir James Lowther, Bart. and his grace the Duke of Portland. That long conteſt was then finally determined in favour of the Duke of Portland.

12th. This being the laſt day of Hilary term, the three publiſhers were brought from the King's-Bench priſon to the court of King's-Bench, Weſtminſter, to receive judgment for printing the advertiſement of the conſtitutional ſociety, when they were fined 100l. each, and ordered to be diſcharged.

Bank of England, Feb. 18.

Hyman Iſaacs, otherwiſe Hyam Baron, ſome time ſince apprehended at Calcar, in his Pruſſian Majeſty's dominions, was executed at Oſtend for uttering notes forged in imitation of the notes of the go-

vernor and company of the bank of England. Every court in Europe ſhewed their zeal for bringing this villain to condign puniſhment.

Mr. Ebenezer Platt, who was committed to Newgate, on Thurſday laſt, by Juſtice Addington, for high-treaſon, was formerly a planter in the province of Georgia in America. He is the firſt American that government has meddled with.

14th. At a common council held at Guild-hall, a motion was made to petition the Houſe of Commons againſt a bill depending in the houſe, intituled, a bill to empower his majeſty to ſecure perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high treaſon, &c. which motion was unanimouſly reſolved in the affirmative.

22d. Saturday morning Dr. Dodd was brought to the bar at the Old-Bailey, to be tried for forging a bond for 4200l. in the name of the Earl of Cheſterfield; when the arguments of the counſel commenced on the propriety of admitting Mr. Robinſon, the broker, an evidence, which at laſt was agreed to, and the trial of the doctor went on, and laſted about ſeven hours, when the jury brought in their verdict guilty, death.

24th. Was executed at Tyburn Peter Toloſa, a Spaniard, for the wilful murder of Mary Catherine Sophia Duarzey, a young French woman, with whom he had lived ſome time; and on ſome differen e had accuſed her before a magiſtrate of taking his money; and on her way to priſon he followed, and ſtabbed her with a long bladed knife a little above the collar bone, of which wound ſhe inſtantly died. He was attended to the place of execution by the under ſheriff. About twelve o'clock his body was brought back to Surgeons-hall for diſſection.

26th. The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when the following convicts received ſentence of death, viz. William Lavy, ſen. and Sarah Parker, who were convicted in October ſeſſions, for counterfeiting the ſilver coin; Lavy is to be hanged, and Parker burnt; John Hunt, for ſhooting at and wounding Thomas Armond; Joſeph Wilſon, for robbing Sir William Fleming on the highway of a guinea; Daniel Denny, for altering the number in a lottery ticket, and John Hurſt, for counterfeiting the ſtamp of a lion, uſed by the worſhipful company of Goldſmiths to mark gold and ſilver plate; 24 priſoners were ordered to be ſent to hard labour, in raiſing ſand, &c. from the Thames; 13 to be branded and kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction; and three to hard labour in the ſame place for three years; and three to be branded and impriſoned in Newgate; five to be branded and diſcharged; ſeven privately whipt; and 20 diſcharged by proclamation.

Same day John Life, Edward Goſwell, and Valentine Fuller, George Charles Parſons and Charles Davis, were executed at Tyburn.

Bonn, Jan. 16. Yeſterday morning, about three o'clock, a fire broke out in the palace, and burned with ſuch rapidity, that the two towers, though one hundred yards diſtant from each other, were conſumed in leſs than half an hour. The principal apartments and the chapel are entirely burnt; only

only the two wings are ſaved, which contain the elector's apartment, the gallery, and the cabinet of natural curioſities, on one ſide, and the fine apartment for ſtrangers on the other; the loſs is eſtimated at above 200,000l. ſterling. About twelve perſons are loſt in the flames, or killed by the falling-in of the floors, while they were endeavouring to ſave the archives.

The Aurora, John Hutchinſon maſter, late the Oxford, of Glaſgow, taken by the rebels, with a party of the 71ſt regiment on board, and carried into Virginia, is brought into Liverpool, laden with 312 hogſheads of tobacco, on account of the Congreſs, and bound to Nanz or Bourdeaux. She was navigated by 15 men, and had a Mr. Hall on board, in the capacity of a ſupercargo; eight of the crew were Engliſhmen, and had all been priſoners in America. About the longitude of 16 W. and in lat. 47, William Turner, boatſwain of a ſhip, and who had previouſly ſounded the inclinations of the Engliſh ſailors, and found them willing to aſſiſt in ſeizing the veſſel and carrying her to England, ſecured the captain and ſupercargo in the cabin, while his companions ſecured the American ſailors upon deck; they were all ſoon overpowered, and Turner, who took the command, ſhaped his courſe for Liverpool, where he arrived the 29th inſtant.

Conſtantinople, Jan. 8. The Porte, after having made every conceſſion that could reaſonably be expected, rather than break with the Perſians, has been conſtrained at length to declare war againſt them the 3d. inſtant. What gives cauſe to hope for ſucceſs is, that many chans under the Perſian government, jealous of the increaſe of the regent's power, have ſhewed a diſpoſition to join the Porte againſt him, and that Prince Heraclius, who has had a conference with the grand vizir, will join them againſt Perſia.

Vienna, Jan. 12. By the lateſt advices, the Perſians have taken Bagdat, and put a ſtrong garriſon into that place; and the ſame accounts add, that they are beſieging Aleppo.

Venice, Jan. 18. On the 13th inſtant the Council of Ten publiſhed the ſentence paſſed againſt the Sieur Spiridioni Balſamo, of the iſland of Zante, heretofore Calculator-General of the Levant, and Andrew Tiſiano, late Greffier at Corfu, for being guilty of a breach of truſt in the execution of their offices, and defrauding the public revenue; particularly the former, who is baniſhed from all the dominions of this Republic, on pain of being hanged if taken, and a reward of 4000 ducats is offered to whoever ſhall take or kill him, together with the privilege of delivering a criminal who is baniſhed or committed to priſon, unleſs it be for a crime againſt the ſtate, or robbery; and if the perſon ſhould happen to loſe his life in the attempt, his heirs ſhall be intitled to the ſame reward. In the mean time the ſaid Spiridioni Balſamo is to have his name eraſed out of the noble council of the city of Zante, and his houſe at Corfu to be intirely pulled down, and no other houſe or manufactory to be erected on the ſpot, but inſtead thereof a column is to be erected upon the moſt conſpicuous part, on which are to be inſcribed his crime

and

and condemnation; and, in order to render his puniſhment the more exemplary, a ſtone with the ſame inſcription is to be placed in the Chamber of Accompts. All his effects are declared to be confiſcated, and all contracts which he has entered into ſince the 8th of March, 1770, are hereby rendered invalid.

Paris, Feb. 3. It appears, that in order to avoid all remonſtrances from the parliament, the government intend to make uſe of the credit of particular ſtates, by a new loan of twenty-ſix millions. The ſtates of Languedoc, are to raiſe twelve, thoſe of Burgundy eight, and the order of the Holy Ghoſt ſix, which are to be applied to pay off ſome debts, the intereſt of which is too burthenſome.

Hamburgh, Feb. 7. Our letters from Peterſburgh give an account of the revenues and expences of the Ruſſian empire; the former of which amount to the annual ſum of 17,130,618 roubles, and the latter, including penſions, preſents, &c. amount to 14,208,557 roubles. In the account of the revenues the ſpecie current in the empire is not reckoned, on account of the great variation in it, and that part of it particularly regards the mines.

Extract of a Letter from Liſbon, Feb. 21.

"The marriage of his royal highneſs the Prince of Beira, with her royal highneſs the Infanta Maria Franciſca Benedicta his aunt, was ſolemnized this afternoon at four o'clock. After the ceremony, all the royal family were admitted into the king's apartment to kiſs his majeſty's hand: from whoſe preſence they retired very much affected.

His moſt faithful majeſty has, for ſome weeks paſt, ſuffered extremely under his diſorder; which, terminating in a dropſy, increaſed within theſe few days ſo rapidly, that on Sunday laſt his majeſty's life was deſpaired of; and on Monday the 24th inſtant, between twelve and one o'clock, his majeſty expired, to the great grief of all the royal family.

The Princeſs of Braſil being immediately informed of this melancholy event, prepared to receive the miniſters of ſtate, who kiſſed her hand as ſovereign."

DIED, Mrs. Vane, widow, of Errington in Leiceſterſhire, aged 108.

Samuel Turner, Eſq; late alderman of Tower-ward, and lord mayor in the year 1769.

Mr. John Bullen, yeoman, of Deal, in Kent, a deſcendant from the ancient family which gave a queen to Henry VIII.

William Williams, of Cwmyoy, in Monmouthſhire, labourer, whoſe appearance of extreme poverty had induced an humane landlady, the preceding night, to lodge him in her houſe, as a deed of charity. In the morning he was found dead in bed, and the extraordinary weight of ſome part of his cloathing, on moving it, occaſioned an examination of the whole, when the following pieces and ſums of money were cut out of his patched and ragged apparel, no part of which was unprovided, viz. 37 guineas, 28 half-guineas, 6 quarter guineas, one 36s. piece, one 27s. piece, and one 18s. piece, 18l. 8s. in ſilver, and 5s. 9½d. in copper.

Hugh

Hugh Kelly, Eſq; a native of Ireland. His original occupation was that of a Stay-maker, which he quitted early in life, and by the force of his own genius, attained a conſiderable reputation as a literary character; at the time of his death he was alſo become a reſpectable practitioner at the bar. His dramatic performances were received with great applauſe, and his ſervices, as a political writer, had procured him a handſome ſtipend from government.

MARCH.

3d. This day the following bills received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, viz.

The bill to enable his majeſty to detain and ſecure perſons charged with high treaſon in America, or on the ſeas for piracy.

The bill to enable the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ſhips of war, or merchants ſhips, to make repriſals on all ſhips belonging to the American colonies, that are now in actual rebellion againſt Great-Britain.

The bill for regulating the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, as well in Europe as in India, ſo far as relates to altering the time for the choice of directors.

The bill to enlarge Mr. Hartley's patent, for his invention of iron plates to prevent the fatal conſequences of fires.

And alſo to ſeveral road, incloſure, naturalization, and private bills.

Extract of a Letter from Barcelona, Feb. 19.

"Our cuſtom-houſe is burnt down, with goods therein belonging to the merchants, of upwards of half a million of piaſtres value; all goods, except corn and fiſh, imported into Spain, are depoſited in the cuſtom-houſe till the duty is paid, as is all raw ſilk till delivered to the manufacturer; the alarm of the fire was given on Monday morning at one o'clock; it was till eight o'clock the next day, before any kind of ſteps were taken to extinguiſh it, and then only one poor engine was brought out, which was of no manner of uſe. The Spaniards, not accuſtomed to ſee fires of this kind, ſtood aghaſt, looking on, and ſaw every thing conſumed. No doubt, many effects might have been ſaved, had a little activity been uſed at firſt. Numbers of merchants and traders will be ruined by this accident; the fire continues burning, but, the cuſtom-houſe being a detached building, it cannot ſpread farther."

They write from Paris, that Mr. Silas Deane, the plenipotentiary from the American congreſs, left that capital the 21ſt ult. and was gone to Leghorn, from which place he was to viſit Venice, and other of the Italian ſtates.

The family of the late Count Lally are endeavouring to obtain a reviſion of the proceſs which terminated in his execution. M. Voltaire intereſts himſelf much in the affair.

7th. Was heard before the lords a Scotch appeal, wherein Elizabeth Roſs, widow, was appellant, and David Roſs, Eſq; comedian, her brother, was reſpondent. David Roſs had been cut off by his father with a ſhilling, on account of his taking to the ſtage, and his ſiſter

ſiſter was left ſole heireſs; but he ſued and obtained a verdict in Scotland for all the out-ſtanding bond-debts, which were conſiderable.—The lords confirmed the decree.

12th. At Bow ſtreet, before Sir John Fielding, and the magiſtrates, ——— Dignam, Eſq; was charged by Mr. Clarke, with defrauding him of various ſums of money, under the pretence of procuring him a place under governnment. Mr. Clarke depoſed that he became acquainted with him accidentally in June 1776, and that from his diſcourſe, he underſtood he was a gentleman in ſome capital employ under the crown, who had it in his power to diſpoſe of places; and concluded the priſoner might ſerve him, as he wanted a place in one of the offices. That the priſoner propoſed to him a lucrative place in the Iriſh Cuſtoms, which he ſaid had been poſſeſſed by a Mr. Clutterbuck, who was dead; and that he had given him at different times in money and notes (and eſpecially on Sept. 5, 14l. 1s. for leave of abſence from the ſaid place) to the amount of 1200l. 1s. on account of the ſaid place, which the priſoner called, clerk of his majeſty's cuſtoms at Dublin. A paper was read, produced by Mr. Clarke, purporting to be a certificate and warrant of the ſaid clerkſhip, numbered 24,897 Iriſh, *Harcourt, Lieutenant*, directed to *John Clarke*, Eſq; entitling him to all profits, &c. belonging to that place; ſubſcribed *Weymouth, Cleveland-Row*, and witneſſed *E. Daw*; all which former money, Mr. Clarke gave the priſoner, in conſequence of his receipt of that warrant, which, when he ſhewed to Sir Stanier Porten, proved to be a forgery.

Joſiah Browne, Eſq; charged the priſoner with another fraud of the like kind. Mr. Browne depoſed, that the priſoner was recommended to him by Mr. Clarke, and that the priſoner told him he had the diſpoſal of the place of Gazette-writer to the miniſtry, which he would procure for him for 1000l. which diſpoſal, the priſoner ſaid, was conferred on him for ſome meritorious ſervice he had then lately done the government; and that Mr. Frazer, the preſent Gazette-writer, was to reſign. This place Mr. Clarke was commiſſioned by Mr. Browne to treat for, who agreed for 1000l. with the priſoner; which agreement Mr. B. ratified by giving drafts for the money, incluſive of which was 137l. as a diſcharge of office-fees. Another warrant ſimilar to the former was read, dated 17 George III. *durante bene placito*, ſigned alſo *Weymouth*. Mr. Daw, clerk in Lord Weymouth's office, depoſed, in both the caſes, that it was no official inſtrument, nor his lordſhip's writing: an impreſſion, imitating a ſtamp, was alſo on the warrant, which proved to be the reverſe of a guinea. The priſoner had alſo tendered an oath to Mr. Browne to reſign all papers in caſe of diſmiſſion, and purging himſelf of all felonies, &c. by way of qualification.

It is ſaid that this impoſtor was once on the penſion liſt of Lord Weymouth, and received, for the benefit of his ſecret ſervices, 300l. per annum, clear of all deductions. That he might appear deſerving of the encouragement he met with, he

he is reported to have laid an information againſt the celebrated Mr. Beaumarchais, charging that gentleman, during his reſidence in England, with being a ſpy from the court of France. He was afterwards convicted for theſe frauds, and ſentenced to five years labour on the Thames.

13th. Mr. Burke moved the Houſe, that a bill might be brought in for the more effectually ſecuring his majeſty's dock-yards, &c. when a bill was ordered to be prepared agreeable to the ſaid motion.

14th. About one o'clock, the poll for Newcaſtle was finally cloſed, when the numbers were,

For Sir John Trevylian, 1163
Andrew Robinſon Bowes, Eſq; 1068

Majority for Sir John Trevylian, —— 95

Whereupon he was declared duly elected.

22d. A handſome monument was this day opened in the north aiſle of Weſtminſter-abbey, on the baſe of which are the following lines.

Erected by
The Eaſt-India company,
To the memory of
Major-General Stringer Laurence,
In teſtimony of their gratitude
For his eminent ſervices,
In the command of their forces
On the coaſt of Coromandel,
From the year 1746, to the year 1766.

The deſign ſeems partly explained by this epitaph; it is a figure with proper attributes, repreſenting the Eaſt-India company pointing to a buſto of the General, and directing Fame to record thoſe actions, which have induced her to honour his memory in this public manner: Fame receiving her commands, has engraved the following words on a ſhield:

Diſcipline eſtabliſhed,
Fortreſſes protected,
Settlements extended,
French and Indian armies
Defeated,
And peace concluded
In the Carnatic.

In the centre is a view of Tritchinopoly, in Baſſo Relievo, the principal ſeat of war at that period; and at the feet of the company, trophies and ſtandards of the French, Maratoes, and Myſoreans. The epitaph is wrote by Mr. Orme, and the ſculpture executed by Mr. Tyler.

26th. The Chavalier Pinto, Envoy extraordinary from the court of Portugal, notified to the king the death of the late King of Portugal, and preſented credentials from his new ſovereign, Mary, the preſent queen.

27th. The royal aſſent was given, by commiſſion, to

The bill for improving the navigation of the Thames from London-bridge to Staines.

For licencing a playhouſe at Cheſter.

For building a bridge over Severn, near Glouceſter.

For preventing frauds in combing wool.

For continuing the duty on beer in the town of Burnt Iſland, in Scotland.

For preventing frauds in the meaſurement of coals.

For recovering ſmall debts in Hallifax, Bradford, Kighley, Bingley, &c.

For encloſing Enfield Chace.

For exempting from toll cattle going

cattle going to water or paſture; with ſome private bills.

One John Millachip, freeman and liveryman of London, being impreſſed, Alderman Bull wrote to the admiralty board, requeſting his diſcharge; to which Philip Stephens, Eſq; ſecretary to the admiralty, by command, returned for anſwer, *that their lordſhips did not apprehend his being a freeman and liveryman of London exempted him from being impreſſed into his majeſty's ſervice, if otherwiſe liable.*

In conſequence of this, at the court of common council held laſt Tueſday at Guildhall, the following motion was made:

"That the committee appointed in November laſt, for getting John Tubbs, one of the city watermen, diſcharged, do withdraw immediately, and prepare a letter to the lords of the admiralty for the diſcharge of John Millachip;" which was carried in the affirmative.

The committee then withdrew, and prepared a letter accordingly, which was read in court, and is as follows:

"My lords, by order of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council aſſembled, I am directed to repreſent to your lordſhips, that John Millachip, a freeman and liveryman of London, hath been impreſſed into his majeſty's ſea ſervice: that without taking into the idea the general queſtion of the legality or illegality of preſs warrants, they conceive, that every citizen of London, by charter, Edward III. confirmed by ſtatute of 2d William and Mary, is exempted from ſerving, in any capacity, againſt his inclination, out of the city of London; and that conſequently the detention of this man is not warranted by law. I am, therefore, ordered by the court, to requeſt your lordſhips, that the ſaid John Millachip may be immediately diſcharged."

Reſolved, "That the ſaid letter be tranſcribed, and ſigned by the town clerk, and by him preſented to the lords of the admiralty."

A motion was made, "That if John Millachip is not diſcharged in conſequence of the above letter, the committee be empowered to purſue ſuch meaſures as they ſhall think proper for procuring his immediate diſcharge and liberation; and that the city ſolicitor do follow their directions therein;" which was agreed to.

On the 26th, Philip Stephens, Eſq; ſecretary to the admiralty, ſent an anſwer to the town clerk's letter, reſpecting the detention of John Millachip, freeman and liveryman of London; the purport of which was, that their lordſhips at the admiralty board think it neceſſary to adviſe with the crown lawyers before they comply with the demand, to know whether the charter ſet up is in law a plea of exemption.

28th. A very extraordinary complaint was made to Sir John Fielding, relating to an Italian impoſtor, who has lately had the addreſs to take in a lady of fortune for upwards of 500l. under pretence of tranſmuting copper into gold. This pretender to alchymy conſtructed an elaboratory in the lady's houſe, into which he brought his family, who have lived upon her for a conſiderable time paſt. The matter not being found cognizable by the bench, from ſome

ſome peculiar circumſtances, which ſhewed the complainant had been moſt egregiouſly duped, ſhe was adviſed to bring her action at common law.

Yeſterday, at the Public Office in Bow-ſtreet, one Homar was placed at the bar, when James Hounds, button-maker, depoſed, that the priſoner applied to him, about three weeks ago, to know if he was willing to go to France, in order to carry on his buſineſs there; and that he gave him 11 guineas to pay his expences upon the paſſage, and to diſcharge ſome ſmall debts which he owed to different people. Mr. Clark depoſed, That, hearing of the affair, he went to the Swan with Two Necks in Lad-lane on Tueſday, where he ſaw the priſoner, with Hounds, in the Dover coach; upon which he apprehended the former, and found a number of letters in his pocket-book, which were produced, and one of which was a letter of advice to a Frenchman at Paris, acquainting him, that he had put on board the ſhip Minerva a quantity of articles for the making of buttons; Mr. Clark alſo found, in his lodgings, upwards of three hundred pounds worth of the ſame materials. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to prevent the ſailing of the Minerva, and Homar committed to take his trial, by the 23d George II. chap. 13; where it is enacted, 'That, if any perſon ſhall contract with, or ſeduce any manufacturer, of Great-Britain or Ireland, to go out of either kingdom into any foreign country, not within the dominions of Great-Britain, every ſuch perſon ſhall, on conviction, within 12 months, forfeit 500l. and be committed for a year, without bail or mainprize, for the firſt offence; and, for every ſecond or ſubſequent offence, to forfeit 1000l. and be committed for two years, without bail or mainprize.'

DIED, Mrs. Latter, bookſeller, at Reading: ſhe publiſhed a volume of poems, which were well received; likewiſe a tragedy, entitled, The Siege of Jeruſalem, and various other pieces.

At Biſhopſtrow, her native place, near Warminſter in Wilts, the celebrated Juliana Papjoy, in the 67th year of her age. In her youth ſhe had been the miſtreſs of the famous Naſh of Bath, and after her ſeparation from him, ſhe took to a very uncommon way of life. Her principal reſidence ſhe took up in a large hollow tree, now ſtanding within a mile of Warminſter, on a lock of ſtraw, reſolving never more to lie in a bed; and ſhe was as good as her word; for ſhe made that tree her habitation for between thirty and forty years, unleſs when ſhe made her ſhort peregrinations to Bath, Briſtol, and the gentlemens' houſes adjacent; and ſhe then lay in ſome barn or outhouſe.

Peter Fierville, comedian, aged 107. He died at Munich, in Germany. He remembered Moliere, was cotemporary with Baron, played before Charles II. of England and Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, and continued to play at Paris till 1741.

Samuel Mitchel, Eſq; at Hanger, Cornwall. He has bequeathed 20l. a year to ten old maids, a like ſum to ten poor houſekeepers, and a conſiderable ſum to the pariſh; 1000l. to each of his ſervants out of livery, 500l. to each of his livery-ſervants, two livings in his gift

gift to two neighbouring clergymen, after the death of the preſent incumbents, and his eſtate to a very diſtant relation his heir at law; alſo, a very conſiderable legacy to the wife of an officer now on duty in America.

APRIL.

2d. The report was made to his majeſty in council of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, when the following were ordered for execution on Wedneſday the 16th inſtant, viz. Joſeph Wilſon, William Lavey, ſen. and Elizabeth Parker (convicted in October ſeſſion). The laſt was afterwards reprieved.

John Hunt, reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure. Daniel Denny was reſpited till the 2d of May.

3d. A few days ſince an application was made by the city ſolicitor to Mr. Juſtice Aſton, in the abſence of Lord Mansfield, for two ſeparate writs of Habeas Corpus at common law; the one for the liberation of John Millachip, a freeman and liveryman, the other on behalf of John Maund, one of the ſworn conſtables of this city, both of whom have been lately impreſſed into his majeſty's ſea ſervice. His lordſhip refuſed to grant the writs as prayed at common law, or any otherwiſe, than according to the ſtatute of the 31ſt of Charles II. They were accordingly ſo iſſued; but became immediately and totally uſeleſs, as no judge or court whatſoever could, when the parties were brought before them, take cognizance of the matter upon writs ſo granted. In conſequence of this, the ſolicitor applied to Lord Mansfield himſelf, at Cane-Wood, for the ſame purpoſe, when his lordſhip was pleaſed to grant the writs as prayed, namely, at common law, and not according to the ſtatute. The writs being thus obtained, as deſired, were immediately ſent down to the Nore, to be executed.

Paris, March 28. Orders are given for conſtructing two citadels at Cherbourg, which, when built, will make this port one of the beſt in France.

Vienna, April 2. His imperial majeſty ſet out yeſterday morning for France, under the title of Count Falkenſtein, attended by the Counts Cobenzel and Joſeph Colloredo.

Paris, April 4. One of the richeſt of our young nobility, the Marquis de la Fayette, a relation to the Duke de Noailles, and between 19 and 20 years of age, has, at his own expence, hired a frigate, and provided every thing neceſſary for a voyage to America, with two officers of his acquaintance. He ſet out laſt week, having told his lady and family that he was going to Italy, where the Counteſs de Teſſy, his aunt, lives.

9th. Laſt night a dreadful fire broke out at Flaxley Abbey, in the county of Glouceſter, the ſeat of Thomas Crawley Boevey, Eſq; which deſtroyed the greater part of the building, together with part of the furniture, linen, and wearing apparel of the family; but, providentially, no lives were loſt. It was firſt diſcovered by a carpenter who ſlept in the houſe, and happened to awake in time to give the alarm. Mr. and Mrs. Crawley were that evening in Glouceſter.—The plate was ſaved.—It

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is not known by what accident the fire was occaſioned. The loſs is eſtimated at 7000l. Flaxley Abbey was founded by Roger, the ſecond Earl of Hereford, in the reign of Henry the Firſt.

10th. Mr. Gates, the city marſhal, arrived from Portſmouth, with John Millachip, freeman and liveryman of London, who was lately impreſſed. The admiral behaved with the greateſt politeneſs; and on the marſhal's ſhewing the writ of Habeas Corpus granted by Lord Mansfield, immediately ordered Millachip (who was on board the Monarch) to be delivered up to him.

The celebrated David Brown Dignam during his confinement in Tothillfield's Bridewell, attempted ſeveral times to make away with himſelf. Since his conviction the following particulars relating to him have tranſpired:—Some little time before Dignam's detection, he requeſted an interview with a noble lord in high office, who admitted him to a private audience, when he ſaid, that he had unhappily engaged in a conſpiracy with ſome gentlemen of rank and fortune, to ſhoot ———; he named two noblemen, ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, two aldermen, and ſome private gentlemen of affluent condition, as the conſpirators, and pretended that the ſtings of conſcience had occaſioned a remorſe in his mind, and that he had made ſo ample a confeſſion, as the only atonement in his power, for having engaged in ſo villainous a conſpiracy. Upon being preſſed to make oath of the particulars, he declined the propoſal by ſaying, "that the ſcheme was not yet ripe for execution; no inconvenience could therefore enſue from the delay. The conſpirators, he ſaid, were to meet that evening, and the next morning he would wait on his lordſhip, to give him information of every particular which paſſed. As he had mentioned the place of meeting, ſpies were properly placed, but none of the parties came, and himſelf was traced to a brothel. On his next day's attendance he was preſſed home to make an affidavit of the matter, but put it off till next day, and was again traced to the brothel; and when he waited laſt on his lordſhip, he was charged with theſe circumſtances, and confeſſed that the whole was a plot of his own invention.

18th. Eleven judges met at their chambers in Serjeants Inn (Lord Chief Juſtice De Grey being abſent) reſpecting the legality of Robinſon's evidence againſt Dr. Dodd. The judges were of opinion, that Robinſon's evidence was competent.

On Saturday the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following priſoners received ſentence of death, viz. Job Filkin, for ſtealing a ſilver watch value 30s. and a metal watch in a ſhagreen caſe value 30s. the property of William Harrop, in his dwelling-houſe in Virginia ſtreet; Benjamin Carraul, for a burglary in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. John Walker, in Oxford-ſtreet; Pierce Donnovan, for privately ſtealing bank notes, money, two gold watches, and ſeveral diamond rings, in the dwelling-houſe of Mrs. Olivia Harrington, near Charing-croſs; David Sheffield, William Sheffield, and Thomas Baldwin, for a burglary in the dwelling-houſe of Mr.

Thomas George Moorink, at Tottenham, and ſtealing ſeveral ſilver ſpoons and other things; James Field, for breaking open the dwelling-houſe of Mr. M'Gee, in Lothbury, by falſe keys, and ſtealing thereout a parcel of needles, and divers other goods of value; and Mary Thomas, for uttering and publiſhing a promiſſory note, purporting to be the note of Francis Tutte, for 50l. knowing it to be forged, with intent to defraud Thomas Blades. Twenty priſoners who had been capitally convicted and reſpited, received the royal mercy, on condition of being kept to hard labour on the river Thames, and two women to hard labour in Clerkenwell Bridewell.

Twelve convicted this ſeſſions, were ordered to the like puniſhment on the river Thames; fourteen to hard labour in Bridewell; eleven branded and impriſoned in Newgate; eight branded and impriſoned in Bridewell; ſix ordered to be whipt, and thirty-one delivered on proclamation.

23d. One day laſt week, the ballaſt lighter, working on the Eſſex coaſt, was drove over the river to Woolwich by the high wind; when fourteen of the convicts roſe upon their keepers, cut one of them terribly on the ſhoulder, and made their eſcape. A naval officer, meeting them at Greenwich, perſuaded eight to return to their duty; but the other ſix have not been ſince heard of.

26th. On Thurſday Mr. John Millachip, a freeman and liveryman of this city, lately impreſſed into his majeſty's ſervice, and fetched from on board by virtue of a Habeas Corpus, going down the river about two o'clock in the afternoon with his lighter, was boarded by a preſs-gang, who took him away and carried him down the river to put him on board a man of war; the committee ſat yeſterday in the afternoon, and came to a reſolution to apply for another Habeas Corpus, and to bring actions againſt the lieutenant and regulating captain for detaining him.

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, April 26.

"The great queſtion concerning literary property received yeſterday a final deciſion in the Court of Chancery. The matter in debate was about a favourite opera, called the Duenna, which the managers of Covent-garden alledged they had purchaſed from Richard Brinſley Sheridan, Eſq; the author, for a certain ſtipulated ſum. Under this aſſignment the Engliſh managers, alledging a ſole and excluſive property in the piece entitled the Duenna, complained againſt John Byron Vandermere and his partners, adventurers in a new theatre in Fiſhamble-ſtreet, for having exhibited on their ſtage the ſaid piece, called the Duenna, and prayed that they might be reſtrained, and enjoined from printing, publiſhing, or acting the ſaid piece. After hearing the debates on this queſtion by the advocates on both ſides, the lord chancellor gave his ſentiments on the whole, viz. that the injunction fought by the plaintiffs, to reſtrain the acting or exhibiting the piece, ought not to be granted. He confined himſelf merely to the matter of acting, as he imagined that to be the only object relied on in the caſe."

The queſtion reſpecting the legality of the aſſign- 28th.

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ments made by officers of their pay, in order to raiſe money, was argued, and declared valid.

30th. The royal aſſent by commiſſion was given to the bill for enabling the city of London to purchaſe the tolls of the river Thames weſtward of London Bridge, and within the liberties, and to lay on ſmall tolls in lieu thereof; and to ſeveral private bills.

Paris, April 21. The Emperor of Germany arrived here on Friday the 18th inſt. and immediately went to the hotel of Monſ. the Count de Mercy his ambaſſador. The next day he went to Verſailles, and ſaw the queen, who conducted him to the king. He afterwards viſited the reſt of the royal family and the miniſters. On Monday he was preſented at court under the character of Count Falkenſtein.

Extract of a Letter from Liſbon.

"The Marquis of Pombal is diveſted of all power; and, though this has the ſpecious appearance of a voluntary reſignation, he is certainly in diſgrace. All his creatures are degraded, and moſt of them confined. This, particularly, is the caſe with the Dominican friar, to whoſe counſels the oppreſſions exerciſed at Oporto, by the Portugueſe wine company, over the Engliſh, as well as the natives, are chiefly attributed. The young prince was, immediately after the death of the king, taken from under the tuition of the Biſhop of Beja.

"It is hardly poſſible to conceive the joy that ran through the whole kingdom from this change in the adminiſtration; for more than twenty years have the people of this country been grievouſly oppreſſed and afflicted, without their complaints ever reaching the ears of their ſovereign; for more than twenty years, has a wicked miniſter ruled them with a rod of iron. What numbers of all ranks has he ſhut up in dungeons, without their having been guilty of any other crime than ſtanding in his way!—Figure to yourſelf theſe feeding on ſcanty portions of rotten ſardines (a fiſh reſembling our ſprat) and broa (an inferior kind of bread) without ever being indulged with phyſicians or confeſſor; without any ſocial intercourſe, without even ſeeing the chearful face of man.

"Among theſe we are preſented with a ſtriking ſpectacle, in the perſon of a ſon of the Marquis of Tavora. He was taken into cuſtody, with the reſt of the family, when he was only about four or five years of age; and, having been in a ſtate of confinement ever ſince, without ſeeing a human creature beſides his keeper, he abſolutely knows no language; has almoſt no ideas, and is, in every reſpect, in a pure ſtate of nature—He remembers nothing of his parents, or of his former ſituation."

DIED lately, Griſel Strath, at Fyvie, in Scotland, aged 102.

Peter Derry, in Dublin, aged 119.

On the 17th, at two o'clock at noon, at his houſe in Granby-row, after a lingering illneſs, which deprived him for ſome months paſt of the practice of his profeſſion, and the town of the pleaſure of ſeeing his performance, Mr. Henry Woodward, of Covent-garden theatre; who, as a comedian, long ſtood unrivalled in his caſt of parts; and, as a man, filled

every line of duty with honour and reſpectability. By his death he has cloſed the laſt of the old firſt-rate ſet of performers, and has left little better than a barren wiſh to ſee them ever equalled. Mr. Woodward, though only in his 67th year, was one of the oldeſt comedians living; he played with Giffard and Macklin, before Garrick came upon the ſtage.

MAY.

1ſt. At a court of common council, reſolved, That the thanks of the court be given to the Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, Knt. ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, for promoting and forwarding the act for the more effectually improving the navigation of the river Thames.

Advice was received, that the Lion armed ſhip, Lieutenant Walter Young commander, was ſailed from Stormneſs, in the North of Scotland, in order, if poſſible, to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to the Southern Ocean. Mr. Lane, an eminent mathematician, is retained in this voyage, from whoſe judicious obſervations on longitude and the magnetical powers much information is expected.

5th. On Thurſday laſt, in the court of King's-bench, upon a rule to ſhew cauſe againſt a new trial, a queſtion of a very intereſting and ſingular nature was fully argued; the nature of which was as follows:—A gentleman and his wife lived together ſeveral years, and had ſeveral children; upon the death of the former, his eldeſt ſon took the hereditary eſtate, and enjoyed the poſſeſſion, until the ſecond diſturbed him by a writ of Ejectment, alledging that he was not born in wedlock. The cauſe was tried before Mr. Baron Eyre, and the plaintiff declared, that the defendant was born one month and one day before the ceremony was performed; which declaration he attempted to ſupport by the teſtimony of the mother, who was cited to attend the trial. The defendant pleaded generally; and, his counſel objecting to the admiſſibility of the mother's evidence (with which the judge concurred) a verdict was obtained for the defendant. In ſupport of the motion it was argued, that all the caſes cited, and arguments advanced againſt the admiſſibility of a mother's evidence to prove the baſtardy of her own child, were applicable to children born IN wedlock, and not BEFORE. Lord Mansfield entered very largely into the queſtion. He allowed, that, by the civil, the canon, and the common law of the land, the parole evidence of a parent was inadmiſſible to affect a child born in wedlock; he obſerved upon the ſeveral reaſons which made ſuch evidence dangerous, particularly partiality, caprice, or fixed averſion; which might induce bad women to bring a charge impoſſible to be refuted; by which a rightful heir might be deprived of his inheritance. His lordſhip alſo mentioned the indecency and illegality of permitting a woman to prove herſelf an adulteress, and thereby ſubject herſelf to penalties. His lordſhip concluded with denying the doctrine of Mr. Baron Eyre, allowing the admiſſibility of the mother's evidence, and ordering the rule to be made abſolute.

7th. The

7th. The Prince of Orange packet, Capt. Story, from Harwich to Helvoetſluys, was taken by the Surprize privateer, Capt. Cunningham, of four guns and ten ſwivels, within three leagues of the coaſt of Holland. It was at night; and the privateer coming cloſe along ſide the packet, thought ſhe made bad ſteerage, and aſked her if ſhe was coming on board her, for that they ſhould ſoon be foul of each other. The privateer immediately laid her along ſide, and took her.

8th. This day his majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, and gave the royal aſſent to the bill for granting to his majeſty 100,000l. per annum, over and above the ſum of 800,000l. granted by an act of the 1ſt of his majeſty's reign, for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold, and his civil government, and to fourteen other public and private bills.

12th. William Sheffield and Joſeph Sheffield, under ſentence of death in Newgate, found means to break out of that priſon, though the walls are ſix feet thick. They were brothers; and one of them being ill, he was, out of humanity, removed from his cell to an upper room, where the other was ſuffered to attend him. They were bricklayers and in one night worked their way through the brick-wall, and eſcaped. They have, however, been retaken and executed, but not before they had committed ſeveral other burglaries for their ſubſiſtence.

15th. A court of common council was held yeſterday at Guildhall, at which were preſent the lord-mayor, Aldermen Bull, Sawbridge, Lewes, Plomer, Newnham, Lee, and Wooldridge; when the court came to the following reſolutions, viz.

Reſolved, That the ſpeech made by the Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, to his majeſty on the 7th inſtant, be entered in the journals of this court.

That the freedom of this city be preſented to the Right Hon Sir Fletcher Norton, ſpeaker of the Hon. Houſe of Commons, for having declared, in manly terms, the real ſtate of the nation to his majeſty on the throne, when he preſented to him, for his royal aſſent, the bill intitled, 'An act for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain.'

That a copy of the freedom of this city, with the reſolution of the court inſerted therein, be delivered to the Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, in a gold box, of the value of 50 guineas, and the lord-mayor was deſired to provide the ſame.

16th. The following bills received the royal aſſent by commiſſion:

Bill to prevent frauds by the venders of tea, detrimental to the revenues of exciſe.

Bill for allowing a drawback on tea exported to Ireland.

Bill for regiſtering the grants of life-annuities, and for the better protection of infants againſt ſuch grants.

Bill to diſſolve the marriage of Earl Tyrconnel from his now wife, and to enable him to marry again.

Bill to enable the lords of the treaſury to compound for a debt due to the crown.

Bill to prohibit, for a further limited time, the importation of foreign-wrought ſilks and velvets.

Bill to ſecure to engravers their property in the engraving branch.

Bill to extend the proviſions of an act for negociating promiſſory notes, and inland bills of exchange, to a certain ſum.

Bill for allowing certain quantities of wheat to be exported to the Weſt Indies.

And to ſeveral incloſure and private bills.

This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when James Lucas and Joſeph Harris, for feloniouſly aſſaulting Robert Hughes in the Iſlington ſtage-coach, on the highway, near the Shepherd and Shepherdeſs, and robbing him of two half guineas and 7s. received ſentence of death. Four were ordered to hard labour on board the ballaſt-lighters, in cleanſing the navigation of the Thames, for three years; five were branded in the hand, one of whom was convicted of manſlaughter; two to be impriſoned in Newgate, and two in Clerkenwell Bridewell; four were ſentenced to hard labour three years in Bridewell; one to be publicly whipped; nine privately whipped, and twenty diſcharged by proclamation.

29th. The lord-mayor held a wardmote at Tallow-chandlers-hall, for the election of an alderman of Dowgate-ward, in the room of Sir Walter Rawlinſon, who has reſigned; when John Hart, Eſq; dry-ſalter, in Thames-ſtreet, was duly elected without oppoſition.

31ſt, This night's Gazette contains an addreſs of the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland to his majeſty.

Peterſburgh, May 1. There has lately been publiſhed here a ſtate of the produce of the cuſtoms of this and other trading cities in this empire for a term of thirty years, which ſhews the prodigious increaſe in our commerce and finances. In 1724 the cuſtoms of this capital produced only 10,335 roubles, the year following they were doubled; in two years after they amounted to 84,695 roubles, and in 1726 they exceeded 100,000. From particular events they fell in 1741 to 11,000, but in 1752 they produced 203,734, and two years after they amounted to 768,058 roubles; at length, in 1757, the cuſtoms brought in 1,000,713 roubles, and we make no doubt, as our commerce has doubly increaſed ſince, the ſum produced is in a like proportion. The above is only an account of the cuſtom-houſe duties for this city. From the detail in the above account it appears that our exports greatly exceed our imports, conſequently the balance of trade is greatly in our favour; and particularly ſince 1757 our exports have in a greater degree exceeded our imports than before that period, which has brought into our country great riches, and we have carried on many branches of buſineſs heretofore unknown in this country.

The pope has ſigned an edict, dated the 9th of laſt month, which will render his reign ever memorable, as it tends to remove the ſhackles with which commerce was burthened by the vaſt duties the lords of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate raiſed upon merchandiſe paſſing through

their territories, which often made common neceſſaries very dear. But this edict will be much murmured at, as many great families loſe by it.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Northampton, William Snow, convicted of murder at the laſt ſummer aſſizes for this county (but, in the opinion of the twelve judges, his crime amounting to manſlaughter only) was branded in the hand, and is to be confined till the 16th of July next.

At Reading, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Bedford, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Huntingdon, 1 condemed, but reprieved.

At Worceſter, 3 condemed, two of whom were reprieved.

At Cambridge, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Chelmsford, 11 were condemned, and left for execution.

At Shafteſbury, 5 were condemned, and 4 reprieved.

At the above aſſize a cauſe was tried between two perſons of Horniſham, in Wilts. The action was brought for the recovery of a ſum of money, which the defendant had received at various times, in the courſe of 12 years, from the plaintiff's wife. During a dangerous illneſs, when her life was deſpaired of, the wife of the plaintiff told her huſband, that ſhe could not die in peace without divulging to him a ſecret which had long made her very uneaſy, viz. that ſhe had had a connection with the defendant, and had given him, at different opportunities, the ſum of 410l. 5s. for the purpoſe of making a proviſion for her ſon Iſaac. After a full hearing, the jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, and ordered the defendant to pay back the whole money, with coſts of ſuit.

At Glouceſter aſſizes, Joſeph Armſtrong was tried for petty treaſon, in poiſoning his maſter's lady, Mrs. A'Court. The priſoner was hired into the family by Captain A'Court, and ſhortly after attended his maſter and miſtreſs to Cheltenham. The lady had expreſſed her diſlike at the priſoner's conduct, and had intimated a wiſh that he might be diſcharged from their ſervice. This being known to Armſtrong, he determined on revenge, and by infuſing ſmall quantities of arſenic into his lady's tea, ſhe contracted a diſorder which carried her off in ten days. The jury found him guilty.

At the above aſſizes, 5 other priſoners (among whom were two remarkable female horſe-ſtealers) were condemned, one of whom only was reſpited. On the morning on which the other was to be executed, ſhe hung herſelf with a leather girth in her apartment. She requeſted to be left a few minutes by herſelf, and on the return of her friends ſhe was dead.

At Ayleſbury, James Pace, a boy about thirteen years old, was capitally convicted for horſe-ſtealing; but has ſince received his majeſty's pardon, on condition of ſerving on board a man of war.

At Norwich, John Rye received ſentence of death for the wilful murder of Joſeph Snelling; two other priſoners were capitally con-

victed; one of whom was ordered for execution, the other was reprieved.

At Kingſton upon Thames, 6 were capitally convicted, and all reprieved.

At Lincoln, James Lee was convicted of burglary on two ſeparate indictments, and left for execution.

At Cheſter, one Sam. Thorley, a butcher's follower, for the wilful murder of Ann Smith, a balladſinger, about 22 years of age. He decoyed her, lay with her, murdered her, cut her to pieces, and eat part of her. The circumſtances are too ſhocking to relate. He was convicted, and has ſince been hung in chains.

At Hertford, 10 were capitally convicted, ſix of whom were reprieved.

At Winchester, 4 condemned, and 2 executed.

At Maidſtone, 3 were capitally convicted, 2 of whom were reprieved.

At the ſame aſſize came on the trial of Joſeph Stackpoole, Eſq; who was indicted upon the Black Act, for ſhooting at a Mr. Parker, in March 1776, at the Bull inn, Dartford; when after a long trial he was acquitted.

At Pool, a woman was condemned for ſtealing a mare.

At Leiceſter, William Mee, late of Loughborough, victualler, was tried and found guilty of murdering his wife, and afterwards executed.

At Ipſwich, Edmund Eaſtoe was capitally convicted of aiding and aſſiſting in the murder of Joſeph Harpur. He immediately received ſentence of death, and was ordered to be executed.

William Maddox, alias Boulton, who was capitally convicted at Lent aſſizes, 1773, for a burglary, and eſcaped from Ipſwich gaol while under ſentence of death, was remanded back to ſuffer according to his former ſentence.

At Exeter, 12 received ſentence of death.

At Eaſt Grinſtead, 3 were condemned, but reſpited.

At Oxford aſſizes, John Peter Le Matre, alias Matra, was tried for robbing the Aſhmolean Muſeum of divers gold medals, a Queen Anne's five-guinea-piece, and two gold chains. It appeared in evidence, that the priſoner was firſt apprehended in Ireland; that two of the medals were found at his lodgings, in the drawers of a bureau of which he had the uſe: that a third was found faſtened to the ſide of his waiſtcoat, like the enſign of a honorary order, which he wore, as a badge, to give him conſequence. He was convicted on the cleareſt evidence; but it ſeems the crime did not amount to a capital felony; and he was ſentenced to work on the Thames for five years.

JUNE.

This day, by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty, the following bills received the royal aſſent, viz. 2d.

The bill for raiſing a ſum by loans on exchequer-bills.

The bill to prevent the clandeſtine practice of unſhipping goods from on board Eaſt-India ſhips.

The bill for ſecuring the duties on ſoap and rum imported from the colonies.

The

The bill for allowing the exportation of tobacco-pipe clay to the Weſt-India Iſlands.

The bill for ſettling the hours of labour, and the prices of taking apprentices, in the hat-manufactory.

The bill to allow the callico-printers and dyers to employ journeymen who have not ſerved a regular apprenticeſhip to the ſaid trade.

The bill for the better preſervation of the game in Scotland.

The bill for a better ſupply of mariners and ſeamen for manning the royal navy.

The bill to inlarge the powers of an act, for making a navigable cut or canal, from the river Dee near Cheſter, to Nantwich and Middlewich, in Cheſhire.

The bill for regulating the duties on damaged currants and prunes imported.

And to ſeveral other public and private bills.

A new pleaſure-boat, conſtructed of ſheet-iron, was lately launched into the river Foſs, in Yorkſhire. She is twelve feet long, ſailed with 15 perſons, and is ſo light that two men may carry her.

4th. The grand canal from Leeds to Liverpool was opened into the river Aire at the former place, amidſt ſuch a concourſe of people as was never ſeen in that town before; ſome computed them at 20,000, and others at 30,000.

6th. This day his majeſty went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills:

The bill for granting a certain ſum out of the ſinking fund, for the ſervice of the preſent year.

For raiſing a certain ſum by annuities, and for eſtabliſhing a lottery.

For granting a duty on all male ſervants.

For granting certain duties on auctioneers, &c.

For building a new ſhire-hall and gaol in Weſtmoreland.

For promoting the reſidence of parochial clergy.

For allowing coſts to conſtables, &c. attending quarter-ſeſſions.

For building a bridge over the river Severn, near Glouceſter, &c.

For continuing the encouragement of making indigo in the plantations, &c.

For enlarging the time appointed for the firſt meeting of the commiſſioners for putting in execution certain acts of this ſeſſion.

For enabling the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury to compound a debt due to the crown.

And to ſeveral private bills; after which his majeſty made a moſt gracious ſpeech, and prorogued the parliament to 21ſt of July next.

10th. This day a cauſe of great conſequence to the inhabitants of Old-ſtreet, and parts adjacent, was determined in the court of King's bench. The queſtion was, whether the meſſenger, carrying letters from the penny-poſt-office in London, had a right to demand of ſaid inhabitants a penny for the delivery of each letter, over and above the penny paid at the poſt-office. The cauſe turned upon the deſcription of the ſuburbs of London, and whether Old-ſtreet was within that deſcription. The court was of opinion, that all the ſtreets and houſes adjoining and contiguous to the city of London, and joining together by

ther time ſpent in prayer, by himſelf, he took an affectionate leave of the above clergymen: he then put on a cap, and pulled it over his eyes, and with the other convict was turned off. The time the doctor was in the cart was about half an hour. He behaved through the whole with great fortitude.

Some Account of the Charge exhibited againſt Mr. Platt, *now in* Newgate, *for Treaſon, &c.*

He was one of eight or ten men who ſailed in a ſchooner from Georgia, by order of the Provincial Congreſs, to ſtop Capt. Maitland's ſhip, bound for St. Auguſtine, in Florida, and to take out of her ſome powder and arms; which they did, to the amount of 250 barrels, and ſeveral cheſts of arms, &c.—This powder and arms they landed at ſome port in Georgia, then in oppoſition to government.—Mr. Platt was afterwards, by authority of the Congreſs, engaged in carrying on a contraband trade with ſome of the French or Dutch iſlands; in the proſecution of which he was taken by one of Admiral Gayton's ſquadron, and carried into Jamaica, where his ſhip and cargo were condemned, and himſelf ſent to priſon, to anſwer a charge laid againſt him, for carrying on a correſpondence with his majeſty's enemies, ſeveral letters having been found in his poſſeſſion, directed to the Congreſs at Georgia and Charles-town.—On a hearing before a proper court and judges, aſſembled for this buſineſs, nothing material was found againſt him; but as the carrying on ſuch buſineſs with Congreſſes was a new offence, it was judged proper to ſend him home to England, with all the letters and papers in queſtion—When he came to England, he was committed to Portſmouth priſon, until the matter was properly enquired into; and nothing ſtill appearing that would affect either his life or liberty, he was diſcharged, with an offer of his paſſage back to America. This he refuſed; and demanded a copy of the warrant of commitment, in order to proceed againſt thoſe who had a hand in confining him. Upon his application for this, it was judged proper to commit him to priſon, on the evidence of two of Capt. Maitland's men, to anſwer for the charge of treaſon and piracy committed on board his ſhip off Georgia bar, in North-America, as the words of his mittimus ſet forth.

Paris, May 6. Letters patent have been tranſmitted to parliament reſpecting a loan of ten millions, borrowed at Genoa, at a low intereſt, but which that Republic requires ſhall be regiſtered by the parliament.

Berlin, May 19. The king, willing to eternize the memory of ſuch of his generals as ſignalized themſelves, and loſt their lives in defence of their country, has reſolved to erect their ſtatues in marble in this capital, in a place fixed on by his majeſty. That of General Swerin is already erected; General Winderfeldt's will be placed oppoſite; and the Generals Kleiſt and Keith will ſoon be placed near them.

DIED, Capt. James Gilchriſt, of the navy. He was eminently diſtinguiſhed for his valour in the laſt war with France and Spain, when he commanded his majeſty's ſhip the Southampton.

Mrs. Jane Davis, a maiden lady, aged

aged 113 years, at Hackney. She was born in the reign of King Charles the ſecond, and enjoyed ſome poſt under Queen Anne. She tained all her ſenſes perfect to the laſt.

Mrs. Margaret Baiſe, a widow lady, at Stockwell, in Surry, aged 107.

JULY.

1ſt. This day came on to be tried, before the Lord Chief Juſtice Mansfield, a cauſe, the moſt extraordinary that, perhaps, ever happened in this or any other country, reſpecting the ſex of the Chevalier D'Eon, formerly ambaſſador from France to the court of England, &c.

The action was brought by Mr. Hayes, ſurgeon, in Leiceſter-fields, againſt one Jacques, a broker and under-writer, for the recovery of *ſeven hundred pounds*, the ſaid Mr Jacques having, about ſix years ago, received premiums of fifteen guineas per cent. for every one of which he ſtood engaged to return *one hundred guineas*, whenever it ſhould be proved that the Chevalier D'Eon was actually a woman.

Mr. Buller opened the cauſe as counſel for Mr. Hayes. He ſtated the fairneſs of the tranſaction, and the juſtifiable nature of the demand, as Mr. Hayes, the plaintiff, thought himſelf now to be in poſſeſſion of that proof which would determine the ſex of the Chevalier D'Eon, and for ever render the caſe indiſputable.

In proof of the fact, Mr. Le Goux, a ſurgeon, was the firſt witneſs called. He gave his teſtimony to the following effect:

"That he had been acquainted with the Chevalier D'Eon from the time when the Duc de Nivernois reſided in England in quality of ambaſſador from the court of France -- That, to his certain knowledge, the perſon called the Chevalier D'Eon was a woman."

Being cloſely interrogated by the counſel for the defendant, as to the mode of his acquiring ſuch a degree of certainty relative to the ſex of the party, Mr. De Goux gave this ſatisfactory account of the matter:

"That, about five years ago, he was called in by the Chevalier D'Eon, to lend his profeſſional aid for her aſſiſtance---That the Chevalier D'Eon, unfortunately for herſelf as well as her ſex, laboured, at that time, under a diſorder which rendered an examination of the afflicted part abſolutely neceſſary—That this examination led of courſe to that diſcovery of the ſex of which Mr. Le Goux was now enabled to give ſuch ſatisfactory teſtimony."

The ſecond witneſs called on the part of the plaintiff was Mr. De Morande. He ſwore, "that, ſo long ago as the 3d of July, 1774, the Chevalier D'Eon made a free diſcloſure of her ſex to the witneſs —That ſhe had even proceeded ſo far as to diſplay her boſom on the occaſion—That, in conſequence of this diſcloſure of ſex, ſhe, the Chevalier D'Eon, had exhibited the contents of her female wardrobe, which conſiſted of ſacques, petticoats, and other habiliments calculated for feminine uſe—That, on the ſaid 3d day of July, 1774, the witneſs paid a morning-viſit to the Chevalier D'Eon, and, finding her in bed, accoſted her in a

ſtile

ſtile of gallantry reſpecting her ſex—That ſo far from being offended with this freedom, the ſaid chevalier deſired the witneſs to approach nearer to her bed, and then permitted him to have manual proof of her being in truth a very woman."

Mr. Mansfield, on the part of the defendant, pleaded that this was one of thoſe gambling, indecent, and unneceſſary caſes, that ought never to be permitted to come into a court of juſtice; that, beſides the inutility and indecency of the caſe, the plaintiff had taken advantage of his client, being in poſſeſſion of intelligence that enabled him to lay with greater certainty, although with ſuch great odds on his ſide; that the plaintiff, at the time of laying the wager, knew that the court of France treated with the chevalier as a woman, to grant her a penſion; and that the French court muſt have ſome ſtrong circumſtances to imbibe that idea, therefore he hoped the jury would reprobate ſuch wagers. The defendant's counſel did not attempt to contradict the plaintiff's evidence, by proving the maſculine gender.

Lord Mansfield expreſſed his abhorrence of the whole tranſaction, and the more ſo, their bringing it into a court of juſtice, when it might have been ſettled elſewhere, wiſhing it had been in his power, in concurrence with the jury, to have made both parties loſe; but as the law had not expreſsly prohibited it, and the wager was laid, the queſtion before them was, who had won? His lordſhip obſerved, that the indecency of the proceeding aroſe more from the unneceſſary queſtions aſked, than from the caſe itſelf; that the witneſſes had declared they perfectly knew the Chevalier D'Eon to be a woman; if ſhe is not a woman, they are certainly perjured; there was, therefore, no need of enquiring how and by what methods they knew it, which was all the indecency.

As to the fraud ſuggeſted, of the plaintiff's knowing more than the defendant, he ſeemed to think there was no foundation for it. His lordſhip then recited a wager entered into by two gentlemen in his own preſence, about the dimenſions of the Venus de Médicis, for 100l. One of the gentlemen ſaid, "I will not deceive you; I tell you fairly I have been there, and meaſured it myſelf." "Well (ſays the other) and do you think I would be ſuch a fool as to lay if I had not meaſured it?---I will lay for all that."

His lordſhip then went on to ſtate to the jury, that this chevalier had publickly appeared as a man, had been employed by the court of France as a man, as a military man, in a civil office, and as a miniſter of ſtate here and in Ruſſia; that there was all the preſumption againſt the plaintiff, and the *onus probandi* lay upon him, which might, never have been come at; for it appeared, the only propoſition of a diſcovery of ſex that had been made to the chevalier, by ſome gentlemen upon an excurſion, had been reſented by D'Eon, who had inſtantly quitted their company on that account: it might therefore have never been in his power to have proved his wager, but for ſome accidental quarrels between D'Eon and ſome of her country men. His lordſhip was therefore of opinion, that the jury would

would find a verdict for the plaintiff.

The jury, without hesitation, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, 700l. and 40s.

The same day a court of aldermen was held at Guildhall when Sir Ch. Asgill resigned his gown as alderman of Candlewick ward. Sir Charles Asgill was chosen alderman in the year 1749.

Mr. Wagner, citizen and haberdasher, lately elected sheriff, paid his fine to be excused from serving the said office; and Mr. Hodgson attended on behalf of Mr. Franks, and produced a commission from Lord Percy, appointing him deputy lieutenant of Middlesex, in order to his being excused from the office of sheriff, which plea the court would not allow, and ordered Mr. Franks to attend the next court, to give bond to take on him the said office.

3d. Was tried before Lord Mansfield, and a special jury, at Gr[illegible] cause wherein John Rob[illegible] secretary to Lord [illegible]ntiff, and Henry [illegible]ll, printer o[illegible] was defe[illegible] declarati[illegible] One ou[illegible] the Pub[illegible] ay, Ma[illegible] rties w[illegible] char[illegible] tty [illegible] Sobi[illegible]

the act of the master; so, on the ground of corruption, if it was evident that the secretary to the treasury was liable to a challenge, it was fair to infer, that the first lord of that board was a proper object of suspicion. The jury, after considering a short time, found the defendant guilty in forty shillings damages, and costs of suit.

4th. At twelve o'clock, the lord mayor, aldermen, &c. went upon the hustings, at Guildhall, when the numbers on the poll of each candidate for the office of chamberlain were declared, which were, for Mr. Hopkins 2132, for Mr. Wilkes 1228, upon which Mr. Hopkins was declared duly elected; afterwards the lord mayor proceeded to St. Michael's church, Crooked-lane, to hold a wardmote for the election of an alderman of Candlewick-ward, in the room of Sir Charles Asgill, who has resigned his gown, when Mr. Wright, in partnership with Mr. Gill, stationer, in Abchurch-lane, was elected without opposition.

This day at two o'clock an express came to——[illegible] in Argyle-street, from [illegible] an account of his [illegible] the duke of Cumberland [illegible] victory over [illegible]

women by a fictitious name, and for defrauding them of their money and cloaths: She was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory at Charing-croſs, and to be impriſoned ſix months.

7th. This day the trials ended at the Old Bailey, when Mr. Recorder paſſed ſentence of death upon 13 capital convicts.

Sarah Thomas, for manſlaughter, was branded, and ordered to be impriſoned three months in Newgate.

One was ſentenced to hard labour on the Thames for ſix years, four for four years, and ten for three years.

Four were ſentenced to hard labour in the houſe of correction for three years.

Twelve were branded in the hand; four of whom are to be impriſoned ſix months in Newgate (in which number is Mrs. Weſt) and one for one month; one for a year in the houſe of correction, five for ſix months, and one for three months, in the ſame priſon; five ordered to be whipped, and 27 were diſcharged by proclamation.

Lately came on to be heard before the chancellor, a cauſe in which Sir John St. Aubyn was complainant, and ſeveral citizens defendants. The intent of plaintiff's bill was to deſtroy ſeveral annuity-bonds entered into for the benefit of the defendants, when the plaintiff was but 17 years of age, a ſcholar at Weſtminſter ſchool, and incapable of judging of the nature of the ſecurities he was induced to grant. In order the more readily to obtain the money he wanted to ſupply his extravagancies, he procured a ſchool-fellow juſt come of age to join with him in the bonds, to whom he pledged his honour for the repayment of every ſum ſo borrowed ſo ſoon as he ſhould come of age. The chancellor directed the maſter to take an account of all monies really advanced; and that, on the re-payment of ſuch ſums, with intereſt for the ſame after the rate of 4 per cent. the bonds, ſecurities, &c. ſhould all be delivered up.

Verſailles, July 9. Laſt Sunday the Duke of Aubigny, peer of France, duke of Richmond in England, and of Lennox in Scotland, had the honour to return thanks to his majeſty for his peerage, regiſtered in parliament the 1ſt of this month.

10th. This day the livery aſſembled in common hall, at Guildhall, in order to chooſe two gentlemen to ſerve as ſheriffs for the year enſuing, Meſſrs. Wagner and Franks, who were choſen on Midſummer day laſt, having paid their fines of 600l. each to be excuſed ſerving that office, when Meſſrs. Wrench and Trotter, were declared elected.

About this time the city of Dublin was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by the appearance of the American privateers on this coaſt. A ſtop was put to all trade. Not one of the linen ſhips, that were loaded for Cheſter fair, were ſuffered to depart, upon which account the fair was poſtponed for ſome time. The lord lieutenant thought it expedient, leſt the Americans ſhould make any attempt upon the ſhipping in this harbour, to order cannon from the arſenal, to form two batteries to defend the entrance of it.

15th. A com-

15th. A common hall was held at Guildhall for the election of ſheriffs for this city and county of Middleſex, in the room of Meſſrs. Wrench and Trotter, the firſt being dead, and the other having paid his fine; when all the aldermen who had not ſerved the office, and the following gentlemen who had been drank to, viz. Richard Budworth, Eſq; coach-maker and coach harneſs-maker; Charles Vere, Eſq; goldſmith; William Naſh, Eſq; tin-plate worker; Robert Mackreth, Eſq; vintner; John Curſon, Eſq; vintner; James Savage, Eſq; cooper; and Philip Rowden, Eſq; vintner, were put up; the ſhew of hands appearing for Richard Budworth, Eſq; and Chares Vere, Eſq; they were declared duly elected.

18th. His majeſty in council was this day pleaſed to order, that the parliament, which ſtands prorogued to Monday the 21ſt of this inſt. July, ſhould be further prorogued to Thurſday the 18th of September next.

Extract of a Letter from Rome, June 25.

An excavation has been made in the celebrated houſe of Dioclefian, for the benefit of the proprietors, in order to ſearch for antiquities; and in a vault was found a painting of Venus, holding in her hand a tree, from the branches of which ſeveral Cupids are dropping. This piece is allowed to be of great beauty and inеſtimable worth. In making a like ſearch at Fallerone, for the benefit of the Apoſtolic chamber, an antique chandelier of metal has been found, about a yard high, the middle of rock cryſtal, and of a moſt rare and curious ſtructure.

A common-hall was held at Guildhall for the choice of two gentlemen to ſerve the office of ſheriff for the year enſuing, in the room of Richard Budworth and Charles Vere, Eſqrs. the former of which is excuſed for inſufficiency, and the latter has paid his fine. When the ſeveral gentlemen who had been drank to had been put up, a majority appeared for William Naſh, Eſq; tin-plate worker; but the ſheriffs being doubtful concerning Robert Mackreth and John Curſon, Eſqrs. theſe two were put up again, and Mr. Curſon appeared to have the majority. He was accordingly declared, with Mr. Naſh, ſheriff elect for the enſuing year. 24th.

Mr. Mackreth was before Mr. Curſon on the liſt, but being in parliament, the livery thought he would plead privilege, and therefore choſe Mr. Curſon.

The report was made to his majeſty of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, when the following were ordered for execution on Wedneſday the 6th of Auguſt next:—John Whitaker, Edward Lynch, for burglariouſly breaking open the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Sims, in Widegate-alley, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and ſtealing a metal watch and other things, the property of the ſaid Mr. Sims; and about 4000 yards of lace, ſome aprons, &c. the property of Mrs. Anderſon. Thomas Brady, alias Breary, and John Cox, for breaking in the day time (no perſon being therein) into the dwelling-houſe of Mrs. Wadham, in Berners-ſtreet, Oxford-road, and ſtealing a great quantity of wearing apparel and linen, gold watches, diamond rings, and va- 25th.

rious other articles, to the amount of near 1000l. Thomas Naſh and William Harſnett, for burglariouſly breaking open the dwelling-houſe of Thomas Senbrook, the Two Swans, Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and ſtealing a quantity of linen cloth, muſlin, camblet, &c. the property of Robert Corbat. James Stride, Samuel Rudd, William Miles, for aſſaulting Jean Joſeph Warin in St. James's Park, and robbing him of thirteen guineas.

The following were reſpited, during his majeſty's pleaſure:—David Gueſs, for burglariouſly breaking open the dwelling-houſe of Elizabeth Pollard at Hoxton, and ſtealing three guineas, a ſilver watch, four tea ſpoons, &c. Thomas Hamilton, for burglariouſly breaking open the houſe of Thomas Perry, at Enfield, and ſtealing three pair of ſheets, two coats, a hat, &c. William Buxton, for aſſaulting the lady of Solomon Snell, on the highway, between Hanwell and Southall, and robbing her of ſome money. Sarah Chaulk, for ſtealing, in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Norton, a large quantity of wearing-apparel, linen, laces, and other articles to a large amount, the property of Mary Pereira.

31ſt. The lord-mayor held a general court at Bridewell Hoſpital, when Brackley Kennet, Eſq; alderman, was unanimouſly elected preſident of that and Bethlem Hoſpitals, in the room of Sir Walter Rawlinſon, who has reſigned his gown.

Died, Mr. Robert Hill, taylor, at Buckingham. He had been confined to his bed about a year and a half, during which time he employed ſuch of his hours, as he was enabled to ſit up, in his favourite ſtudy of the Old Teſtament in the Hebrew tongue, which, as he often expreſſed himſelf, now more than paid him for the extraordinary trouble it had coſt him to acquire it in the earlier part of his life. More remarkable incidents in the life of this man are given by the late Mr. Spence, in a Tract intitled "A Compariſon between Maglibechi of Florence, and a man ſcarce heard of in England."

AUGUST.

1ſt. This day Mr. Akerman waited on the Newgate committee, and acquainted the gentlemen with the preſent ſtate of the jail, and the daring and ungovernable behaviour of the Moorfields rioters, ſentenced to long impriſonment ſome time ſince by the court at Hicks's-Hall. Mr. Akerman accounted for this improper conduct, and imputed its having got to ſuch a head, to his not having any places to lock up thoſe who behaved ill; the cells built for refractory priſoners being now, of neceſſity, occupied by the convicts, and muſt continue ſo to be occupied till the jail is intirely finiſhed. The committee entered upon the immediate conſideration of the caſe, and have given orders that there may be forthwith erected, in a convenient part of the quadrangle, ſome ſeparate rooms for the purpoſe mentioned; and that the ſide of the priſon, the weakneſs of which was known to, and turned to advantage by the two Sheffields, to be faced with large ſtone, and rendered as ſecure as poſſible. They alſo reſolved to give Mr. Akerman every countenance

nance and aſſiſtance neceſſary to preſerve the full authority and power in the priſon, which his ſituation as a keeper obviouſly requires.

6th. James Strode and William Wales, two ſoldiers, for a robbery in St. James's Park; Thomas Naſh and William Harſnett, for houſe-breaking; John Cox and Thomas Brady, for robbing the houſe of Mrs. Wadham, in Berners-ſtreet, to the amount of 1000l. and Edward Lynch, for houſe-breaking; were executed at Tyburn, according to their ſentence. One John Whitaker was almoſt miraculouſly ſaved by the ſolemn declaration of his innocence by Lynch, juſt as Whitaker was going to be turned off, and by the humanity of the ſheriff and the vigilance of the ordinary, who procured his reſpite.

7th. The Dutcheſs of Kingſton embarked at Calais for Peterſburgh.

Part of the crew of an American privateer landed at Penzance, and plundered the farmers of ſome live ſtock.

Liſbon, Aug. 6. The effects belonging to the Marquis de Pombal, of which an inventory hath been taken by order of the Queen of Portugal, exceed the value of 600,000l. ſterling.

Peterſbourg, July 18. The King of Sweden left Peterhoff on Wedneſday laſt in the evening, and embarked at Oranienbaum about eight o'clock on his return to Stockholm. Her imperial majeſty being apprized of his departure, (for his Swediſh majeſty did not take a formal leave of the empreſs) wrote a letter of compliment, and ſent it after the King of Sweden, together with a peliſſe of black fox-ſkin, of the value of 30,000 roubles, by M. Soritz, one of her Imperial majeſty's adjutants, whom his Swediſh majeſty inveſted on the ſpot with the order of the ſword.

15th. A dreadful inundation happened at Holmfirth, near Huddersfield, in Yorkſhire, occaſioned by the burſting of a cloud on the adjacent hills. A little rivulet roſe ſeveral yards in height in leſs than ten minutes. The damage is eſtimated at 10,000l. beſides the loſs of lives.

16th. The Chevalier D'Eon left England, declaring, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſhe had no intereſt whatever in the policies opened upon her ſex.

Thurſday the powder-mill on Epſom Downs accidentally blew up. Luckily there was but a ſmall quantity of powder, and only one man in the place: the man was very much hurt, but is expected to recover. Part of the roof was found at near a mile's diſtance.

18th. Sir George Collier, in his majeſty's ſhip Rainbow, having fallen in with the rebel ſquadron, conſiſting of the Hancock, Commodore Manley, with the Boſton, M'Neil, and the Fox frigate, has had the good fortune, after a chace of 39 hours, to take the Hancock, a fine new frigate of 32 guns, moſtly 12-pounders, and a prime ſailer. Manley miſtook the Rainbow, of 40 guns, for the Raiſonable of 64, and expreſſed great chagrin, after he had ſtruck, upon the diſcovery. Capt. Fotheringham, of the Fox, was on board the Hancock; and Manley ſays, that he engaged the Fox for two hours, within piſtol ſhot.

Sir George Collier, during the chace, was joined by the Flora frigate, who had the good fortune likewiſe to retake the Fox. The Boſton has eſcaped, by taking a different courſe.

20th. Late laſt night a moſt daring and dangerous riot happened in Newgate among the priſoners there (the principal of whom were thoſe for the riot and reſcue in Moorfields about three years ſince, and were confined in two ſeparate wards), the cauſe whereof, or how it began, is not known. It ſeems there had been ſome quarrels amongſt them, which had in ſome meaſure ſubſided. When the turnkeys at the uſual time locked them up in their different wards, about ten at night, they were alarmed with a very great noiſe of ſwearing and blaſphemous language, with the breaking of windows, and iron caſements falling into the quadrangle; on which, Mr. Akerman being ſent for, came into the quadrangle, and inquiring the reaſon of the tumult, was anſwered by a volley of oaths and brickbats, who thereon cauſing the door to be ſuddenly opened, ruſhed in and ſeized Madan, one of the principal ringleaders of that ward, by the collar; and a ſcuffle enſuing, in which Madan, attempting to knock Mr. Akerman down with a brick, received a wound, which diſabled him from doing further miſchief; when he, together with one Hawes, who was alſo wounded, and two others, were brought down and put into the cells; the reſt of that ward were locked in, and then the confuſion became general over that ſide of the priſon, ſo that all the windows and caſements were demoliſhed and thrown down into the ſquare. The priſoners in the oppoſite ward had faſtened themſelves in, and determined to do murder, if moleſted; then began their outrage in endeavouring to pull down the priſon, and continued in that employ all night. In the morning, the lord-mayor and one of the ſheriffs, on being acquainted with the tumult, went to Newgate, attended by Mr. Gates, and ſeveral officers, and, with Mr. Akerman, proceeded to the quadrangle; when the priſoners, on being called to by his lordſhip, appeared in the windows of their reſpective wards. His lordſhip deſired to know what induced them to commit this outrage, or what they had to complain of, that it might be redreſſed. Two or three of the ringleaders of the other ward were then let down, and taken before his lordſhip in the lodge, who very humanely expoſtulated with them on this atrocious offence: they anſwered, they had no complaint againſt the keeper, but that the length of the time of their impriſonment, and their poverty, had made them deſperate. His lordſhip promiſed, that, on their good behaviour and peaceable deportment during the continuance of their impriſonment, he would repreſent their caſe to his majeſty, in order to procure a remiſſion of ſome part thereof. This ended, and Mr. Akerman generouſly forgave them the inſult offered to himſelf, and they were reſtored to their former ſituations, and peace to the priſon.

A fire happened at Aldbourn, in Wiltſhire, which 24th. entirely conſumed ſixty dwelling-houſes, with out-houſes, barns, and

and ſtables.—It is not more than eighteen years ſince this unfortunate place was almoſt entirely burnt to aſhes, with the additional misfortune of loſing the greateſt part of their harveſt; and they have now ſuffered greatly by the loſs of moſt part of their hay. This dreadful calamity aroſe from a woman imprudently throwing out hot aſhes againſt a barn.

30th. By letters from Gottenburgh, in Sweden, the Americans have found their way to Marſtrand, a free port in that kingdom, and have been ſupplied there with warlike ſtores, in exchange for rice and indigo.

On Saturday laſt an inhabitant of Langwick, in the county of Glamorgan, was committed to Cardiff gaol, for the murder of his niece, a girl about ſeven years of age, by holding her head in a ſmall pool of water till ſhe was dead, by which he came to an eſtate of about 30l. a year. This murder was committed near ſixteen years ago; and a woman who ſaw the fact perpetrated, it is ſaid, has been fee'd annually to keep it a ſecret. The reaſon of her diſcovering it now, is owing to the man's neglecting the uſual payment. She is alſo committed with him as an evidence.

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Buckingham the aſſizes proved maiden.

At Abingdon, 3 condemned, but reprieved.

At Wincheſter, 3 capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Oxford, 2 condemned, but reprieved.

At Northampton, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Huntingdon aſſizes, a girl, not 13 years of age, was tried for robbing her father, an innkeeper in that county, of 15 guineas; and being convicted, ſhe was branded, and ordered to be impriſoned for ſix months.

At the ſame time a mother and daughter, governeſſes to a ſchool at which the above child was ſcholar, were tried for receiving the above money from her, well knowing it was ſtolen, and were found guilty, and ſentenced, the former to be impriſoned for a term of five years, and the daughter for three years.

At Worceſter, 1 condemned, and left for execution.

At Chelmsford, 6 condemned.

At Cambridge, the aſſizes proved maiden.

At Bedford, 1 condemned.

At Hertford, 3 condemned and left for execution.

At York, 2 condemned, one of whom was left for execution.

At Saliſbury, 5 received ſentence of death, two of whom were Michael Burke and Connor Cooney, two ſoldiers, for the wilful murder of Thomas Scuſe, a poor man, who uſed to travel the country with pedlary, &c. on the firſt of June laſt, on the London road near that city. Before the judges left the city, they reprieved two of the others.

At Lincoln, 5 condemned, one of whom was for the murder of an infant not twenty weeks old.

At Glouceſter, 6 condemned—2 left for execution.

At Maidſtone, 1 condemned.

At Nottingham, the aſſizes proved maiden.

At Derby, 4 condemned—3 reprieved.

At Monmouth, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Norwich, 1 condemned and left for execution.

At Leiceſter, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Exeter, 4 condemned.

At the aſſizes for the county of Devon, 7 condemned.

At Hereford, 2 condemned—1 reprieved.

At Durham, 3 condemned—1 reprieved.

At Croydon aſſizes, 3 condemned.

At the ſame aſſizes, G. Phillips was indicted, for that having married Eleanor Sawyer, in 1768, he had likewiſe married Sarah Warden in March laſt, his former wife being then alive.

The firſt witneſs produced an extract of the pariſh regiſter of Shenley, certifying the marriage. To this evidence the counſel for the priſoner objected, alledging the regiſter itſelf was alone competent evidence. The learned ſerjeant who ſat as judge, did not wholly accede to this doctrine, obſerving, that though the book itſelf is the beſt evidence, yet the law has no where negatived an authentic, proved extract. The proſecutors, however, put an end to all debate, by producing a living witneſs who ſaw them married, and acted as father by giving away the bride. The firſt marriage being thus eſtabliſhed, they produced the ſame evidence of the laſt marriage.

The counſel for the priſoner did not attempt a denial of the facts, but ſet up a defence, that previous to his marriage with either of theſe wives, he had actually married a third wife, Anne Lediard, in 1757; in proof whereof he likewiſe produced the ſame kind of evidence, and alſo the brother of the ſaid Anne, who proved the marriage, and that Anne lived till the year 1775, when ſhe died at the houſe of one Mr. Pullen, of Field-lane, near Holborn. This teſtimony was corroborated by Mr. Pullen, who produced the undertaker's bill, which he had paid for her funeral.

A bricklayer, who formerly worked as a journeyman with the priſoner at St. Alban's, Hertfordſhire, ſwore, That he remembered ſeeing the ſaid Anne come to the priſoner's houſe, claiming to be his wife, and that the priſoner acknowledged her to be his wife.

The counſel for the priſoner having eſtabliſhed this firſt marriage, the ſecond of courſe became null and void; no criminal verdict therefore could be founded upon it. The judge lamented that ſuch a defence ſhould be ſupported, but as the law ſtands, it could not be controverted. The jury pronounced, Not Guilty.

At Newcaſtle, the aſſizes proved maiden.

At Coventry, 3 priſoners were tried, none of whom were capitally convicted.

At Warwick, 1 condemned, but reprieved.

At Stafford, 5 condemned, one of whom, for murder, was executed.

At Salop, 2 condemned.

At Lewes, 3 condemned.

At Wells, 2 condemned, but reprieved.

At Carliſle, 2 condemned, but reprieved.

At Lancaſter, John Rockley received ſentence of death, being charged on oath with having raviſhed

viſhed his grand-daughter, an infant under ten years of age, at Liverpool, on the 16th of May laſt.

DIED, Anthony Purver, a Quaker, at Andover, in Hampſhire; he was many years a ſchool-maſter at Frenchay, in Glouceſterſhire. In his younger days he had been a ſhoe-maker, yet, without tutor or patron, by dint of hard labour and unwearied ſtudy, he purchaſed and peruſed moſt of the authors in the oriental languages; and his knowledge therein was very extenſive, as appears by his tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtament, which he publiſhed ſome years ago, in two volumes folio.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. Some few days ago two fiſhermen of Grimſby, being out at ſea, diſcovered, a little below the Spurn light-houſes, a dead fiſh, floating on the ſurface of the water, of a moſt enormous ſize; which, when they had got to the ſhore, appeared to be a male of that ſpecies of whales, called the fin-fiſh. It was ſeen ſome few days ſince on the Yorkſhire coaſt, from whence it was ſtruck at by ſome harpooners. In length it meaſures ſeventeen yards and an half, and is of a proportionable bulk, and it was ſuppoſed would yield two tons of oil.

3d. This day the Right Hon. the Lord-mayor proceeded to Smithfield, and proclaimed Bartholomew-fair; and, in his way thither, with the ſheriff, partook of a cool tankard at Newgate with Mr. Akerman.

Extract of a Letter from Italy, Aug. 1.

"The brother of the Abp. of Spalatro was aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Venice. Letters were found in his pockets apprizing him of the danger, but he neglected to take any precaution."

Miſs Mary Max, an heireſs of a large fortune, was carried off the beginning of laſt month from Caſhel county, in Ireland, brought over to England, and afterwards carried to France, by a young gentleman of the county of Kilkenny. She is only 13 years of age, and a ward. Her guardians have offered a reward of 1000l. for apprehending the father and ſon, who were the principals in carrying her off. They were near being taken by Sir John Fielding's men at Brighthelmſtone, from whence they ſailed in the packet.

On the 23d of laſt month a fire broke out in a cottage at Auburn, Wilts, which in a few hours conſumed more than two thirds of the town. The damage is computed at more than 10,000 pounds, over and above all inſurances; and the diſtreſs to the poor, who have loſt their all, is truly deplorable.

8th. A ſuperb white marble ſtatue, in honour of Mrs. Catharine Macaulay, was erected in the chancel of the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, by Dr. Thomas Wilſon, rector of the pariſh.

9th. A court of aldermen was held, at which were preſent the lord-mayor, aldermen Bull, Eſdaile, Oliver, Plomer, Peckham, Hayley, Newnham, Smith, Hart, Wright, the recorder, and Plumbe and Thomas, ſheriffs. Mr. Curſon and Mr. Naſh (the ſheriffs elect) attended the courts, and the former having his ſix compurgators

ready, ſwore himſelf not to be worth 15,000l. but the latter acquainting the court that he was not ready, he was allowed further time.

12th. His majeſty in council was this day pleaſed to order, that the parliament, which ſtands prorogued to Thurſday the 18th day of this inſtant September, ſhould be further prorogued to Thurſday the 30th day of October next.

16th. This day, at his ſeat at Newnham, in Oxfordſhire, the body of Earl Harcourt was found dead, in a narrow well, in his park, with the head downwards, and nothing appearing above water but the feet and legs.

It is imagined this melancholy accident was occaſioned by his over reaching himſelf in endeavouring to ſave the life of a favourite dog, who was found in the well with him, ſtanding on his lordſhip's feet. His hat and right-hand glove lay by the ſide of the well. Every poſſible method for the recovery of drowned perſons was made uſe of for three ſeveral times, but unfortunately without effect.

17th. This evening about nine o'clock, as the Hon. Mr. Hawke, ſon of Lord Hawke, was coming to town, between Kenſington and Knightſbridge, his horſe ran againſt a poſt-chaiſe and fell, and one of the ſhafts of the chaiſe penetrating Mr. Hawke's body, killed him on the ſpot.

Yeſterday the ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when the following convicts received ſentence of death; viz. James Harriſon, for ſtealing, in the houſe of Richard Burn, Eſq; two ſuits of cloaths, and ſeveral pair of ſilk ſtockings; Thomas Jones, for breaking open the houſe of Mrs. Jemina Sainthill, in Duke-ſtreet, Manchester-ſquare, and ſtealing a quantity of linen; Richard Turwood, for ſtealing in the houſe of Mr. Wildman, goldſmith, in Cheapſide, where he was a ſervant, 11 guineas, and a gilt ſhilling; and John Greaves, for breaking into the coach-houſe and ſtabling belonging to the houſe of Henry Morris, Eſq; at Hammerſmith, and ſtealing thereout a pair of coach-harneſs, three coach-glaſſes, and other things. Thirteen were ordered to hard labour on the Thames, one to hard labour in Clerkenwell Bridewell for three years, twenty-ſix were branded, and ordered to be impriſoned for different terms, four to be privately whipped, and one publickly; ſixty-one were diſcharged by proclamation.

At the above ſeſſions, Mr. Harriſon was arraigned on twenty-four different counts, for a forgery, ſaid to have been committed by him, with intent to defraud the London Aſſurance company, &c. He had been many years clerk-accomptant in that office, and was charged with having prefixed a figure of 3 to the ſum of 260l. paid into the Bank of England, by which it appeared as if 3260l. had been paid in, inſtead of 260l. which fraud was detected by the clerk who carried the money. He was found guilty; but a point of law ariſing, his ſentence was referred to the opinion of the judges.

Mr. Cutler was alſo put to the bar for a rape on the body of Mrs. Bradley. Mrs. Bradley and a Mr. Hamlin were the only witneſſes examined for the proſecution: the former

former gave an account of the whole tranſaction; the latter only repeated what ſhe had given in evi dence, which he ſaid ſhe had alſo told him the morning the fact was committed: there was however a palpable contradiction in ſome parts of their relations. The witneſſes for the priſoner proved many contrarieties in the depoſition of the evidence, on which the judge told the jury that he ſuppoſed he need not read his notes to them, as he imagined they muſt be fully ſatisfied; the jury ſaying they were, without heſitation pronounced the priſoner—*Not guilty.*

Alſo William Gibſon was tried for the murder of John Collier; and Downs, the principal witneſs, not appearing, he was acquitted.

This evening Mr. Layton, and another of his majeſty's officers of the exciſe, attacked a party of ſmugglers, thirteen in number, on the road near Kingſton, Surry; when Mr. Layton was ſo cruelly cut and mangled, that he died in the Weſtminſter Infirmary.

Paris, Sept. 12. A ſurvey of the French American colonies has lately been made by order of the king, and laid before the ſupreme council at Paris, which is eſtabliſhed for the improvement of the French Weſt-India ſettlements; by which it appears their iſlands are in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate. The number of their ſlaves amounts to 386,500, reckoning 240,000 at St. Domingo, 75,000 at Martinico, 64,000 at Guadalupe, 4000 at St. Lucia, and 3500 at Cayenne; to ſupply the annual deficiency in which number, an annual importation of 20,000 Blacks is neceſſary. His majeſty has amply rewarded M. Petit, who made this calculation, and has directed the ſupreme council to draw up a number of regulations for preſerving peace and harmony between the natives of the above iſlands and the European planters.

A common-hall was held at Guildhall for the election of ſheriffs for the year enſuing, in the room of William Naſh, Eſq; who did not appear to give bond to ſerve the ſaid office, and John Curſon, Eſq; who was diſcharged from the ſaid office for inſufficiency of wealth; when all the aldermen who had not ſerved the office were put in nomination; after which James Savage, Eſq; cooper, and Philip Rowden, Eſq; vintner, were put up, when they having a majority of hands were declared duly elected. 25th.

A wardmote was held at Baker's Hall, in Thames-ſtreet, before the lord-mayor, for the election of an alderman of Tower Ward, in the room of Alderman Smith, reſigned, when Evan Pugh, Eſq; a ſoap-boiler, in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and one of the common-council of that ward, was choſen without oppoſition. 26th.

The ſame day, at a court of enquiry by the governors of Bethlem and Bridewell Hoſpitals, a charge was made againſt one of the governors for having appropriated a conſiderable portion of the bread, beer, milk, butter, beef, &c. &c. to the uſe of himſelf and family. He did not deny the charge, but urged that he intended to pay for what he had ſo applied.

A common-hall was held at Guildhall for the election of a lord-mayor of this city for the enſuing year. The court being opened, Mr. Nugent, the 29th.

common

common ſerjeant, read aloud the names of the following aldermen, as perſons that had ſerved the office of ſheriff, viz. Eſdaile, Kennett, Oliver, Lewes, Hayley, Newnham, Lee, and Hart: their names were ſeverally put up, and the ſhow of hands was greatly in favour of Eſdaile and Kennett. The ſheriffs declared the election had fallen on Meſſrs. Edaile and Kennett, upon which the lord-mayor and aldermen returned to the council-chamber, and in a ſhort time came on the huſtings, and declared the election had fallen on Sir James Eſdaile.

30th. The lord-mayor, according to annual cuſtom, went to Weſtminſter-Hall, and made a return of the two old ſheriffs (Alderman Plumbe and Thomas), who were ſworn in before the barons in the Court of Exchequer to ſerve that office till two perſons are elected for the year enſuing.

James Savage and Philip Rowden, Eſquires, both paid the fine to be excuſed ſerving.

On the 14th of this month an inundation happened at Peterſburgh, more extenſive and deſtructive than has ever been remembered in thoſe parts. A violent hurricane at W. S. W. which began about two in the morning, raiſed the waters in four hours to the height of fourteen feet above the ordinary level of the Neva, by which the whole town, and a great extent of the flat country in the neighbourhood, was rapidly overflowed. The water remained about half an hour at its extreme height; but the wind getting a little to the northward, it returned in a very ſhort time to its uſual bounds. It is impoſſible to eſtimate the loſs which the ſtate and individuals have ſuffered. The number of perſons drowned muſt be conſiderable. In the beſt parts of the town many houſes are unroofed, and the loſs of goods deſtroyed is not to be eſtimated. In the gardens of the ſummer palace great numbers of the fineſt trees are broken or torn up by the roots. The lower ſkirts of the town, inhabited by the poorer ſort of people, preſented a ſcene of deſolation which can be more eaſily imagined than deſcribed. Many perſons were drowned in their beds, and others, who ſought for ſafety from the roofs of their houſes, were carried from thence by the violence of the wind, and thoſe who eſcaped with life were left deſtitute of habitations and effects. Great damage is done at the quay of the exchange, and to the lower magazines and warehouſes. Numbers of barks, laden with iron, hemp, grain, wood, &c. were ſtaved, ſunk, or driven into the ſtreets or fields. Several large veſſels, lying between this place and Cronſtadt, were driven aſhore into woods and gardens. Many of the country houſes in the neighbourhood are deſtroyed. The village of Catherinehoff, and ſome others on the ſame coaſt, were entirely ſwept away, with all the cattle; and many lives were loſt there, as well as on the ſide of the Galley Haven, where the ground is very low. The great bridge of boats over the Neva was carried away, and moſt of the bridges in the town, except thoſe on the new ſtone quay (no part of which has ſuffered any material damage), were torn up. We have the ſatisfaction to hear, however, that little or no damage

damage has been done to the works or ſhipping at Cronſtadt.

According to accurate obſervations it appears, that the waters roſe a foot and a half higher than in the great inundation which happened there in the year 1752.

DIED, the Rev. Mr. Edmond Granger, prebend and morning lecturer of Exeter cathedral, rector of Sowden, and vicar of Honiton Clift, in Somerſetſhire. He was the author of a biographical hiſtory upon a new plan, and ſeveral other curious hiſtorical pieces.

The Rev. Fr. Fawkes, rector of Hayes, Kent, author of ſeveral ingenious poems and tranſlations.

Lately, Mr. Abraham Franco, a Jew merchant, aged 96, ſaid to have died worth 900,000l.

Mrs. Williamſon, relict of the Rev. Joſeph Williamſon, many years rector of Leachley, in Yorkſhire: ſhe had 11 children, 54 grand-children, 53 great-grand-children, and ſix great-great-grand-children: ſhe is ſurvived by ſeven children, 37 grand-children, 42 great-grand-children, and five great-great-grand-children.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. A general court of the governors of Bethlehem and Bridewell hoſpitals was held, when the report of the committee of enquiry, who ſat to inveſtigate the charge urged againſt one of the governors, accuſed of appropriating part of the hoſpital victuals, beer, &c. to his own uſe, was made; and it appearing that the charge was fully ſupported, the court paſſed a vote of cenſure upon the delinquent, which (unfortunately) is the only puniſhment in their power to inflict.

2d. A common hall was held at Guildhall, for the choice of two perſons to ſerve the office of ſheriff. After the lord-mayor had quitted the huſtings, and previous to the election, Mr. Common Serjeant came forward, and addreſſed the livery: he told them that the choice of perſons to that office who were ineligible, or would not ſerve, would be a great hindrance to buſineſs; he hoped, therefore, it would fall on ſuch as would ſerve, and were proper perſons. All the aldermen who had not ſerved the office were then put in nomination, but the ſhew of hands appeared for Robert Peckham, Eſq; alderman of Coleman-ſtreet ward; and Richard Clarke, Eſq; alderman of Broad-ſtreet ward; whereupon they were declared duly elected.

4th. A commiſſion paſſed the great ſeal for proroguing the parliament to the 20th of November, the day fixed for opening the ſeſſion.

6th. Orders are given to the captains of the Eaſt-Indiamen that are to go out the enſuing ſeaſon to take on board their full complement of men, with the liberty of receiving an additional number at any of the out-ports; they are to mount 26 guns each, with all ordnance ſtores, for their better defence in caſe of being attacked by any of the American privateers.

9th. Letters from Breſt mention, that a ſhip arrived there brings an account of an earthquake having lately happened at Goree, the principal French ſettlement on the coaſt of Africa, which

which had done conſiderable damage to the place, and choaked up the harbour ſo much as to render it dangerous for ſhipping to enter therein.

13th. This day began the ſeſſions of the peace for the county of Middleſex at Guildhall, Weſtminſter, when a man was indicted for a nuiſance by the inhabitants of Hockley-in-the-hole, for killing and boiling horſes, which occaſioned ſuch a putrefaction in the air, that the neighbours declared they were not able at times to move from their houſes; he was convicted, and ſentenced to be impriſoned in Newgate for the term of two years, to pay the penalty of 100l. and find ſecurity for his future good behaviour for three years more.

16th. A moſt horrid murder was diſcovered to have been perpetrated on the body of Monſ. Valence Moudroit, a French gentleman, a jeweller, at his lodgings in Princes-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, by a Swede, who was his interpreter, in the following manner: the maid-ſervant of the houſe, not having ſeen the deceaſed ſince the time he went to bed on Saturday night, was very uneaſy, and made frequent inquiries concerning him to the interpreter, but was always anſwered, 'he was out of town.' The maid's ſuſpicions increaſing, ſhe was determined to ſee into the deceaſed's apartments, and accordingly reared a ladder to the back window, which ſhe opened, and, to her ſurprize, perceived the floor in a ſea of blood. She went directly to Juſtice Gretton's, in Margaret-ſtreet, and made him acquainted therewith, and of her ſtrong ſuſpicions of the interpreter having murdered the deceaſed. The juſtice immediately repaired to the houſe, had the door broke open, and, upon ſearch, found the deceaſed moſt inhumanly mangled and bruiſed, and his body thruſt into a trunk in the dreſſing-room, with his head bent down on his left breaſt, his knees forced up to his chin, and almoſt putrified. The murderer was apprehended the ſame evening, by Juſtice Gretton in perſon, juſt as he arrived at his lady's lodgings, in Caſtle-ſtreet, in a poſtchaiſe, from a country jaunt. On his examination, he confeſſed being guilty of the murder, but as nothing appeared againſt the woman, ſhe was diſcharged, and the priſoner committed to Newgate, on the coroner's inqueſt, for Wilful Murder.

Lewis Mercier, alias Bouvet, alias Bettie, who committed the above murder, was originally bred a hair-dreſſer; but attending the public anatomical lectures at Paris, aſſumed the character of a ſurgeon. Some time after he came to England, and went from Liverpool doctor of a Guinea ſhip; but was diſmiſſed for his barbarous treatment of the negroes, during the voyage. On his return he became connected with a gang of horſe-ſtealers, and made a conſiderable ſum of money, by ſelling the cattle which were ſtolen at Dunkirk, and other parts of France. In the year 1772, he was committed to Newgate, and capitally convicted for horſe-ſtealing at the Old-Bailey.

By the intereſt of a French nobleman, he received the royal mercy, and was ordered to be tranſported for fourteen years; but returned about ſix weeks ago, and ſome

ſome of Sir John Fielding's people were actually in purſuit of him the day before he committed the horrid murder upon Mr. Moudroit.

18th. The ſeſſions, which began at the Old-Bailey on Wedneſday, ended, when thirteen convicts received ſentence of death; namely, Wm. Loveridge, Robert Collins, James Anderſon, and Nicholas Rider, for houſe-breaking; Michael Caſhmin, for horſe-ſtealing; four chimney-ſweeper's boys for ſhop-lifting; John Morris, Benjamin and Charles Lees, for breaking open a bureau in a public-houſe, and ſtealing from thence 19 guineas and a crown-piece; Hen. Parkinſon, for robbing a little boy in the ſtreet; Ann Elliſon, for privately ſtealing upwards of 13 guineas in the dwelling-houſe of John Doer, her maſter, the Crown alehouſe, in Newport-market; Thomas Antibus, for ſtealing three heifers out of a field near Hendon; George Johnſon, for horſe-ſtealing; and the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Ruſſen, for injuring a girl under ten years old. He was maſter of the ſubſcription charity-ſchool at Bethnal-green, and was tried on four indictments for ſimilar offences, but found guilty only on the firſt. In his defence he denied the fact, and pleaded the malice of his enemies, who, he ſaid, had charged him with thoſe offences to deprive him of his place.

A very extraordinary circumſtance happened at the Old-Bailey the laſt ſeſſions, which ſhews how cautious and well informed it is neceſſary a jury ſhould be in the diſcharge of their duty. A young fellow was tried for a capital felony, and, through the inexperience of the foreman, a verdict was found to the extreme of the charge. When the convicts were brought down to receive ſentence, the court was thrown into an alarm by the Middleſex jury, who declared that they had reſolved to find the priſoner guilty of the bare felony in ſtealing the goods, and to acquit him of having privately ſtolen them; an offence for which the puniſhment would not take away his life: whereas they were now aſtoniſhed to ſee him among thoſe condemned to ſuffer death; that, when they were deliberating upon the evidence, ſo far were they from any intention of finding the priſoner guilty of the ſpecific charge in the indictment, that they obſerved among themſelves he was a very proper object for the ballaſt-lighters. The recorder endeavoured, with all that humanity which diſtinguiſhes his character, to ſoften the rigour of the verdict, and to that purpoſe made a ſtrict inquiry of the cauſe of this egregious error, but it turned out to be not in his province to comply with the compaſſionate wiſhes of the jury. The verdict was recorded, and the only method to ſave the poor fellow from the diſgrace and horror of a violent death, was a petition from the jury to the king, which the recorder promiſed to deliver, and aid their attempt to amend the miſtake. The priſoner ſeemed to be ſhocked exceedingly. Being called upon to ſhew cauſe why ſentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt him, he ſaid, 'I thought I was not found guilty of a capital offence, till I was fetched down from the cells.' The audience were affected, and at the ſame time happy to ſee ſo much penitence in his behaviour.

23d. A

23d. A common council was this day held at Guildhall, at which were preſent the lord-mayor, lord-mayor elect, aldermen Alſop, Bull, Kennett, Hayley, Oliver, Wright, Pugh, Peckham and Clarke, the ſheriffs, and recorder.

A petition from the creditors of Alderman Wilkes, late lord-mayor, was delivered into the court, and, upon a motion being made for the reading the ſaid petition, great debates enſued; and on the queſtion being put, it was carried and read. A motion was then made that the petition do lie on the table, and, on a diviſion being demanded and granted, there appeared ſeven alderman and 73 common-councilmen for the queſtion; and one alderman and 72 common-councilmen againſt it; whereupon the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

24th. This day about three o'clock in the afternoon, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter, his ducheſs, family, and retinue, arrived at Glouceſter houſe from Italy; his royal highneſs is in a much better ſtate of health than was expected.

The following is the eſtimate of the charge of pulling down and rebuilding the gaol of Newgate:

Leaſehold intereſts to be purchaſed in the Old-Bailey, from the Maſon's Yard to Newgate, and ſome houſes oppoſite thereto, 6000l. The old materials were to pay for taking down, and clearing away the rubbiſh to the ſurface of the ſtreets. The New Priſon to anſwer the late Seſſions Houſe, and to contain diſtinct wards for the men and women debtors, and men and women felons, tranſports, and convicts; a chapel, a keeper's houſe, taphouſe, ſutlery, yards, area, ponds of water, &c. which required 160 ſquares of new building, which, on account of the requiſite ſtrength, would coſt 250l. per ſquare, 40,000l. Salaries and gratuities to the ſurveyor, the committee clerk, the chamberlain's clerks, &c. 2750l. Incidental expences, 1250l. Total 50,000l.

At the ſeſſions for the county of Norfolk, a tradeſman of Norwich, for cheating at cards, was fined 20l. and ſentenced to ſuffer ſix months impriſonment in the caſtle, without bail or mainprize; and, in caſe the ſaid fine was not paid at the expiration of the term, then to ſtand on the pillory one hour, with his ears nailed to the ſame. 25th.

The following is a true ſtate of the different methods of getting money by lottery-office-keepers, and other ingenious perſons, who have ſtruck out different plans of getting money by the ſtate lottery of 1777.

Firſt, His majeſty's royal letters patent for ſecuring the property of purchaſers.

2dly, A few office-keepers who advertiſe, "By authority of parliament," to ſecure your property in ſhares and chances.

3dly, Several ſchemes for ſhares and chances, only entitling the purchaſers to all prizes above twenty pounds.

4thly, A bait for thoſe who can only afford to venture *one ſhilling*.

Then come the ingenious ſett of lottery merchants, viz. Lottery magazine proprietors—Lottery taylors—Lottery ſtay-makers—Lottery glovers—Lottery hat-makers—Lottery tea-merchants—Lottery ſnuff

ſnuff and tobacco merchants—Lottery handkerchiefs—Lottery bakers.—Lottery barbers (where a man, for being ſhaved, and paying three-pence, may ſtand a chance of getting ten pounds)—Lottery ſhoe-blacks —— Lottery eating-houſes; one in Wych-ſtreet, Temple-bar, where, if you call for ſix-penny-worth of roaſt or boiled beef, you receive a note of hand, with a number, which, ſhould it turn out fortunate, may entitle the eater of the beef to ſixty guineas.—Lottery oyſter-ſtalls, by which the fortunate may get five guineas for three-penny-worth of oyſters. And, to complete this curious catalogue, an old woman, who keeps a ſauſage-ſtall in one of the little alleys leading to Smithfield, wrote up in chalk, Lottery *ſauſages*, or five ſhillings to be gained for a farthing reliſh.

A young woman at Paris, enraged at being abandoned by her lover; after many uſeleſs reproaches, at length waited on him a few days ago, and told him, that being unable to ſurvive his perfidy, ſhe was determined to fight him, and that ſhe had brought two piſtols with her for that purpoſe. The gentleman took one, and, making light of the matter, fired it into the air; but ſhe, not imitating his example, and become perfectly mad through deſpair, fired her's at him, and wounded him dreadfully in the face. The gentleman's name is handed about; he is ſaid to be a man of quality, and an officer in the navy.

Died, at Dover, on his way to Paris, on the 21ſt of this month, Samuel Foote, Eſq. He left London, as we are told, on Sunday, and when he arrived here was taken ill; ſoon after which he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, and never recovered. He was attended on his journey only by a menial ſervant. Immediately on his expiring, an expreſs was diſpatched to acquaint his friends with his death.

Mr. Foote has left the bulk of his fortune to his natural ſon, a child about ſeven years of age; but in caſe he ſhould die before he arrives at the age of twenty-one, then his property is to go to Mr. Jewel, late treaſurer of the Haymarket theatre, who is left executor.

Francis Wilkes, day-labourer, on the heath near Stourbridge, aged 109. His poor neighbours were perſuaded that he had purchaſed immortality from a witch.

Thomas Carter, the dwarf, who was about 25 years of age, and only three feet four inches high.

NOVEMBER.

Mr. Ruſſen, who was lately convicted at the Old Bailey, was bred a chair-maker, which profeſſion he followed till the age of 25, or 26. Having a turn for religious diſputation, and the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, he became a member of ſome private ſocieties, which met to diſcuſs points of theological controverſy. Some time after he commenced Diſſenting Teacher; but being deſirous of entering into the Church of England, he was (by the intereſt of a certain noble earl, whoſe notice he had attracted) recommended to the late Biſhop of London, who, after much difficulty, gave him orders, (as is expreſsly mentioned) 1ſt.

tioned) becauſe of his knowledge in the ſcriptures; he then intended, or, at leaſt, the biſhop was made to believe he intended, to remove to Florida, under the protection of the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel; but ſoon after entering into orders, he thought proper to abandon that deſign, and ſettled in London.

When the lord mayor elect, with his attendants, were ſeated at the lord chancellor's, his lordſhip, addreſſing himſelf to the lord mayor elect, acquainted him, "That his majeſty highly approved of the choice made by the city of London;" telling him, at the ſame time, what pleaſure they muſt feel on a return of that dignity, peace, and tranquillity, which had been loſt and diſturbed for many years paſt; and hoped that matters would return to the old channel.

3d. This evening, about nine o'clock, the queen was happily delivered of a princeſs. His Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeveral lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and the ladies of her majeſty's bedchamber, were preſent.

4th. At a court of common council held this day, Mr. S. Thorp got up and obſerved, that at the laſt court, a petition from the creditors of Mr. Alderman Wilkes had been introduced, which was carried by a very ſmall majority to lie upon the table; and that the principal arguments urged againſt the petition were, that it would be indelicate to interfere in a private diſpute between a gentleman and his creditors; the court ſeemed in general to agree, that Mr. Wilkes's public ſervice and ſufferings deſerved ſome recompence, but did not approve of that mode; he therefore begged leave to acquaint the court, that at the next meeting of common council a motion would be made to the following purport:

"That the chamberlain of this city be directed to pay to John Wilkes, Eſq; the ſum of five hundred pounds per annum, during the pleaſure of this court, as an acknowledgment of his public ſervices to Engliſhmen in general, and to the citizens of London in particular.

8th. An apple tree in the orchard of Mr. Hackman of Linfield in Suſſex, produced this year 74 buſhels. The fruit was weighed, and the average weight of each buſhel was 56lb. by which it appears, that the above remarkable tree bore one ton, three hundred, and fifty-ſix pounds weight.

Florence, Oct. 14. An account has been received from Radicofani, (an ancient town near the confines of the Roman State) that on the 5th of this inſt. a ſevere ſhock of an earthquake had been felt there, and in the adjacent mountains, which had done great damage: Some houſes were thrown down, and the mountains were ſplit, and ſeparated ſo as to render the high road in ſome places impaſſable; trees were torn up by the roots, and a wall, which ſurrounded a convent of Franciſcan, friars, ſunk perpendicularly into the ground. For ſome days before a ſubterraneous noiſe had been heard, which alarmed the inhabitants, many of whom abandoned the town, and lived in tents. The ſame noiſe continued after the ſhock, which, according to the common opinion, indicates an eruption in ſome part of the mountain,

, where formerly there was a ano.

A duel was lately fought at New-York, between t. Pennington, of the Coldm Regiment of Foot Guards, Capt. Tollemache, huſband of r Bridget Tollemache, when latter was unfortunately killed he ſpot.——The quarrel origi- d from a Sonnet being written Capt. Pennington, which Capt. emache took up as reflecting the ſuppoſed wit of his lady. r firing a brace of piſtols each out effect, the gentlemen drew ſwords, when Capt. Tolle- ne was run through the heart, Capt. Pennington received ſe- wounds, of which he lay ſo erouſly ill when the accounts away, that his life was deſ- d of.

This day a court of com- mon-council was held at dhall, at which were preſent lord mayor, Aldermen Alſop, gen, Harley, Bull, Sawbridge, Recorder, Plumbe, Oliver, nett, Thomas, Plomer, Hay- Hart, Wright, Pugh, and the ſheriffs.

motion was made, that Mr. nberlain do pay to John es, Eſq; alderman, 500l. annum, during the pleaſure is court, for his paſt ſervices; ſame was declared to be car- in the negative, and, a divi- being demanded and granted, appeared againſt the queſtion ldermen and 96 commoners, for the queſtion four aldermen 69 commoners; upon which ordſhip declared the ſame to rried in the negative.

motion was then made and ded, that it is the opinion of this court, that the granting any annuity to John Wilkes, Eſq; alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without, or the paying any of that gentleman's debts out of the city caſh, whether contracted in his mayoralty or not, would be an improper application thereof, and a moſt dangerous precedent; and the previous queſtion being put, whether that queſtion be now put, the ſame was reſolved in the affirmative; and, the queſtion being put, the lord mayor declared the ſame was carried in the affirmative; and, a diviſion being demanded and granted, there appeared 12 aldermen and 93 commoners for the affirmative, and four aldermen and 70 commoners for the negative, whereupon the ſame was declared to be reſolved in the affirmative.

The following motion of thanks to the late lord mayor was agreed to:—

It is unanimouſly reſolved and ordered, that the thanks of this court be given to the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Hallifax, Knt. late lord mayor of this city, for his conſtant application to, and faithful performance of, the duties of that high and important office; for ſupporting the honour and dignity thereof with ſplendor and hoſpitality; for his diligent and unwearied attendance in the adminiſtration of juſtice, which he diſcharged in every inſtance with the utmoſt candour and impartiality; for his chearful and ready compliance with the reſt of his fellow-citizens, whenever they deſired to be aſſembled; for the eaſy acceſs he conſtantly gave to every member of the corporation; for his vigilant and ſteady attachment to,

and very able vindication of the conſtitutional rights of the ſubject, by refuſing to back preſs-warrants; for his great humanity in relieving the diſtreſſes of the poor, thereby enabling them to enjoy the bleſſings of a plentiful harveſt; and his firmneſs in promoting, on all occaſions, the true intereſts of this great metropolis.

20th. This day his majeſty opened the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, being the fourth of the fourteenth parliament of Great Britain, with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

21ſt. This day, in the court of King's-Bench, a queſtion, which has been ſuſpended on the oppoſite opinions, and by oppoſite adjudications of different judges, for upwards of two hundred years, was ſolemnly determined in this court by Lord Mansfield, with the unanimous concurrence of all the judges. The caſe was between Pugh and the Duke of Leeds, and the queſtion reſpecting the conſtruction in leaſes of the terms "of and from the date," and "from the day of the date:"——Whether one did not imply a leaſe in poſſeſſion, and the other a leaſe in reverſion? His lordſhip was of opinion, that either form was to be conſtrued according to the ſenſe of the words, as they frequently occur, and are uſed in the language, and according to the obvious intent and meaning of the parties; and he obſerved, that although the moſt learned in the profeſſion had cavilled upon them for ſo many years, with a contention ſhameful even to ſchoolmen, they ought to be conſidered as of equal meaning: That in law there was no fraction of a day; and that *of and from the day of the date*, and *of and from the date*, ſtrictly implied the very ſame meaning.

25th. In the court of common-pleas was finally determined, the queſtion reſerved for the opinion of the bench, in the caſe of Sayre and Rochford. The queſtion was upon the admiſſibility of certain evidence offered by the plaintiff on the trial, and if admitted its ſubſequent conſequences upon the merits. The queſtion was frequently very ably argued by counſel on both ſides. Mr. Serjeant Glynn yeſterday argued his point with great ingenuity; contended, that the offer of bail made by Mr. Reynolds, and rejected by the ſecretary of ſtate in his capacity as magiſtrate, made him a treſpaſſer ab initio, as his client was committed for a bailable offence. Serjeant Davy, on the other ſide, overturned the reaſoning of his learned brother, and defended the commitment. As ſoon as the arguments were finiſhed by the bar, Chief Juſtice de Grey delivered his opinion in the cleareſt and moſt forcible manner. He began by obſerving the queſtion was within a very narrow compaſs, and depended upon the pleadings, which he ſtated. He ſaid, that a queſtion of fact and law aroſe; but until the firſt was eſtabliſhed, the other could not be entered upon; he then defined the nature of ſpecial pleading; what could or could not be brought in iſſue: he took notice of what came from the bar reſpecting magiſtrates: he was clearly of opinion, that a magiſtrate acting by virtue of his authority but miſtaking their extent, was not to be conſidered as a treſpaſſer ab inito, but only from his departure from

from legal authority. He then returned to the firſt queſtion, and took a view of the replication, and declared it as his opinion, that no new matter could be introduced or given in evidence by the plaintiff Sayre, without a flagrant violation of the rules of law that govern ſpecial pleading. The other juſtices agreed in opinion with Sir William De Grey, and cited ſeveral adjudged caſes that made directly againſt what was contended for by the plaintiff.

Yeſterday morning Mr. Horne appeared at the bar of the court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter, to receive ſentence, for publiſhing an advertiſement from the Conſtitutional Society, accuſing his majeſty's troops at Lexington, in America, of murder. The four judges of that court were preſent. Lord Mansfield opened the buſineſs with great candour and ability, and in a clear and maſterly manner, and was followed by the attorney general. Mr. Horne replied, and ſpoke for about three quarters of an hour reſpecting two circumſtances by him averred to be omitted in the information againſt him, viz. that the Americans were in rebellion, and that the king had ſent troops to America to ſuppreſs it, and to exculpate himſelf from the charge; after which the court paſſed the following ſentence on him, viz. That he ſhould be impriſoned for one year, pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and find ſecurity for his good behaviour for three years, himſelf in 400l. and two ſecurities in 200l. each. The court was very full, and the above buſineſs took up about an hour and a half.

Florence, Nov. 4.

On the 15th of laſt month a violent ſtorm, which extended itſelf thro' various parts of Tuſcany, occaſioned very great damage, particularly in the province called Mugello. The rivers overflowed their banks, the water in ſome places riſing to the height of fifteen feet, and made a general devaſtation in all the adjacent parts; many buildings were thrown down, and a great number of cattle deſtroyed: great part of the ſtate of Piſa was likewiſe laid under water, and ſtill remains in ſo bad a condition as to prevent its being cultivated; the great reſervoir on the mountain, which ſupplies the town of Piſa with water, was much damaged. The ſtate of Lucca has alſo ſuffered greatly by the overflowing of the river Serchio. This ſtorm of rain was accompanied by a violent wind, with thunder, lightning, and hail of an extraordinary ſize, which did great damage to the buildings and fruit-trees; and ſeveral ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in many parts during the ſtorm, which laſted ten hours. Accounts are daily coming in of the devaſtation it has cauſed in different places.

28th. Mr. Gretton, a Middleſex juſtice, appeared in the court of King's Bench, to juſtify bail upon an action of trover for the ſum of 10,000l. It appeared, that Mr. Gretton had been applied to in the caſe of Moudroit, who was inhumanly murdered (ſee p. 204); that he had ſecured ſuch part of Moudroit's effects as could be recovered, for the benefit of his right heirs; but that a woman, of infamous character, had been procured, who

had ſworn herſelf the mother of Moudroit, and the next of kin; whereas there were now alive a wife and child, to whom he was ready to deliver ſaid effects, whenever he could do it with ſafety. Lord Mansfield ordered the woman to be proſecuted for perjury, and the juſtice to be diſcharged on common bail.

DIED, At Aſkew, near Bedale in Yorkſhire, Ann Johnſon, in her 105th year. She was mother to ſix children, grandmother to thirty ſix, and great-grandmother to ſix.

In his 78th year, Mr. William Bowyer, an eminent printer, and who united to that profeſſion a diſtinguiſhed degree of claſſical and critical erudition.

John Houſeman, a labouring man, at Seſſay, near Thirſk in Yorkſhire, aged 111.

The celebrated Dr. Rock, aged 87 years.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. This evening the young princeſs was baptized in the council chamber at St. James's by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the name of Sophia. There was a great number of the nobility preſent.

2d. The report was made to his majeſty in council of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, when the three following were ordered for execution on Friday, the 12th inſt. viz. Morris Geary, Sarah Elliſon, and Benjamin Ruſſen.

The following were reſpited during his majeſty's pleaſure, viz. James Anderſon, Nicholas Rider, William Leveridge, Robert Collins, Michael Caſhmin, Henry Parkinſon, Thomas Antibus, Thomas Tilling, George Johnſon, and John Smith, alias Smithwaite, for privately ſtealing.

His majeſty was alſo pleaſed, a few days afterwards, to reſpite the execution of Sarah Eliſon during his pleaſure.

3d. Was tried before Lord Mansfield in the court of King's Bench, a remarkable cauſe, the firſt of its kind, Cabrier againſt Anderſon, for putting his (Cabrier's) name to five watches made by the defendant, and thereby hurting the reputation of the plaintiff. A verdict was given for 100l. being 20l. for each watch, agreeable to an act of parliament of William III.

6th. This night's Gazette contains a liſt of veſſels ſeized as prizes, and of recaptures made by the American ſquadron, between the 27th of May and 24th of October, 1777, according to the returns received by Vice-Admiral Lord Viſcount Howe. The total number of prizes 118, recaptures 13. Signed by Lord Howe.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following priſoners were ſentenced to death: viz. John North, for ſtealing a gelding; John Gahagan, for breaking into a houſe at Mary-bone, ſtealing a 20l. bank-note, three guineas, eight half-guineas, &c. William Borden, for a burglary in the dwelling houſe of Mr. Colley, at Shoreditch, and ſtealing lace and millinery goods to the value of 300l. T. Field, for a burglary in the houſe of Mr. Whitehead, grocer, in St. John's-ſtreet, and ſtealing ſome notes and 50l. in caſh; Morgan Morris and Benja-

mia

min Johnſon, for breaking open ſome ſtables in Chiſwell-ſtreet, and ſtealing ſeveral bridles, four ſaddles, and a horſe-cloth; Wm. Pollard, for breaking and entering the houſe and apartment of Richard Longworth, in the Old Bailey, and ſtealing a black ſilk mode cloak, and other apparel; and Francis Mercier, otherwiſe Louis de Butte, for the wilful murder of Monſ. Moudroit.

When Mercier was brought into court, on being aſked, whether he was guilty or not guilty? he appeared ſo ſtupified, as not to be able to make any anſwer. The queſtion was repeated ſeveral times, but without effect: Judge Aſton then ordered the act to be read, which enables the court to paſs ſentence when priſoners refuſe to plead; a jury was therefore impannelled to try whether the priſoner was obſtinately mute, or mute by the viſitation of God. One witneſs proved that on Thurſday night he was with the priſoner ſome time; that he underſtood Engliſh pretty well; that he then converſed with chearfulneſs, and did not ſeem unable to take his trial. The next witneſs was juſtice Gretton, who proved that the priſoner both ſpoke and wrote Engliſh; the third witneſs was one of the gaoler's ſervants, who proved, that as they were bringing him from Newgate, he heard him ſpeak, and ſay he would not ſit. A ſurgeon alſo examined the priſoner, who ſaid there did not appear to him any cauſe why he could not ſpeak. Judge Aſton then ſummed up this evidence to the jury, when they gave their verdict, that the priſoner was obſtinately mute, and not by the viſitation of God; then the judge proceeded to paſs ſentence, that he ſhould be hanged next Monday, and his body to be anatomized; he was then taken out of court, and after the next trial was over, Mr. Akerman acquainted the court that Mercier was come to his ſenſes, and deſired to ſpeak to the court; he was therefore brought in again, and then appeared ſenſible, though weak; his requeſt was, that his ſentence might be reſpited for ſome time till he could repent of his crime, and prepare for death; this could not be complied with, and he was remanded accordingly.

Abraham Adams and John Foote were convicted of killing and ſlaying Elizabeth Jefferies, at Bethnal-green, on the 5th of November laſt, by firing a piſtol (at a bonfire), the wadding of which wounded the child in the ſide, and occaſioned its death. William Wynn, a poſtman belonging to the General Poſt-office, was tried for feloniouſly ſtealing, on the 7th of October laſt, from out of a letter directed to the Hon. Lady Mary Forbes, at Margate, ten bank poſt bills, payable to the Hon. John Forbes, value received of John Lamb, of Golden-ſquare, Eſq; lettered, marked, and numbered, as ſtated in the indictment. The indictment was not laid capital, but he was found guilty. Fourteen were ſentenced to hard labour on the Thames for three years; ten to hard labour in the houſe of correction, three of whom are for five years, and ſeven for three years; 31 branded, and committed to the houſe of correction for different terms; five branded, and impriſoned in Newgate; 5 to be whipped; and 42 were diſcharged by proclamation.

J. Holmes, the grave-digger of St. George's, Bloomſbury, Robert Williams, his aſſiſtant, and Eſther Donaldſon, were indicted at the Guildhall, Weſtminſter, for a miſdemeanor, for ſtealing the dead body of Mrs. Jane Sainſbury, who died on the 9th of laſt October, and was buried in the burial place of St. George's, Bloomſbury, on the Monday following. On this occaſion Mr. Sainſbury was under the painful neceſſity of appearing to identify the remains of his wife. Holmes and Williams were found guilty on the cleareſt evidence; but nothing being proved againſt Donaldſon, ſhe was acquitted. The ſentence of Holmes and Williams was ſix months impriſonment each, and each to be publickly and ſeverely whipped twice, in the firſt and laſt week of their impriſonment, from Kingſgate-ſtreet, Holborn, to Dyot-ſtreet, St. Giles's, which is full half a mile. The latter part of the ſentence has been ſince remitted by his majeſty, as it was apprehended that the mob were ſo irritated againſt them, that their lives might be endangered by its execution.

7th. A very extraordinary affair became the ſubject of inveſtigation upon the trial of an appeal at Guildhall, Weſtminſter. A man lived with his wife 23 years, in the courſe of which he had eight children by her. On a ſudden he was ſtruck with the perſonal qualifications of another female, whom he courted; and in order to gain full poſſeſſion of his charmer, this dotard inſtituted a ſuit of jactitation in the commons, under a colour that his marriage being in the Fleet, was unlawful, conſequently null and void, though it took place before the act to prohibit their taking effect in point of law; the conſequence was, what the man foreſaw and relied upon: The woman, unable to ſupport the very heavy charges of a defence, was forced to give a tacit acknowledgment of her huſband's allegations, and of courſe the eccleſiaſtical court pronounced the man free to marry again. He then had obtained his wiſhes, and takes by the hand his beloved object, and abandons his firſt wife, who, with four fine children, in courſe fell upon the pariſh. A very intereſting argument enſued between the counſel, how far the ſentence in the commons ſhould operate againſt the teſtimony of the firſt wife. On one ſide it was inſiſted, that the judgment was much more than ſufficient to overturn her evidence, for there were not only the allegations, but other proof to combat the teſtimony now given. On the contrary, a compariſon was made of this caſe with that of a certain noble lady, where the ſentence was procured by colluſion, and therefore not binding, or operative in any other court whatſoever. Sir J. Hawkins and the whole bench concurred in the latter opinion, and expreſſed themſelves warmly againſt the huſband, who, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, appeared at the ſide of the council that argued in defence of the civil decree. Sir John wiſhed, he ſaid, that the court had been impowered to throw the whole expence upon the huſband, who had acted the character of a villain with ſo much compoſure. He ſtrongly recommended an indictment againſt him for bigamy, which the attorney for the pariſh undertook to proſecute.

9th. The

9th. The towns of Mancheſter and Liverpool have entered into a ſubſcription to raiſe a regiment each, to be employed againſt the rebels in America.

10th. His majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills: The land tax bill; the malt bill; the bill for ſuſpending the habeas corpus act; the Vice-Treaſurers of Ireland's bill, and ſuch other bills as were ready.

12th. By the advice of Lord Mansfield, the judges have declined giving an opinion upon the reſerved objections, as ſtated by Mr. Morgan, in the caſe of Harriſon, convicted for forgery. Judge Blackſtone, who tried him, declares, that there is no law exiſting under which he can ſuffer, and that therefore he ought to have the benefit of the law, and receive an immediate diſcharge. The other judges adviſe, that he ſhould wave his demand of being heard by counſel, and plead the king's pardon, iſſued under the great-ſeal; and ſay, that, in caſe of refuſal, they will conſider the caſe with the utmoſt caution; ſo that the friends of the convict, to avoid danger, adviſed him to accept of the medium.

This day the Rev. Mr. Ruſſen, for a rape, and Morris Geary, for coining, were executed at Tyburn. Ruſſen, juſt before he left the priſon, ſeeing a company about him, made uſe of this emphatical expreſſion, *Stand clear, look to yourſelves, I am the firſt hypocrite in Sion.* He behaved with decency, and the parting between him and his ſon was very affecting. He denied to the laſt his having carnal knowledge of the girl who ſwore againſt him, but confeſſed that he had done what he ought not to have done.

One Harris ſtood on the pillory near Weſtminſter-hall gate, for wilful and corrupt perjury. He ſwore to ſerving a notice of a juſtification of bail, in an action of 750l. whereby the debtor put in ſham-bail, was releaſed from priſon, and the creditor irrecoverably loſt his debt.

16th. The monument of Mrs. Macaulay, which was erected by Dr. Wilſon, in the church of St. Stephen, Walbrook, is by order of the veſtry to be taken down, leave not having been obtained for putting it up.

23d. A patent paſſed the great ſeal of a grant to the Right Hon. Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, of a penſion, of 2400l. per ann. payable at the exchequer, to commence from the date of his reſignation.

Lately came on before the juſtices, at the Guildhall, Weſtminſter, a trial with which the public ſhould be made acquainted. One Holderneſs, a waterman, plied ſome gentlemen, and when in his boat, aſked where they were going, up or down? They anſwered, down; on which he ſwore he would not carry them. The company inſiſting that he ſhould, he ſwagged the boat, and in a few minutes filled it, and ſunk it in fourteen feet water, and it was almoſt a miracle that no lives were loſt. The gentlemen complained to the watermain's company, but they diſmiſſed the complaint, on the ground that no ſkuller was obliged, by law, to go farther down than Cuckolds Point, nor farther up than Vauxhall, as below or above

thoſe places there were no ſettled fares. The court, however, were of opinion, that a waterman plying for paſſengers, had no right to demand where they would be landed, much leſs had he a right to endanger their lives by ſinking his boat. Being tried for an aſſault, he was found guilty, and the court were proceeding to pronounce ſentence of impriſonment in Newgate for one whole year, when the proſecutor interpoſed, in compaſſion to his family, and requeſted that it might be mitigated to three months.

24th. A cauſe came on at Guildhall, before Lord Manſfield and a ſpecial jury, in which Meſſrs. Lewſly and Co. merchants of Briſtol, were plaintiffs; and Meſſrs. Cam and Co. clothiers, of Bradford, Wilts, defendants. The matter in diſpute was, whoſe property a certain quantity of Spaniſh wool was, that was unfortunately deſtroyed by the memorable fire in Bell-lane, Briſtol, occaſioned by the villainous deſigns of John the painter, ſome of which wool had been previouſly purchaſed by the defendants, but at that time remained in the warehouſes of the plaintiffs. Evidence being produced to prove the weighing of the wool, and the delivery of the bill of parcels for the ſame to the defendants, it was deemed a complete ſale, and the jury immediately gave a verdict for the plaintiffs.

Alſo this day a meeting was held at the king's arms tavern in Cornhill, to conſider of the moſt effectual mode of relieving the diſtreſſes of the American priſoners in the different gaols of Great Britain and Ireland. About one o'clock Robert Mackey, Eſq; was voted into the chair, when ſeveral reſolutions were voted, and carried without a diviſion. When this buſineſs was ended, a committee was choſen, and a ſubſcription opened, at which upwards of 800l. were ſubſcribed in leſs than an hour. The four members for the city, with ſeveral other gentlemen, were choſen on the committee.

27th. Thomas Sherwood was examined before Sir John Fielding, when it appeared, that, by means of a forged letter of attorney in the joint names of Meſſrs. Myonet and French, two country clergymen, he had ſold out ſtock in the 3 per cent. Bank conſol. to the amount of 700l. and in the South-Sea houſe 800l. under the ſame forged power, to which he had drawn in his brother and his apprentice to be ſubſcribing witneſſes, whom Sherwood perſuaded to call themſelves ſaleſmen of Houndſditch, though only ſervants to himſelf. It appears, likewiſe, that, notwithſtanding this fraud, Sherwood became a bankrupt, and that he was detected by this forged power being found among his papers.

Died, John Dyer, at Burton, in Lancaſhire, aged 112. He had been a ſoldier in the ſervice of King William, and afterwards in that of Queen Ann, under the Duke of Marlborough.

General Bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials, from December 10, 1776, *to December* 16, 1777.

Chriſtened.		Buried.	
Males	9338	Males	11768
Females	8962	Females	11566
In all	18300	In all	23334

Whereof

Whereof have died,

Under two years of age	-		8889
Between	2 and	5	2609
	5 and	10	982
	10 and	20	823
	20 and	30	1540
	30 and	40	1894
	40 and	50	1993
	50 and	60	1710
	60 and	70	1360
	70 and	80	1096
	80 and	90	377
	90 and	100	48
	100 and	1	1
	100 and	4	2
	100 and	5	1

Increaſed in the Burials this year 4286.

Bill of Mortality for Norwich,

Chriſtened.		Buried.	
Males	704	Males	502
Females	585	Females	494
In all	1289	In all	996

Increaſed in Chriſtenings 77.
Decreaſed in Burials 362.

At Whitehaven, Baptiſms 273. Marriages 92. Burials 207. Increaſed in baptiſms 15. Increaſed in marriages 3. Decreaſed in burials 254.

At Whitby, Baptiſm 278. Marriages 100. Burials 219. Increaſed in baptiſms 27. Increaſed in marriages 24. Decreaſed in burials 59—The Diſſenters are not included in theſe numbers.

At Manchester, there were 1513 chriſtenings, 577 marriages, and 864 burials. Increaſed in chriſtenings 272; increaſed in marriages 83; decreaſed in burials 356.

At Liverpool, there were 1224 chriſtenings, 455 marriages, and 1760 burials. Decreaſed in chriſtenings 12; decreaſed in marriages 93; increaſed in burials 89.

BIRTHS for the year 1777.

Jan. 14. Her Grace the Ducheſs of Buccleugh, of a ſon.
20. The lady of Sir John Smith, Bart. of a ſon, in Pall-mall.
Feb. 14. The lady of Sir Juſtinian Iſham, Bart. of a ſon.
The lady of the Hon. Mr. Baron Hotham, of a ſon, in Norfolk-ſtreet, Strand.
March 10. The Hon. Lady Bagot, in Upper Brook-ſtreet, of a ſon.
The lady of Lord Stormont, at his lordſhip's hotel, in Paris, of a ſon and heir.
Lady of the Hon. Charles Hope Weir, of a daughter.
April 3. Rt. Hon. Lady Tyrconnel, of a ſon.
Lady Bayntun, of a ſon.
16. Lady of Hon. Mart. Bladen Hawke, of a ſon.
Lady of the Hon. Col. Conway, of a ſon.
The lady of Sir Martin Folkes, bart. of a daughter, at Hillington-Hall, in Norfolk.
21. Mademoiſelle de Vallabriga, ſpouſe to the Infant Don Louis of Spain, of a prince, at Cadahalſo.
24. The Grand Ducheſs of Tuſcany, of a princeſs, at a palace near Florence.
The lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart. of a daughter.
May 7. Her grace the Ducheſs of Leinſter, of a daughter, at Leinſter-houſe, in Ireland.

The

The lady of the Right Hon. Lord Kenſington of a ſon. His lordſhip and his lady have been married twenty-two years, and never had a child before.

The lady of Lord Willoughby de Broke, of a ſon.

June 1. Right Hon. Lady North, of a ſon.

Right Hon. Counteſs of Rothes, lady of Dr. Pepys, of a daughter.

July 1. Right Hon. Lady Harroughby of a ſon.

Her grace the Ducheſs of Grafton, of a daughter.

28. Her royal and ſerene highneſs the Princeſs of Heſſe Caſſel, of a prince.

Aug. 4. The Right Hon. Lady Townſhend, of a ſon.

Hon. Mrs. Hobart, of a ſon.

The Ducheſs of Chartres, of two princeſſes.

19. Her majeſty the Queen of the Two Sicilies, of a prince, ſince named Francis, Janvier, Joſeph, Jean, Baptiſte, Charles, Anthony, Paſchal Gaetan, Gaſpar, Melchior, Baltheſar, Louis.

Sept. 5. The Right Hon. Lady Dartrey, of a daughter, in Stanhope-ſtreet, Mayfair.

The lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Stamford, of a daughter, at Dunham, in Cheſhire.

6. The Infant Archducheſs of a daughter, at Parma, who has received the names of Charlotte - Marria - Thereſa-Louiſa.

11. Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Aſturias, of a princeſs, at St. Ildefonſo.

Oct. 10. The Counteſs of Aboyne, of a ſon.

14. The lady of Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Bart. of a daughter, at Bottley, in Surry.

16. The Marchioneſs of Carmarthen, of a ſon, in Groſvenor ſquare.

Right Hon. Lady Mary Ruthven, of a ſon.

22. Lady of Sir T. Egerton, Bart. of a ſon.

28. The lady of the Right Hon. Charles Dilon Lee, of a ſon and heir at Bruſſels.

30. The Ducheſs of Mancheſter, of a daughter, at his grace's houſe in Portman-ſquare.

Nov. 1. Counteſs of Thanet, of a ſon.

Lady of Sir Charles Douglaſs, Bart. of a daughter.

20. The Counteſs of Strathmore of a daughter.

Dec. 23. The lady of the Earl of Lincoln, of a ſon, at his lordſhip's houſe in Arlington-ſtreet.

24. The lady of Lord Boſton, of a ſon and heir, in Groſvenor-ſquare.

Her grace the Ducheſs of Argyle, of a ſon, at Argyle-houſe.

MARRIAGES, 1777.

Jan. 3. Gilbert Elliot, Eſq; (now Sir Gilbert) of Lincoln's-

coln's-in Fields, to Miſs Amyand, ſiſter of Sir George Cornwall, Bart.

7. Ralph Milbanke, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs Noel.

16. The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Strathmore, to Andrew Robinſon Stoney, Eſq; of Coldpighill in the county of Durham.

20. Thomas Gilbert, of Cotton in Staffordſhire, Eſq; member for Litchfield, to Miſs Cranford, only daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel George Cranford.

27. The Rev. Dr. Marriot, Prebendary of Weſtminſter, to Miſs Anne Cave, daughter of Sir Thomas Cave, Bart. of Stanford-Hall, in the county of Leiceſter.

Lately, Thomas Pennant, Eſq; of Downing, to Miſs Moſtyn, ſiſter to Sir Roger Moſtyn, Bart. member for Flint.

Earl of Radnor, to the Hon. Miſs Ann Duncombe, one of the daughters and co-heireſſes of the late Lord Feverſham: — *The reader is deſired to correct the miſtake in our liſt of marriages for the year* 1776.

31. — Neſbit, Eſq; to Miſs Manners, daughter of Lord Robert Manners.

Feb. 2. Mr. E. H. Sandys, of Canterbury, to Miſs Sally Fagg, youngeſt daughter of Sir William Fagg, Bart.

In France, on the 3d inſt. Count de Rohan Chabot Jarnac, nephew to the Duke de Rohan, at the caſtle of Jarnac, to Miſs Smith, ſiſter to Sir Skiffington Smith, Bart. of the kingdom of Ireland.

7. Capt. William Arabine, of the king's life guards, to Miſs Molyneux, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Capel Molyneux, Bart.

15. John Burridge Cholwich, Eſq; of Farringdon in the county of Devon, to Miſs Dunke, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Dunke, Bart.

19. James Trecothick, Eſq; of Addington place, in Surry, to Miſs Edmonſtone, eldeſt daughter of Sir Arch. Edmonſtone, Bart.

24. Right Rev. Dr. Charles Jackſon, Biſhop of Kildare, to Mrs. Cope, relict of the late Rev. Anthony Cope, Dean of Armagh.

29. Arthur Shakeſpear, Eſq; to Miſs Ridley, daughter of Matthew Ridley, Eſq; and ſiſter to Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart.

His Serene Highneſs the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, with his couſin the Princeſs Louiſa Carolina Henrietta, daughter of his Serene Highneſs Prince George William of Heſſe Darmſtadt, at Darmſtadt.

March 18. Lord Deerhurſt, ſon to the Earl of Coventry, to the Right Hon. Lady Catharine Henley, ſiſter

to

to the Earl of Northington.

Edward Sacheverell Sitwell, Eſq; of Morley, in Derbyſhire, to Miſs Wheeler, daughter of Sir William Wheeler, of Lemington Haſtings, in Warwickſhire, Bart.

April 2. William Hale, Eſq; of Walden, Hertfordſhire, to Miſs Grimſton, ſiſter to Lord Grimſton.

18. Aſheton Curzon, Eſq; to Mrs. Trecothick, ſiſter to Sir William Meredith.

27. Lord Bulkely, to Miſs Warren, only daughter of Sir G. Warren.

May 2. Sir Edward Williams, Bart. to Miſs Rily, of St. James's place, eldeſt daughter and one of the coheireſſes of the late John Rily, Eſq; of Bread-ſtreet.

12. Sir John Hales, of Lincolnſhire, Bart. to Miſs Ann Scott, only daughter of John Scott, Eſq; of Fulham.

18. William Adam, Eſq; member of parliament for Gatton, to the Hon. Miſs Eleonora Elphinſtone, ſecond daughter of Lord Elphinſtone.

25. Charles Hamilton, Eſq; youngeſt ſon of the late Lord Hamilton, to Miſs Lucretia Proſſer, of Hampſhire.

June 1. Hon. Capt. Charles Napier, of the navy, to Miſs Hamilton of Weſtburn.

Sir Thomas Carew, Bart. to Miſs Smallwood, of Kirkeſwald.

The Hon. Lord St. Lawrence, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Howth, to the Hon. Lady —— Birmingham, the only daughter and heireſs to the Earl of Lowth.

10. John O'Carroll, Eſq; ſon of Sir John O'Carrol, Bart. of Bath, to Miſs Elizabeth O'Carrol, daughter of the late Sir Daniel O'Carroll, Bart.

19. Nathaniel Hodges, Eſq; to Miſs Hodges, youngeſt daughter of the late Sir James Hodges.

James Bland Burgeſs, Eſq; of Lincoln's-inn, to the Hon. Miſs Noel, ſiſter to Lord Wentworth.

21. His Grace the Duke of Chandos, to Mrs. Elletſon, relict of the late Governor Elletſon.

24. Wm. Weller Pepys, Eſq; maſter in chancery, to Miſs Dowdeſwell, eldeſt daughter of the late Right Hon. William Dowdeſwell, Eſq; formerly chancellor of the exchequer.

25. Andrew Bayntun, Eſq; to the Right Hon. Lady Maria Coventry, of St. James's, Weſtminſter.

28. John Williams, Eſq; of Bagſhot-place, near Farnham, in Surry, to Miſs Thomas, daughter of Sir William Thomas, Bart. of Yapton-place, Suſſex.

July 5. John Forſter, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir Nicholas Forſter, Bart. to Miſs Wynch, daughter of Alexander Wynch, Eſq; late Governor of Madraſs.

7. Hon. Mr. Browne, ſon of Lord

Lord Kinmare, to Miſs Dillon, daughter of Lord Dillon.

12. Sir Matthew Ridley, Bart. to Miſs Colborne, of Pall-Mall.

15. Lord Monſon, to the Hon. Miſs Capel, daughter of the Earl of Eſſex.

22. Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird, to Miſs Ranſom, only daughter of Griffin Ranſom, Eſq; of New Palace-yard.

William Young, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir William Young, Bart. to Miſs Lawrence, of Red-Lion-ſquare.

28. James Harris, Eſq; ambaſſador to the court of Ruſſia, to Miſs Amyand, ſiſter to Sir George Cornwall, Bart.

Aug. 4. Capt Huſſey, of the foot-guards, to the Hon. Miſs Walpole, ſecond daughter to Lord Walpole.

7. George Stubbs, Eſq; of Suffolk-ſtreet, Charing-croſs, to Miſs Eſdaile, daughter of Sir James Eſdaile.

Lord Cadogan, to Miſs Churchill, of Groſvenor-ſtreet.

Right Hon. Mr. Bouverie, brother to the Earl of Radnor, to the Right Hon. Lady Lucy Graham, only daughter of his Grace the Duke of Montroſe.

16. Henry Pierſe, Eſq; of Bodale, Yorkſhire, to the Hon. Miſs Charlotte Grace Monſon, ſiſter to Lord Monſon.

18. Hon. Mr. Curzon, eldeſt ſon of Lord Scarſdale, to the Hon. Miſs Noel, ſiſter to Lord Viſcount Wentworth.

20. Earl of Cheſterfield, to Miſs Anne Thiſtlethwaite, of Titherly, in the county of Southampton.

Right Hon. C. Townſhend, to Miſs Annabella Powlett Smyth.

The Earl of Suffolk, ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department, to Lady Charlotte Finch, ſiſter to the preſent Earl of Aylesford.

Col. Sandford, to Lady Rachel Macdonnel, ſiſter to the Earl of Antrim.

Sept. 1. William Bertram, Eſq; of the queen's dragoons, to Miſs Jean Lockhart, eldeſt daughter of the late Sir William Lockhart, Bart. of Carſtares, in Scotland.

Col. Calander, to Lady Elizabeth M'Donnel, ſecond ſiſter to the Earl of Antrim.

25. Jacob Reynardſon, Eſq; of Holywell, Lincolnſhire, to Miſs Cuſt, daughter of the late ſpeaker.

27. Sir Joſhua Vanneck, Bart. to Miſs Thompſon, daughter of Andrew Thompſon, Eſq; merchant.

Oct. 15. John Cotes, Eſq; of Woodcote, in Shropſhire, to the Hon. Lucy Courtney, of Marybone.

18. John o'Neil, Eſq; of Shanes Caſtle,

Caſtle, in Ireland, to the Hon. Miſs Boyle, daughter of the late Lord Viſcount Dungarvan, and niece to the Earl of Cork.

20. Sir Thomas Clarges, Bart. to Miſs Skreen, daughter of ——— Skreen, Eſq; of Arlington-ſtreet, St. James's.

23. Sir Henry Goring, Bart. to Miſs Fiſher, of Barbadoes.

28. Hon. Ph. Leſlie, ſecond ſon of the Right Hon. Lord Newark, to the Right Hon. Lady Frances Manners, only daughter to the late Marquis of Granby.

Nov. 1. Lord Viſcount Croſbie, ſon of the Earl of Glandore, in Ireland, to Miſs Sackville, daughter of Lord George Germaine.

The Earl of Glandore, to Mrs. Ward, daughter of the Right Hon. Agmondeſham Veſey, of Lucan, Eſq; and firſt couſin to the Lord Viſcount Veſey.

Dec. 1. The Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, to the Right Hon. Lady Mary Obrien, only daughter of the Earl of Inchiquin.

12. Valentine Richard Quin, Eſq; of the kingdom of Ireland, to Lady Frances Strangeway, ſiſter to the Earl of Ilcheſter.

24. At the Earl of Bute's houſe in Audley-ſtreet, the Right Hon. Lady Caroline Stuart, daughter of his lordſhip, to —— Dawſon, Eſq; of the kingdom of Ireland, and a member in the Iriſh parliament.

The Right Hon. Lady Louiſa Leveſon Gower, daughter of Earl Gower, to Archibald Macdonald, Eſq; counſellor at law, and member for Hindon, in Wilts.

26. Right Hon. George Townſhend, Lord Ferrers of Chudley, to Miſs Ellicot.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1777, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

Jan. 4. M. Joſeph Lomellino elected doge of Genoa.

—28. The king was pleaſed to order letters patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, containing his majeſty's grants of the following dignities, viz. The dignity of an earl of the ſaid kingdom unto Francis Lord Viſcount Orwell, and to his heirs male, by the title of Earl of Shipbrooke, of Newry, in the county of Down in the ſaid kingdom.—The dignities of a viſcount and earl of that kingdom unto John Lord Viſcount Aldborough, and to his heirs male, by the title of Viſcount Amiens and Earl of Aldborough of the palatinate of Upper Ormond in the ſaid kingdom.—The dignity of an earl of the ſaid kingdom unto William Henry Lord Viſcount Clermont, and to his heirs male, by the title of Earl Clermont, of Clermont, in the county of Louth in the ſaid kingdom.—The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland to Henry Langriſhe, Eſq; and to his heirs male.—Rd. Heron, Eſq; Rt. Hon. Lord Langford, Major General Pomroy, and Thoma-

Thomas Waite, Eſq; to be privy counſellors in Ireland.

Feb. 8. The king has been pleaſed to order letters patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, containing his majeſty's grant of the dignity of a baron of the ſaid kingdom unto the Moſt Rev. Father in God Richard Robinſon, D. D. Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, primate and metropolitan of all Ireland, and to his iſſue male, by the title of Baron of Rokeby, of Armagh, in the county of Armagh, in the ſaid kingdom, with remainder to Matthew Robinſon, of Weſt Layton, in the North Riding of the county of York, Eſq; and his iſſue male.

— 13. His majeſty was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on James Wallace, Eſq; captain in his majeſty's royal navy.—Earl Falconberg kiſſed hands, on being named a lord of the bed-chamber. [*This article, and the following, were inſerted by miſtake in the Chronicle for the year* 1776.

March 4. The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate for Scotland, and Andrew Stuart, Eſq; of Craigthorn, appointed keepers of his majeſty's ſignet in Scotland.

— 28. Coſmo Gordon, Eſq; to be one of the barons of his majeſty's court of Exchequer in Scotland, in the room of John Grant, Eſq; deceaſed. The Rev. John Carver to a canon or prebendary of Worceſter, vice Dr. James Stillingfleet, deceaſed.—Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, his majeſty's reſident at the court at Bruſſels.

April 15. Robert Taylor, Eſq; to be maſter carpenter of all his majeſty's works and buildings in England, vice William Oram, Eſq; deceaſed.—James Adam and Thomas Sandby, Eſqrs. to the office of architect of his majeſty's works.—Dr. Robert Knox to be inſpector of the hoſpitals for the forces under the command of General Sir Guy Carleton.—Dr. Michael Morris to be ditto, for ditto, under the command of General Sir William Howe.—The Earl of Dalhouſie to be high commiſſioner to the church of Scotland.—The Rt. Rev. Father in God Robert Lord Biſhop of Oxford, to the biſhoprick of London.

— 20. Mr. Wombwell choſen chairman of the Court of Directors of the Eaſt-India Company, and William Devaynes, Eſq; deputy chairman, for the year enſuing.—Henry Collingwood Selby, Eſq; clerk of the peace for the county of Middleſex, in the room of Thomas Butler, Eſq; deceaſed.—Mr. Woodeſon, vinerian profeſſor at Oxford, in the room of R. Chambers, Eſq; now in Bengal.—Dr. Buckler, cuſtos archivorum of the Univerſity of Oxford, vice Mr. Swinton.—Lieut. Col. Pattiſon of the royal artillery, colonel of the 4th regiment of royal artillery, in the room of Colonel Ord, deceaſed.—Mr. Robert Hamilton to be profeſſor of mathematics in Mariſchal college in the Univerſity of Aberdeen, in the room of Mr. William Trail, deceaſed.—Mr. Nicholas Furſmann to be his Daniſh majeſty's conſul in the Britiſh Channel, and in the ports of the Britiſh Channel.—Major General Clinton to be a knight of the bath.—Philip Weſtfaling, Eſquire, and Sir George Vandeput, Bart. or the ſurvivor of them, to the office of one of the five ſearchers of the port of London, by patent.

May 15. The honour of knighthood on Patrick Crauford, Eſq; conſervator of the privileges of Scot-

Scotland, at Campvere, and other places in Zealand, or elſewhere, in the United Provinces, and reſident there for the ſame.—The Right Rev. Father in God Robert, Lord Biſhop of London, to be dean of his majeſty's chapel royal.—The Rev. John Butler, L.L.D. to be biſhop of Oxford, in the room of Dr. Lowth.—Roger Palmer, of Caſtle Lachen, in the county of Mayo, Eſq; and to his heirs male, the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 20. Hon. John Byron, Auguſtus John, Earl of Briſtol, rear admirals of the blue, to be rear admirals of the white. And the following captains are appointed flag-officers of his majeſty's fleet, viz. George Mackenzie, Eſq; Matthew Barton, Eſq; Sir Peter Parker, Knt. rear admirals of the blue.—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Smith, to be governor of his majeſty's iſland of Man; and Major Richard Dawſon to be lieutenant-governor of the ſaid iſland.—John Lidderdale, Eſq; to be his majeſty's conſul at Carthagena, in Spain.—The Hon. Apſley Bathurſt, ſecond ſon of the lord chancellor, to be clerk of the diſpenſations, in the room of his lordſhip's late brother, deceaſed.—Charles Lampriere, Eſq; deputy commiſſary of the muſters at Jerſey and Guernſey.——Daines Barrington, Eſq; to be commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions at Gibraltar.

June 1. Rev. Dr. Scroope, chaplain in ordinary to his majeſty.—Rev. Dr. Kaye, to the eighth prebend of Durham.—Hon. and Rev. Dr. Boſcawen, to a prebendary of St. Peter, Weſtminſter.

— 13. This day the Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carliſle, and the Right Rev. Robert, Lord Biſhop of London, were ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.—The honour of knight batchelor on Robert Chambers, Eſq; one of the puiſne juſtices of the ſupreme court of Fort William, in Bengal.

— 20. Right Hon. Fred. North, commonly called Lord North, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, the Right Hon. George Lord Onſlow, the Right Hon. Francis Seymour Conway, commonly called Lord Viſcount Beauchamp, Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Eſq; and the Right Hon. William Henry Lord Weſtcote, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.—Soame Jenyns, Bamber Gaſcoyne, Eſqrs; the Hon. Robert Spencer, commonly called Lord Robert Spencer, William Jolliffe, the Hon. Charles Greville, William Eden, and Thomas De Grey, Eſqrs. to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for trade and plantations.——Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, the office or place of treaſurer of his majeſty's navy.—Charles Hale, Eſq; to be gentleman of his majeſty's privy chamber.—Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carliſle, treaſurer of his majeſty's houſehold.—Sir Ralph Payne, Knt. of the Bath, youngeſt clerk comptroller of the Board of Green Cloth.

— 26. Hon. Charles Townſhend, Eſq; to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.—John Day, Eſq; to the honour of knighthood.——Charles Herbert, Eſq; one of the grooms of his majeſty's bed-chamber.—David Dalrymple, Eſq; to be one of the ordinary

dinary lords of his majeſty's ſeſſion in Scotland, in the room of James Ferguſon, Lord Pitfour, deceaſed.—Alexander Elphinſton, advocate, to be ſheriff depute of the ſhire of Aberdeen, in Scotland, in the room of Mr. David Dalrymple.—William Fullerton, Eſq; to be his majeſty's ſecretary to the embaſſy extraordinary, at the court of Verſailles.

July 5. Henry Theophilus Clements, Eſq; deputy vice treaſurer in Ireland, to be one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council in the ſaid kingdom.—Anthony Shepherd, D. D. a prebendary of his majeſty's free chapel of St. George, in the caſtle of Windſor, void by the death of John Fulham, M. A.

Sept. 1. John Dalling, Eſq; to be captain-general and governor in chief of his majeſty's iſland of Jamaica, in the room of Sir Baſil Keith, deceaſed.—Edward Smith, Eſq; to be governor of Fort Charles in Port Royal, in the iſland of Jamaica.—John Boddington, Eſq; ſecretary to his majeſty's Board of Ordnance.—Mr. Duncan Campbell to be commiſſary of the commiſſariot of Stirling, in the room of Mr. David Stewart, late commiſſary thereof.—Frederick Haldimand, Eſq; lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, to be captain-general and governor in chief of his majeſty's province of Quebec, in the room of Sir Guy Carleton, K. B.

— 20. Hon. and Rev. William Digby, to the deanery of Durham.—Rev. Mr. Barker, to be principal of Brazen-noſe college, Oxford.—Rev. Dr. Lloyd, to the prebend of Stillington, York cathedral.

Oct. 1. John Scott, Eſq; to be his majeſty's attorney-general, in Ireland, in the room of the Right Hon. Philip Tiſdall, deceaſed.—Robert Hellen, Eſq; to be his majeſty's ſollicitor-general, in the room of the ſaid John Scott, Eſq;—John Scott, Eſq; and Walter Huſſey Burgh, Eſq; to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, in Ireland.—The Right Hon. the Earl of Effingham to be deputy earl-marſhal of England.

Nov. 1. The Right Hon. Robert Earl Nugent, the Right Hon. Henry Flood, and the Right Hon. Charles Townſhend, to the office of vice-treaſurer of the kingdom of Ireland.—Right Hon. Murrough, Earl of Inchiquin, to be governor of the county of Clare, and truſtee of the linnen manufactures.

— 20. Duke of Hamilton, keeper of his majeſty's palace of Linlithgow and the caſtle of Blackneſs in Scotland.——Dr. Adam Smith, commiſſioner of the cuſtoms in Scotland, in the room of Mr. Menzies, deceaſed.—Lieut. Gen. John Thomas, lieutenant-governor of St. Philip's, in Minorca.

Dec. 1. John Skynner, Eſq; to be lord chief baron of the Court of Exchequer; and at the ſame time the honour of knighthood.—Abel Moyſey, Eſq; to be ſecond juſtice of the counties of Brecon, Glamorgan, and Radnor.—Francis Buller, Eſq; to be one of his majeſty's council, and ſecond juſtice of Cheſter.—The Earls of Winchelſea and Aylesford, to be lords of his majeſty's bed-chamber.—Wm. Lewis, Eſq; to be lieutenant of his majeſty's band of penſioners.—Right Hon. Lord Onſlow, to be comptroller of his majeſty's houſhold.—Right Hon. Henry Earl Faucon-

berg, to be lord-lieutenant of the North Riding of the county of York.—William Gregory, Eſq; to be his majeſty's conſul at Barcelona.—Right Hon. Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, Knt. to be one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.—John Ord, Eſq; member for Midhurſt, in Suſſex, attorney-general of the duchy of Lancaſter, in the room of Sir John Skynner, chief baron.—Mr. Robert Watſon, to be principal of his majeſty's college of St. Leonard, in the Univerſity of St. Andrew in Scotland, in the room of Mr. Thomas Tullidelph, deceaſed.

— 20. The Marquis of Carmarthen, chamberlain of her majeſty's houſehold.—Sir Richard Worſley, Bart. youngeſt clerk comptroller of the board of Green Cloth.—The Lord Viſcount Palmerſton, of Ireland, to be one of his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high treaſurer, vice Lord Onſlow.—The Right Hon. Conſtantine John Lord Mulgrave, of Ireland, to be one of the lords of the admiralty, vice Lord Palmerſton.—1ſt Troop of horſe guards, Major-General William, Marquis of Lothian, to be captain and colonel, vice John Earl of Delawarr, deceaſed.—2d Troop of horſe grenadier guards, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Smith, of the 4th regiment of horſe, to be lieutenant and lieutenant-colonel, vice William Marquis of Lothian.

DEATHS, 1777.

Jan. 4. Lady Cotton, relict of the late Sir Lynch Saliſbury Cotton, Bart. in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter.

The Hon. Mrs. Collingwood, at Longbirch, near Wolverhampton, widow of George Collingwood, Eſq; of Northumberland, and ſiſter to the late Lord Viſcount Montague.

8. Miſs Powell, eldeſt daughter of Sir Alexander Powell, of Saliſbury.

11. The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Suſſex, at Dunſtable.

Cardinal Louis Marie Torigiani, at Rome.

14. Lady Piers, at Huſkard, in Eſſex, relict of the late Sir John Piers, Bart. of Triſternagh, in Weſtmeath, Ireland.

The Right Hon. Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bart. in the South of France, member for the ſhire of Roxburgh, treaſurer of the navy, keeper of the ſignet in Scotland, and a commiſſioner of the forfeited eſtates in that kingdom.

Mrs. Moore, aged 94, in the Cloyſters at Windſor, daughter of Dr. Moore, Biſhop of Ely in the reign of Queen Ann.

25. Mrs. Aſhburnham, wife of William Aſhburnham, Eſq; ſon of the Right Rev. Sir William Aſhburnham, Bart. Biſhop of Chicheſter.

27. William Hutchinſon, Eſq; late governor of Maſſachuſetts Bay, in North America.

30. Robert Inglis, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir John Inglis, Bart.

Lately, John Grant, Eſq; one of the barons of exchequer in Scotland.

Sir Benjamin Kemp, Bart. at Coln Dean, Glouceſterſhire, of an ancient family in Suffolk.

Right Hon. Juliana, Counteſs of Angleſea, at Bath.

Rt. Hon. James, Lord Belhaven.

Miſs Fletcher, daughter of the late Lord Milton.

Feb. 4. Lady Hotham, wife of Sir Richard Hotham, of Merton-place, Surrey.

6. Lady Falconer, relict of the late Sir Everard Falconer, and afterwards married to Mr. Pownal.

12. The Rev. Sir William Smith, Bart. of Mill-hall, in Eſſex.

13. Maria Ducheſs of Wharton, relict of Philip, late Duke of Wharton.

14. Right Hon. Lady Dorothy Chedworth, mother of the preſent Lord Chedworth, aged 90.

15. Hon. Ann Arbuthnot, ſiſter to Lord Viſcount Arbuthnot.

19. Major-General Thomas Erle.

Sir Walter Blacket, Bart. member for Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

21. Miſs Ruſhout, youngeſt daughter of the late Sir John Ruſhout, Bart.

24. Sir Samuel Prime, Knt. and Serjeant at Law, in the 76th year of his age.

The Marquiſs de Grimaldi, formerly doge of Genoa, at Padua.

Pierre Herman Doſquet, formerly biſhop of Quebec, at Paris.

The Princeſs Henrietta D'Eſte, ſiſter to the Duke of Modena, at Parma.

Louis Phelypeaux, Duke de la Vrilliere, Count de St. Florentine, Baron de Hervey, miniſter of ſtate, and knight of the French king's orders, at Paris.

On Monday the 24th, His Moſt Faithful Majeſty.

Sir George Hay Macdougall, Bart.

Sir Thomas Robinſon, of Rookby, Yorkſhire, aged 76, without iſſue.

March 1. Lady Shadwell, relict of Sir John Shadwell, Knt. phyſician to their majeſties Queen Anne and King George I.

Lady of General Acourt, in Parliament-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare.

3. Sir Thomas Robinſon, Bart.

4. The Hon. and Rev. Maurice William Count de Dohna.

5. Sir Joſhua Van Neck, of Haveningham Hall, in Suffolk, one of the richeſt merchants in Europe.

11. Mrs. Arundell, widow of the late John Arundell, of Lanherne, in the county of Cornwall, Eſq; and great aunt of the preſent Lord Arundell, of Wardour.

31. The Right Rev. Dr. Terrick, Lord Biſhop of London.

Frederica Charlotte Dowager Princeſs of Heſſe Darmſtad, aged 79.

Sir Hugh Paterſon, of Bannockburn, in Scotland, Bart. aged 91 years and two months; he was a member of the firſt Britiſh parliament at the union of the two kingdoms.

April 7. Right Hon. Counteſs of Temple. She was daughter and coheireſs of T. Chambers, Eſq; of Middleſex, and had only one daughter by Lord Temple, which died Jan. 14, 1742.

8. Lady Trelawney, in Cornwall.

Sir Stephen Theodore Janſen, Bart. late chamberlain of London.

9. Lord Stavordale, an infant ſon of Lord Ilcheſter.

20. Sir William Carr, Bart.

Lady Brooke, wife of Sir R. Brooke, Bart.

Lady Dyer, wife of Sir Thomas Dyer, Bart.

22. Right Hon. John Talbot Touchet, Baron Audley, of Heleigh, in England, and Earl of

Caſtlehaven, in Ireland. The ancient barony of Audley devolves to his nephew, eldeſt ſon of Philip Thickneſs, Eſq; an officer in the army.

29. The Dutcheſs of Abrantes, aged 32 years, at Madrid: ſhe has left eleven children.

Robert Francis Cholmondeley, Eſq; ſecond ſon to the Hon. and Rev. Robert Cholmondeley, in the Eaſt Indies.

Sir Robert Fletcher, at the Mauritius, in his way home from Madraſs.

May 2. George Wyndham, L. L. D. warden of Wadham College, Oxford.

6. Sir Thomas Reeves, Bart.

8. Ducheſs Dowager of Devonſhire, youngeſt daughter of the late Earl of Burlington.

9. The Right Hon. Heneage Finch, Earl of Aylesford, in Groſvenor-ſquare.

The Hon. Mr. John Bathurſt, brother to the lord chancellor, at Saperton, in Glouceſterſhire.

Lady Thomas, relict of the late Sir Edmond Thomas, Bart.

11. Lady Harriot Needham, ſiſter of the late Lord Kilmurry, at Datchet.

21. Sir Armine Woodhouſe, Bart. His death was occaſioned by a fiſh-bone ſticking in his throat.

22. Ducheſs of Bridgewater, in an advanced age.

Lady Frances Weſt, eldeſt daughter to the Right Hon. Earl Delawar.

25. Right Hon. Theodoſia, Counteſs of Glandore, in the 55th year of her age. Her ladyſhip was daughter to John, Earl of Darnley, by Lady Theodoſia Hyde, Baroneſs Cliſton, daughter of Edward, Earl of Clarendon.

26. Right Hon. Lord de Montalt, of Ireland. His lordſhip is ſucceeded in his title and eſtate by his only brother, Sir Cornwallis Maude, Bart.

Right Hon. Nathaniel Clements, one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, deputy vice-treaſurer of Ireland, and member for Cavan, in that kingdom.

Mrs. Mary Agnes Blount, widow of the late Michael Blount, Eſq; and eldeſt daughter of the late Sir Henry Joſeph Tichborne, of Titchborne, in the county of Southampton, Bart.

June 2. Sir John Glynn, Bart. at Broad-lane, in Flintſhire, member in the preſent parliament for the borough of Flint.

3. Lady Mary Cuninghame, widow of Lieutenant-General Cuninghame, Bart. of Livingſtone, in Scotland.

6. Sir Frederick Rogers, of Blackford, in the county of Devon, Bart. recorder of Plymouth, and late a commiſſioner of the navy, at Bath.

Lady of the Hon. Ponſonby Moore, at Dublin.

19. Lady of Sir William Montgomery, Bart.

29. Right Hon. Earl of Aldborough.

July 8. Right Hon. William O'Brien, Earl and Baron of Inchiquin, and Baron Burren, K. B.

10. Abbot Duke de Biron, peer of France.

15. Hon. Mr. Cecil, grand nephew to the Earl of Exeter.

17. Her Grace the Ducheſs of Queenſberry, daughter to Hyde, Earl

Earl of Rochester, and the celebrated patroness of Mr. Gay.

20. Rev. Dr. Gower, provost of Worcester-college, in Oxford.

23. Hon. Miss Maynard, sister to Lord Maynard.

31. Rt. Hon Lady Sandes.

Aug. 1. Sir Charles Montagu, K. B.

8. Lady Harbord, relict of Sir William Harbord, Bt. and K. B.

20. Rev. Dr. Dampier, dean of Durham.

Sir Basil Keith, governor of Jamaica.

Sept. 7. The second son of Lord Clifford.

9. Hon. Mr. Hawke, second son of Lord Hawke.

16. The Right Hon. the Earl of Harcourt, at his seat at Newnham, in Oxfordshire. His lordship, who had gone out to take his morning's walk in the park, and did not return at his usual hour, was found by his servants in a narrow well, nothing appearing above water but the feet and legs, occasioned, as it is imagined, by his over-reaching himself in order to save the life of a favourite dog, who was found in the well with him, standing on his lordship's feet.

20. The Most Noble and Puissant Edward, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel, Surry, Norfolk and Norwich, and hereditary Earl Marshal of England, &c. &c. in the 92d year of his age, without issue. He is succeeded in honour and estates by his second cousin, Charles Howard, of Graystock.

The Right Hon. Phil. Tisdale, attorney-general of Ireland.

The Count de la Lippe Buckeburg, field-marshal and generalissimo of the forces of Portugal.

Oct. 1. Sir William Phillipson, Bart.

Her Serene Highness Princess Dowager Anne Charlotte Louisa, of Baden, mother to the reigning Margrave.

Princess Benedicta Ernestina Maria d'Este, sister to the reigning Duke of Modena.

Infant Don Philip, eldest son to the King of Spain, of the small-pox.

20. Madame Dillon, lady of Count Edward Dillon, and eldest daughter of Sir Robert Harland, Bart. of Sproughton, near Ipswich.

The young sultana, Hatige, daughter to the Grand Signor.

Rt. Hon. Lady Dowager Forbes, at Edinburgh.

Hon. Edward Webley, chief justice of the island of Jamaica, &c.

Sir J. Cunningham, Bart. of Carpington, in Scotland.

Right Hon. Lord Foley.

Nov. 1. The Rev. Sir John Castleton, Bart.

The Landgrave Frederic, of Hesse Philipstall.

His Excellency Prince Massarano.

Sir Thomas Hagerstone, Bart.

22. The Right Hon. John Earl Delawarr, Viscount Cantilupe, Baron Delawarr, &c. lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, lord chamberlain to her majesty, and colonel of the first troop of life-guards, at his house in Audley-square.

Dec. 6. Sir John Murray, Bart.

9. Sir Charles Knowles, Bt. and admiral of the white squadron.

14. Lady Selina Bathurst, relict

of the late P. Bathurſt, Eſq; of Clarendon Park.

—— Langham, Eſq; eldeſt ſon of Sir James Langham, Bart.

27. The Hon. Dr. Frederick Keppel, Lord Biſhop of Exeter, Dean of Windſor and Wolverhampton, regiſter of the order of the garter, and uncle to the Earl of Albemarle.

28. Sir William Thomas, Bart.

Lady of Sir J. Tylney Long, Bart.

Lady of Sir Thomas Halifax.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

FRIDAY, February 7, Lord North preſented the bill to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of high-treaſon in North America, or on the ſeas for piracy, which was read the firſt time. On Friday the 14th, the bill was read a ſecond time, and ſtrongly oppoſed.

During the debate, it was announced to the houſe, that the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, attended by the city remembrancer, were in waiting, with a petition to the houſe, againſt the ſaid bill's being paſſed; the ſheriffs were accordingly ordered in, when they preſented the following petition from the city of London againſt the American high-treaſon bill, which was ordered to lie on the table till the third reading of the ſaid bill.

To the honourable the Commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſſembled.

The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in Common Council aſſembled.

SHEWETH,

'THAT your petitioners have ſeen a bill depending in this honourable houſe, to impower his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high-treaſon committed in North-America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy.

'That, if the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, your petitioners are apprehenſive it will create the greateſt uneaſineſs in the minds of many of his majeſty's good ſubjects, and tend to excite the moſt alarming diſturbances: all perſons indiſcriminately being liable, upon the ground of ſuſpicion alone, without any oath made, and without convening the parties, or hearing what they can alledge in their own juſtification, to be committed to a remote priſon in any corner of the realm, there to remain without bail or mainprize.

'That the Habeas Corpus act, which is the great ſecurity of the liberties of the people, will be ſuſpended.

'That your petitioners are deeply affected with what they conceive will be the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a law, as from little motives of reſentment, and various other inducements, there may be perſons competent to commit who may be tempted to exerciſe that power in its utmoſt latitude and extent.

'That meaſures ſo violent and unconſtitutional; ſo ſubverſive of the ſacred and fundamental rights of

the people, and ſubjecting them to the moſt cruel oppreſſion and bondage, will, in the judgment of your petitioners, be introductive of every ſpecies of miſchief and confuſion, and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

'Your petitioners therefore earneſtly beſeech this honourable houſe, That the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law, or at leaſt to take ſuch care as in their wiſdom may ſeem meet, to prevent it from being extended in its operation or conſtruction to any of his majeſty's ſubjects reſident in theſe kingdoms.'

Monday, Feb. 17, at the third reading of this bill, a warm debate enſued, and, the queſtion being put, the numbers for the bill paſſing were 112, againſt it, 35.

Summary of the Tryal of Dr. Dodd *for Forgery, at Juſtice-Hall in the* Old Bailey, *on* Saturday, February 22.

SOON after ten o'clock the judges (Gould, Willes, and Perryn) and aldermen (about ſixteen) being ſeated, Dr. Dodd was brought to the bar, led in by the Rev. Mr. Butler, when he read a paper to the following purport: That Mr. Robertſon, who was committed with him as a principal, had by an order from the court (ſurreptitiouſly obtained) been conveyed before the grand jury, to enable them to find the bill; and this being, as he was informed, a thing unprecedented; he therefore requeſted that he might, by his counſel, be heard thereon.

Meſſrs. Howarth, Cooper, and Butler, then produced ſeveral objections againſt Robertſon's evidence, and were replied to by Meſſrs. Mansfield and Davenport.

Mr. Baron Perryn expreſſed his ſorrow that ſo much time had been taken up, occaſioned by a miſtake of the officer, which he believed would not have happened had not an ill-judged lenity been ſhewn to the priſoner; for had he been removed with the reſt, his name would neceſſarily have appeared in the Kalendar, and perhaps the former application to the bench might then have been complied with. The baron was of opinion, that either a new indictment ſhould be preferred, or proceed to trial; and if the priſoner ſhould be convicted, then this matter to be left to the determination of the twelve judges.

The priſoner's counſel agreed that the trial ſhould go on.

The indictment being read, Lord Cheſterfield was the firſt evidence ſworn: but as it was neceſſary to prove a releaſe from Mr. Fletcher to his lordſhip before his examination, Mr. Manly was ſworn, and produced ſaid releaſe.

His lordſhip was then examined; he ſaid, neither the ſignature to the bond, nor the receipt for the money, were of his ſigning.

Lord Cheſterfield's gentleman likewiſe ſwore that the ſignatures of both bond and receipt were not the hand-writing of his lordſhip.

Mr. Manly gave a ſubſtantial detail of the whole tranſaction, from the time the bond came into his hands, to the time of the commitment of the priſoner; he ſaid the bond had been in his poſſeſſion from the 4th of February to this time; that the blot, by which the forgery was diſcovered, appeared to

to him not to have been done by accident, but purpoſely with a pen; that having doubts whether the bond was a good one, he applied to Mr. Fletcher, to adviſe what to do; that he likewiſe waited on Lord Cheſterfield, who denied the bond; that on going to Sir Charles Raymond's, Mr. Robertſon happened to come in, and was taken into cuſtody; that afterwards he went to Dr. Dodd's houſe (leaving Mr. R. the officer, &c. at a houſe near at hand); that on ſeeing the Dr. he told him his buſineſs, and aſked him how he could be guilty of ſuch an act; that the doctor ſeemed much ſhocked, and as ſoon as he could recover himſelf, ſaid, urgent neceſſity was the cauſe; that the witneſs then aſked the priſoner if he had any of the money left, as the reſtitution would be the only means of ſaving him. Dr. Dodd replied, he had ſix drafts on Sir Charles Raymond of 500l. each; he had alſo 500l. in the hands of the banker, all which he would very willingly give up; that he (the evidence) then aſked Dr. Dodd if he would give a bond in judgment on his houſehold goods for the remainder, to which Dr. Dodd replied, he would, that or any thing elſe. Mr. Manly further ſaid, he had been told another execution had been in the priſoner's houſe, but had been withdrawn, and he believed there was ſufficient to anſwer the demand.

Mr. Innes, who attended Mr. Manly, confirmed Mr. Manly's evidence, as to what paſſed between Dr. Dodd and Mr. Manly; he alſo read from notes taken at the time, Dr. Dodd's confeſſion before the lord-mayor, and his declaring Mr. Robertſon innocent.

The notes which were given in payment of the bond were produced, which Mr. Fletcher ſwore to be the identical notes paid.

Mr. Leecroft was called to prove the hand-writing of the priſoner, but could not ſwear poſitively.

Mr. Neale, treaſurer to the ſociety for the Relief of Small Debtors, was next called to the ſame fact, who ſwore that the ſignatures '*Cheſterfield*,' and '*William Dodd*,' both in the bond and receipt, were the hand-writing of the priſoner. On being aſked by the judge how he could be ſo poſitive? he ſaid, by being ſo long acquainted with Dr. Dodd's writing, and having ſo often ſeen him write.

Mr. Robertſon ſwore to the priſoner bringing the bond to him unſigned; that he next day brought it ſigned *Cheſterfield* and *William Dodd*; that he (the evidence) alſo ſigned it, received the money, and paid it to Dr. Dodd. Being aſked if it was uſual for him to ſign a bond without ſeeing the principal ſign it, he anſwered, Sometimes.

No witneſſes being produced in favour of the priſoner, he was called upon for his defence.

He ſaid, he was fully ſenſible of the heinouſneſs of the crime of forgery, but preſumed the guilt ſolely centered in the intention: he called God to witneſs that he meant no injury to any one, and that he ſhould have been able to re-inſtate the money (and it was his real intent) in a few months; that this was a moſt cruel proſecution, as Mr. Manly had given him hopes, if he made reſtitution, that no further notice would be taken; that he conſidered a perſon committed as principal, and being admitted evidence againſt him, an entire

new

new caſe, and therefore affected him the more; that life to him, after being expoſed to ſhame, was of no value, he ſhould willingly reſign it; but he had a wife [here the tears flowed from his eyes, and indeed from the eyes of greateſt part of thoſe who heard him] then aſked pardon of the court and jury for this weakneſs; a wife, with whom he had lived ſeven and twenty years in the moſt perfect conjugal felicity; for her he felt: his creditors muſt likewiſe, he ſaid, be ſufferers, ſhould he now ſuffer; and as reſtitution had been made, he hoped the court and jury would conſider all theſe circumſtances, and acquit him.

Mr. Baron Perryn ſummed up the evidence very fully; he ſaid, that the indictment ſtated that the bond was forged with intent to defraud Lord Cheſterfield and Mr. Fletcher; if they believed it was done to defraud either one or the other, then they muſt bring in the priſoner guilty. As to the defence ſet up by the priſoner, the only thing for their conſideration was, whether the forgery was committed with an intent to defraud; if they thought not, then they muſt acquit him: in regard to the other parts of his defence, it could have no weight with them; for if it was liſtened to in this caſe, not a criminal brought to that bar but would ſet up a ſimilar one.

The jury then went out, and, after ſtaying about twenty minutes, brought in their verdict, Guilty.

The jury afterwards drew up a memorial in recommendation of the unhappy priſoner to his majeſty for the royal mercy, ſigned the ſame, and preſented it to the court, which was favourably received.

Mr. Robertſon was ordered to be kept in cuſtody till the gaol delivery.

Summary of the Trial of John Horne, *Eſq; for a Libel.*

FRIDAY, July 4, at nine o'clock, the Earl of Manſfield came into the court of King's-bench, at Guildhall, when the ſpecial jury, ſummoned to try the cauſe between the King and John Horne, Eſq; on an information filed ex officio by the attorney-general, for a libel, were ſworn.

Mr. Buller opened on the part of the crown, and ſtated to the jury the ſubject-matter of the information, which was an advertiſement, dated, 'King's-arms tavern, Cornhill, June 7, 1775,' and purporting to be an account of the Conſtitutional Society's having met on the ſaid 7th of June, and agreed, 'that the ſum of 100l. ſhould be raiſed, to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-ſubjects, who, faithful to the character of Engliſhmen, preferring death to ſlavery, were, for that reaſon only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at or near Lexington and Concord, in the province of Maſſachuſet's, on the 19th of laſt April;' which advertiſement was ſigned by the defendant.

The attorney-general then aroſe, but was prevented from proceeding to inform the jury more fully of the caſe by the defendant, Mr. Horne, who addreſſed himſelf to the

the court, and, declaring he thought that the proper moment to urge an objection which ſtruck him as exceedingly eſſential, deſired to be heard; the court aſſenting, Mr. Horne turned to the jury, and began ſpeaking; when he was told by Lord Mansfield, that he muſt make his objection to him, and not to the jury. Mr. Horne replied, that his lordſhip had ſtopped him before he had heard what he had meant to offer, and which his lordſhip, when he heard, would have found to be altogether regular; the words he was about to ſay to the gentlemen of the jury being of no other purport than to intreat them to attend particularly to his objection, a circumſtance exceedingly neceſſary, as the matter he wiſhed to urge was very material, and as juries had of late but too frequently been conſidered as out of court, when any point of law was debated. Lord Mansfield again deſired him to proceed, when he began objecting to the practice of the court, on the late trials of the printers (convicted of publiſhing the advertiſement, of which he was charged in the preſent information as the author) in admitting the attorney-general to reply, although the defendants called no witneſſes. Lord Mansfield obſerved, that this objection was premature, and that, if neceſſary, the time to urge it was, when the attorney-general ſhould attempt to reply. Mr. Horne ſhewed why it was of importance to him, that the matter ſhould be ſettled in this ſtage of the trial, urging that he was aware the attorney-general would take all advantages, fair and unfair, to convict him, and that he ſhould ſhape his defence agreeably to a knowledge of the circumſtance; whereupon Lord Mansfield declared that he would conſent to it, if Mr. Attorney had no objection. The attorney-general declared his acquieſcence, and Mr. Horne proceeded with obſerving, that, although he thanked the court and Mr. Attorney-general for acceding to his motion, he was not ſo well pleaſed with accepting that as a matter of favour, which he had demanded as a matter of juſtice. He then proceeded to ſhew, that, although the practice objected to was not without precedent of late years, it was nevertheleſs injurious and oppreſſive to the ſubject, as well as contrary to every principle of that protection and ſafety, which the reaſon of the laws, and the ancient modes of diſpenſing juſtice, were calculated to afford to innocence.

Mr. Horne then went on to ſhew, that, in his cauſe tried at Guildford in 1771, he was adviſed by his counſel to forſake the advantage of examining witneſſes, in order to diſprove the having ſpoken certain words ſtated in the declaration as defamatory, but rather to admit them as true, (although he could have proved their falſity) than afford the leader on the other ſide an opportunity of replying; that he acquieſced in this advice, the conſequence of which was, that the leading counſel for the plaintiff did reply, that his counſel roſe to object, and upon that his lordſhip (who then alſo tried the cauſe) overruled the objection, and ſuffered the reply, upon which the jury had given a verdict againſt him with 400l. damages.

Lord Mansfield told him, that nothing was more clear, than that the

the attorney-general had a right to reply, if he choſe it; that it had been often exerciſed, and might be exerciſed again.

Mr. Horne complained that his lordſhip, by taking upon himſelf the duty of the attorney-general, had deprived him of hearing from that officer ſuch arguments as he doubted not the attorney was able to have offered, and which he would have endeavoured to have refuted; he obſerved, that at all hazards his ſituation was a very diſadvantageous one, but that he was particularly unfortunately circumſtanced, if the judge, who was to try him, took upon himſelf to do the buſineſs of the attorney-general; for between the two he ſhould find it extremely difficult to obtain a verdict in his favour.

Lord Mansfield deſired the trial might go on, and that, if there was any informality in the proceeding on the trial, or if he thought either the judge or counſel did him injuſtice, Mr. Horne had a remedy by a ſubſequent appeal to the court, who would ſet aſide any verdict obtained irregularly.

Mr. Horne warmly ſaid, 'Oh my lord, my lord, let me not hear of remedies of your lordſhip's pointing out; that poiſon is the moſt baneful of all, which poiſons the phyſic; your lordſhip's remedies are worſe than the diſeaſes of the patients who apply them; and it is but a poor ſatisfaction for a man who receives a wound, to receive a plaiſter from the ſame hand. At Guildford your lordſhip talked to me of a remedy, I ſubmitted and tried it; it is true I ſet aſide the verdict, but it coſt me 200l. The verdict was but for 400l. and the remedy coſt half as much; it was therefore a pretty dear remedy!' Mr. Horne, in this part of the trial, was ſo haſty in his animadverſions on the conduct of the judge and the attorney-general, treating each with a degree of unexampled ſeverity and rudeneſs, that Lord Mansfield was provoked to a declaration, that, if he did not behave more decently, he ſhould be under a neceſſity of committing him.

The attorney-general then roſe to open the caſe fully to the jury, and began with expreſſing his contempt of the imputations caſt on his character by the defendant, in what he had juſt urged; and declared, that he would not condeſcend to ſtoop low enough to offer an anſwer to ſuch groundleſs, ſuch ridiculous aſſertions. It was neceſſary, however, to ſpeak to one part of what had been ſaid, and that he did by denying the charge made againſt him by Mr. Horne, that he came prepared to take all advantages, fair and unfair; and that his view was at any rate to obtain a verdict. He ſolemnly proteſted that he had no other motive for his conduct on the preſent occaſion, than a faithful diſcharge of his duty; that, as an officer of the crown, it behooved him to take notice of every thing tending to alienate the minds of the people from the king and his government, and to bring every public delinquent to puniſhment; that there never was a more ſimple, plain, and obvious caſe, than the preſent, ſubmitted to a jury; that the advertiſement, pretendedly ſetting forth a meeting of the Conſtitutional Society, and their reſolution to ſubſcribe one hundred pounds towards the ſupport of the widows and orphans of the Americans,

ricans, ſaid to be barbarouſly murdered by the king's troops at Lexington and Concord, was a moſt impudent and malignant libel. That in point of compoſition it was below notice; it contained no argument, nor was it founded on any rational plea; that he knew not the author, nor had he ever had ſo great a proof of his talents and abilities as on the preſent occaſion; but that, if he could at all judge from what he had juſt heard, the defendant muſt have purpoſely drawn it up in ſo ſtupid and balderdaſh a manner to fit it to the vile occaſion it was intended to ſerve. That it was evidently meant as a defiance to the laws of the kingdom, and a teſt how far libellers might proceed with impunity. That the author's ſigning his name to it was an impudent attempt to laugh at proſecution, for that he was as inſcrutable, while he ſkulked behind the bulwark of the printer, as an anonymous writer poſſibly could be. That the age teemed with libels, no perſon was now ſafe from ſlander; that he was determined, if poſſible, to check the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and therefore he had filed the information now before the court.

The witneſſes were then examined. The firſt was —— Wilſon, who proved the three copies of advertiſements, produced by the ſollicitor to the treaſury, to be the hand-writing of the defendant.

H. S. Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiſer, proved that Mr. Horne delivered to him one of the copies produced, paid him for the inſertion of it in his paper, and commiſſioned him to ſend round copies of the ſame to moſt of the other papers, which commiſſion he executed, and Mr. Horne defrayed the expence.

This being all the evidence called in ſupport of the information, the defendant roſe, and addreſſed the jury in a ſpeech, which took him up four hours in delivery, to the following purport:

[Mr. Horne, when he began his ſpeech, produced a pile of manuſcripts, written on ſome quires of paper, folded in the form of a note-book, which he laid before him; and, after having ſpoken for about an hour, he adverted to his written text.] His exordium went chiefly upon a reply to what had now fallen from the attorney-general, which he declared by no means full enough for the occaſion; he aſſerted, that the learned gentleman had not produced a tittle of evidence in ſupport of the charge made againſt him in the information, that he had reſted his argument chiefly upon abuſing the advertiſement, and that above half of his ſpeech had been merely an eulogium on his own immaculate character. As he had talked ſo much of his honour, his conſcience, and his integrity, he would, he declared, juſt ſhew how far the honour, the conſcience, and the integrity of an attorney-general extended. He then proceeded to trace the power of that officer from the times of our forefathers, ſhewed what privileges he had enjoyed in different reigns, and went into a very long diſcuſſion of the nature and conſequences of proſecutions and informations filed *ex officio* by the attorney-general, pointing out to the jury both the ſimple and applied meaning of the words *ex officio*, ſhewing that the different technical terms of information, indictment,

dictment, and declaration, were ſynonymous, and meant nothing more than acculation, urging the more equitable mode of proceeding by applying to a grand jury by bill of indictment, and contraſting the different benefits deduced by the ſubject, under the different modes of proceſs, proving that they could acquire none when proceeded againſt on ex officio informations, and inferring from the whole of his argument on this head that their origin was oppreſſion, and their end injuſtice. He aſſerted, that, armed with this illegal power, an attorney-general might deſtroy the liberty, and attack the property of any ſubject, obnoxious, either to himſelf, or to the miniſter, whoſe ſervant and creature the attorney-general might properly be deemed, as he held his office merely during pleaſure, and was liable to diſmiſſion whenever the miniſter was himſelf diſmiſſed, or whenever the miniſter was diſpleaſed with him.

He complained of oppreſſion in every ſtage of the buſineſs, and particularly urged that the ſtriking of a ſpecial jury was a mere farce; that an attorney-general could try by what jury he pleaſed; and that from what he had ſeen on his own attendance at the Crown-office, it might rather be ſaid, that his was a picked jury than one fairly and promiſcuouſly choſen. He inſtanced what had paſſed there, but declared he acquitted the maſter of any unfair conduct, laying the blame on the ſhoulders of the ſollicitor to the treaſury, and of the officers of the ſheriffs, who attended on the occaſion.

He treated Lord Mansfield frequently in a manner equally cavalier and extraordinary, nor was he a whit more complaiſant to the jury, declaring he aſked them for no favour, that he only deſired them to diſcharge their conſciences, and do their duty as honeſt men, conſidering fully the intention, which was the eſſence of all criminality, and abiding by their own feelings, without ſuffering themſelves either to be threatened, or wheedled out of their privileges. He avowed being the author of the advertiſement in queſtion, aſſerted it was no libel, and aſſigned his motive for publiſhing it, which was to oppoſe oppreſſion: that he had always acted on the ſame principles; that he advertiſed, and cauſed to be proſecuted, the murderers in St. George's-fields, in 1768, who were alſo ſoldiers.

That he had, in fact, as the advertiſement was worded, made no charge, neither had he accuſed the king's troops of murder; but that he did not mean to take advantage of a trifling ſubterfuge: he did now make the charge; that he had before deemed the affair at Lexington a murder, did then, and would tomorrow, call it by no other name. He told the jury, that, like certain people mentioned in hiſtory, who dreſſed up their victims for ſlaughter, ſo the attorney-general had dreſſed him up in the character of a wild beaſt, and wanted them to worry him; that his aim was to ſhut him out from ſociety, and lock him up like a mad dog; but that he defied his malice, and feared not the judges, as he was well aware they would not venture to puniſh him as they might wiſh, even if the jury were to deliver him over to their mercy, but that he was prepared to meet more than they

they dared to inflict in the preſent cauſe.

With regard to the attorney-general's complaint about the quantity of libels daily publiſhed, he begged him to put himſelf in the balance againſt him, and conſider which had been moſt libelled? For his part, no man had been more ſo; his picture had been ſtuck up in the print-ſhops, with the words, 'The Atheiſt Parſon,' ſubſcribed in capitals. He had been made the ſubject of ballads, and the fingers had borne the figure of a ſpruce parſon in miniature, on a ſtick, with a label, on which was written, 'The Atheiſt and Macaroni Parſon.' His very clothes had furniſhed wit for the theatre, and he had even once been preſent, and ſeen himſelf burnt in effigy.

He offered ſome few legal authorities, and quoted many parts of the State Trials in ſupport of them. In his attack on the attorney-general, he ſhewed no ſort of reſpect to perſon or place; at one time he declared the Houſe of Commons to be the moſt corrupt body in any ſtate, and ſaid they were the miniſter's houſe, who ſat between his two brazen pillars, the attorney and ſollicitor-general, like Jachin and Boaz, to guard the treaſury-bench.

As ſoon as Mr. Horne had finiſhed his ſpeech, he deſired the crier to call Lord Germaine and General Gage; but neither of them, though ſubpœnaed, attended. He then deſired the attorney-general to be ſworn, but the court deſired him firſt to ſtate the queſtion he meant to aſk, as the attorney-general had a right to demur to being ſworn. Mr. Horne then propoſed ſome queſtions relative to the origin of the cauſe, and the conduct of it, which Mr. Attorney ſaid were too impertinent for him to anſwer; he would not therefore be ſworn.

Alderman Oliver was then called, and ſworn as a witneſs for the defendant. The alderman proved that the advertiſement in queſtion was ſo far founded in fact, that a meeting of the Conſtitutional Society was held, that the ſubſcription alſo was raiſed, and the money paid to Mr. Horne.

Mr. Lacy, clerk to Henton and Co. proved that Mr. Horne paid the money to their ſhop on Dr. Franklin's account.

Lieutenant Gould was examined reſpecting an affidavit made by him about the affair at Lexington, and publiſhed in one of the Public Advertiſers, produced by the defendant. He acknowledged it to be his affidavit, and ſwore to its contents, giving at the ſame time a viva voce account of the action. Whence it clearly appeared, that the rebels were armed ready to receive the king's troops, and that the latter heard the alarm-guns firing, whilſt they were on their march.

The attorney-general obſerved, that the defendant, from what he had thrown out, ſeemed rather to have wiſhed to be ſtopped, in order to have given birth to a popular tumult, than to have aimed either at diſproving the charge, or evincing the innocence of his own intention.

He aſcribed its delay ſolely to the defendant, and anſwered ſuch part of Mr. Horne's ſpeech as went to the ſubject before the court; aſſerting, that the advertiſement charged in

in the information was moſt clearly a groſs and ſeditious libel, deſerving every epithet he had beſtowed on it; and told the jury that, if he had failed in proof, the defendant had ſupplied the defect, for that the whole of the defence went to an admiſſion and aggravation of the libel. Before he ſat down, the attorney-general ſpoke to the other parts of Mr. Horne's ſpeech, which he declared was wholly made up of the abuſe of the judge, abuſe of the jury, abuſe of himſelf, and abuſe of the maſter of the Crown-office, the ſollicitor of the treaſury, and even of the ſheriff's officers.

Lord Mansfield remarked, that, of all caſes he had ever known, this lay in the ſmalleſt compaſs. There were but two points for the jury to conſider; the proof of the publication, and the proof of the charge in the information. The difficulty of the firſt was removed, for that was fully admitted by the defendant; with regard to the ſecond, they would take out the paper, read the advertiſement, and judge for themſelves. His lordſhip lamented the preſent unhappy war, and enlarged a little on the nature of the charge made againſt the king's troops, in the advertiſement: particularly explaining the application of the phraſe 'well-beloved.'

He ſaid the jury would readily ſee why he paſſed over a great deal which had been ſaid on the occaſion, and which ought not to have been ſaid; but that he could not let them, or the audience, go away without inabling them to contradict any miſrepreſentation reſpecting one point. His lordſhip then explained his conduct on the trial of one of the printers, and, after perfectly clearing himſelf on that head, ſhewed, by quoting the trial of Lord Lovat, when he himſelf, while ſollicitor-general, acting as counſel for the Houſe of Commons, replied, although the priſoner called no witneſſes, that the cuſtom was not new.

The jury at half after four withdrew for a ſhort time, and returned, finding Mr. Horne GUILTY.

Further Proceedings in the Caſe of the King againſt Horne *for a Libel.*

ON Wedneſday morning, November 19, between ten and eleven o'clock, the Rev. Mr. Horne attended the court of King's-bench, agreeable to a notice iſſued by the attorney-general.

The ſeveral documents being read neceſſary to ſubſtantiate the charge againſt him, and the grounds of his conviction being then ſtated to the court, the attorney-general prayed judgment in behalf of the crown. Lord Mansfield was about to pronounce the ſentence, when Mr. Horne intreated the attention of the court to a matter which he ſhould urge, in arreſt of judgment. He grounded his motion on the following arguments:

Firſt, That the information, on which he had been tried, did not ſpecifically charge him with any crime. That the whole of the charge was of a conſtructive nature. But it was an eſtabliſhed maxim in law, that indictments and informations ſhould ſo expreſsly ſet forth the nature of the crime, as not to leave any thing to the conſtruction of the court. In the preſent caſe, Mr. Horne contended that there had not been any thing averred in the

the information which could amount to a crimination; he was only charged with having printed and publiſhed, or cauſed to be printed and publiſhed, a certain advertiſement, which had been deemed a libel. This was the act charged. The guilt, or innocence, of the paper deemed a libel, depended on conſtruction. Not any thing of guilt being charged in the information, the conviction might reaſonably be ſuppoſed a miſtake of the jury, which the judges, as guardians of the law, would rectify.

The attorney-general, in reply, confeſſed he expected a very different kind of argument would have been inſiſted on by the defendant. To ſay that not any thing like a criminal charge had been averred in the information was ſurely to be attributed to a perverſion of the underſtanding. The charge was too obvious to be miſtaken. The information did not merely ſet forth that the defendant had printed and publiſhed a paper, but that he had printed and publiſhed a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, which ſet forth, 'that the king's troops, employed by government, had murdered our American brethren, for no other reaſon than becauſe they had been faithful to the character of Engliſhmen, in preferring death to ſlavery.' Of ſuch an act the defendant had been found guilty. The information had expreſsly charged him with it. The crime had been ſubſtantiated by the verdict of a jury. The exception was now, therefore, improper in point of time, and frivolous in point of weight. So frivolous, that the attorney-general expected the defendant would have reſted his motion on a very different ground. He expected to have heard it contended, that the libel was not of the nature which it had been ſtated to be in the information. That it was not falſe. That it was not ſcandalous. That it was not ſeditious. That government had not been maligned. Nor the king's troops charged with having committed murder. Thoſe were the propoſitions he expected. And the argument in ſupport of them he was well prepared to anſwer. Not any thing which bore the ſmalleſt affinity to ſuch arguments having fallen from the lips of the defendant, the attorney general repeated his prayer that the court would proceed to judgment.

Mr. Horne in reply obſerved, that, however the expectations of the attorney general might have been excited, he would anſwer for it that his wiſhes had not kept pace with them. Mr. attorney general might expect it to be proved that the advertiſement was neither falſe, ſcandalous, nor ſeditious. But he could not wiſh for ſuch proof. It would intirely defeat the deſign of the proſecutions. The attorney general had therefore ſpared him the trouble of advancing ſuch arguments with effect, by not chuſing to combat them on the trial. The crown officer had alſo been extremely obliging in another reſpect. He had not perplexed the buſineſs with caſes and precedents. Nor had he enlivened the dulneſs of the argument by either his oratory or his wit. Both Mr. Attorney general might poſſeſs. But he had not choſen to make a diſplay of either. It was ſo much the more for the advantage of the defendant to have the cauſe thus ſimplified,

plified, and reduced to a point which common ſenſe could eaſily comprehend. Happily there was a caſe in point ſo applicable to that of the defendant, that merely to read it would ſerve in the place of a laboured argument. It was the caſe of Lord Ruſſel. That nobleman was charged with a deſign 'to ſeize the king's guards,' as a means to effect his purpoſe. The opinion of Judge Atkins on the caſe was this, 'that the words king's guards' were too looſe and indeterminate. That the law knew not of any ſuch perſons. The love and good-will of ſubjects had frequently been ſtyled 'the king's guards.' The judges had been alſo called 'guards of the king.' To charge Lord Ruſſel with a deſign to ſeize the king's guards, without ſpecifying what, or whom were meant by the terms, was too indefinite a ſtyle of averment to be admitted in an indictment.

Mr. Horne hinted the applicability of this caſe. Who were the 'king's troops,' alluded to in the information? They had not been defined. But, admitting that they had, was it phyſically impoſſible that any of the king's troops ſhould commit murder?

As to the epithet of 'libel,' ſo frequently adopted by Mr. Attorney general, What was a libel? Was the word technically deſcriptive? By the court of King's-Bench the act of 'ſending a wooden gun' to a man had been deemed a libel. As in the caſe of Thickneſſe, who was ſentenced for 'the libel of ſending a wooden gun to Lord Orwell.' The language about libels was only the jargon of uncertainty.

'The words 'of,' 'concerning,' as they ſtood in the information, were ſtrongly objected to by Mr. Horne on account of their legal informality. The word 'concerning' meant ſeeing together, and was applicable to perſons who participated, at the ſame time, in the ſight of a thing. In this, which was the only ſenſe of the word, it was not applied in the information. And, if the meaning of one word might be tortured, that of many might be miſapplied. A charge could only be ſpecified by the moſt rigid attention to the meaning of words.

Mr. Horne expreſſed an hope that theſe obſervations would have weight with the court. He conſidered them to be of validity. And therefore it was that he had urged them as ſufficient to render the prayer of the attorney general for judgment nugatory.

Lord Mansfield with the greateſt moderation imaginable obſerved, that even if there were any thing indefinite in the terms 'king's troops,' abſtractedly conſidered; yet the information had ſtated thoſe troops to have been employed by government. This was a ſufficient ſpecification. On the other hand there appeared weight in the objections ſufficient to induce the court to hear the matter argued without prejudice. There might be errors in the information. If ſuch ſhould be the caſe, the defendant was intituled to the benefit. The facts charged in the ſeveral counts of the information had been clearly proved. The depoſition of the money in the hands of a banker for Dr. Franklin; the hand writing of the defendant; the delivery of the advertiſement to the printers; the merit of the objec-

tions urged by the defendant only remained to be conſidered.

Lord Mansfield then propoſed, that Mr. Horne ſhould be committed, and brought up on Monday next.

Mr. Horne then propoſed this queſtion:

'Will your lordſhips commit me before I am legally convicted?'

The commitment was dropped. Mr. Horne is to attend on Monday morning, when his objections in arreſt of judgment will be argued.

Mr. Horne's conduct was cool, ſenſible, and manly. His arguments were well delivered, and he did not, as upon his trial, uſe any aſperity or unbecoming warmth of language.

Deciſion of the Court of King's-Bench in the Caſe of Mr. Horne.

Monday, November 24, about 11 in the morning, the Earl of Mansfield, with the Judges Aſton, Willes, and Aſhurſt, came into court. Mr. Horne entered at the ſame time, accompanied by his attorney, and ſtood before the bench. After a few minutes ſpent in clearing the court, Mr. Sollicitor general and Mr. Attorney general took their ſeats.

Lord Mansfield then, holding a paper in his hand, obſerved that the defendant had urged on Wedneſday laſt, as a plea of defence, an affidavit made by a Captain Gould, relative to the engagements between his majeſty's troops and the Americans at Lexington and Concord, which was publiſhed ſome time ago in the Public Advertiſer, and was intended in ſome ſort to give authority to Mr. Horne's advertiſement reſpecting that affair, which were the grounds of the attorney general's proſecution; and his lordſhip, having omitted it in his notes, thought proper to read it then in court.

After reading the affidavit, his lordſhip acquainted Mr. Horne, that, having duly weighed the merits of his motion in arreſt of judgment, and having reſorted to precedents, the court was of opinion, 'that no certain form of expreſſion was technically neceſſary, where the words want no inuendos —Had even the word Lexington been left out, it would ſtill have been a libel, as the meaning of the words was ſelf-evident, though the place and other circumſtances had been omitted. As to the objections made by the defendent to the words 'of and concerning the king's government,' as laid in the information, they were found to have no weight. Thoſe words were ſo proper in fixing the charge, that, in the caſe of the king againſt Alderton, the information was found bad, becauſe not laid in the words 'of and concerning the Juſtices of Suffolk.' An information in the ſame form, and of the ſame offence, had already been found a libel by five juries, on the different proſecutions againſt the printers, and on which even the defendant himſelf gave evidence. A number of learned counſel had approved of the proceedings, and there was not, in fact, a colour of doubt with reſpect to the formality. It was therefore the unanimous opinion of the court, that the objections could not lie, and conſequently that the conviction was legal.

Mr. Attorney general.—The de-

fendant has been convicted of an audacious, falſe, and wicked libel, charging his majeſty's troops and government with no leſs a crime than that of wilfully murdering the king's loyal and faithful ſubjects; points directly to time, place, and action, and, with intent to try how far he can inſult the juſtice and humanity of his country, boldly ſtands forth here, as he has on other occaſions, 'am not I the man that dares do it?' Such audaciouſneſs ſurely calls for the higheſt puniſhment that this court in ſuch caſes can inflict. The defendant has thought it conſiſtent with his views to prove that the king's troops were ſurrounded with rebels, impeded in their operations, the country hoſtile, and in arms; and, as far as their ſtrength lay, endeavouring to cut them off, firing of alarm guns (the intention of which was well underſtood) and collecting of magazines to make head againſt the king's forces in aid of the rebellion. All this the defendant has moſt induſtriouſly proved to point out and ſtrongly mark that he was the man in aid and ſupport of that very rebellion meant to inſult the juſtice and dignity of the mother-country. Another part of his proof is, that contributions in ſupport of rebellion were actually ſet on foot and carried into execution; the money raiſed, and tranſmitted, and that the defendant was the man who dared commit ſuch a crime and inſult. Never, ſurely, was a libel more ſcandalous, more malignant, more dangerous, and as ſuch will not be ſuffered to paſs unpuniſhed.

The uſual puniſhments are fine and impriſonment for ſuch offences, ever ſince the time of that real patriot and great man, Chief Juſtice Holt; and this being a libel againſt the king's troops and government, is much greater than if it had been againſt an individual, for the juſtice and humanity of the kingdom is inſulted. It was my duty, on the firſt appearance of ſo groſs an attempt, to proſecute to conviction. Your lordſhips are to judge between us. I am not intereſted, nor have I any malice againſt any man. Perfectly ſatisfied with the wiſdom and juſtice of the court, I leave the whole to your lordſhip's diſpoſal.

Mr. Horne. — May it pleaſe your lordſhips: I hope I am not to be reviled and laughed at for my misfortunes. I came here to-day with a full perſuaſion that I was to return again with the ſame liberty. I object, if I am in time, and now move an arreſt of judgment; for no information can be ſupplied by evidence; and I thought Mr. Attorney general and I were ordered to look for precedents; but, after what I have heard to-day, I ſhould not have ſaid a word, if Mr. Attorney-general's rancor was not ſuch as calls on me to deny and confute his ſuggeſtions.

To-day he has ſtript me of all common ſenſe, by opening the impropriety and imprudence of others he would ſuppoſe to have acted otherwiſe.

It is not incumbent on me to take notice of what has dropped from the bench, but Mr. Attorney general has been guilty of groſs miſrepreſentation. I am as little given to audacity as he or any other gentleman in this court. He ſays my language and ſtyle is low, and looking only for the praiſe of a mob.

a mob. This is his language, not mine. It has been my misfortune to have a liberal education; and that mob has paid him as much tribute as they have to me. It is likewiſe my misfortune not to be poor; I never ſaid I was. If I had, I ſhould here have joined with the attorney general, and craved the lenity of the court; but I never did aſk a favour of them, and I hope never will.

It is unfortunate, but my notions of humanity differ widely from Mr. Attorney general's; and it cannot be flying in the face of juſtice not to ſhrink from her preſence. I believe I did ſay, formerly, I even dared any thing your lordſhips could pronounce againſt me; and I now do; for I am confident your lordſhips dare not do wrong. There are many more things I intended to have troubled your lordſhips with, but with the attorney general I truſt the whole in the wiſdom of the court.

Mr. Juſtice Aſton.—John Horne, you ſtand convicted for writing and publiſhing a very groſs libel concerning the king's troops and government; and it appears to this court, and by your own evidence, that you glory in the crime. You very artfully attempted to gloſs over the charge, and inſiſted the information was not explicit and full. No man really can miſtake it; moſt ſeditious and ſcandalous in its nature, and but too induſtriouſly propagated by you, and too well known for me to enter into the contents of a paper, that to be read is only to be underſtood and abhorred by all good men and lovers of their country. The ſentence of this court is, that you pay 200l. fine to the king, and be impriſoned for the ſpace of twelve months, and afterwards find ſureties, yourſelf in 400l. and two ſureties in 200l. each, for your good behaviour for three years.

Narrative of the Trial of James Aitken, *otherwiſe* John the Painter, *at* Wincheſter *Aſſizes, for ſetting fire to the Rope-Houſe, in his Majeſty's Dock-Yard, at* Portſmouth, *Dec.* 7, 1776.

TO give the reader a clear idea of this man's character, it may be neceſſary to trace the ſteps which led to his diſcovery.

The fire which happened in the rope-houſe at Portſmouth, had paſſed for an accident; and as no ſuſpicion had fallen upon any one, no enquiry was made about it till, on the 15th of January, Mr. Ruſſel, one of the under clerks of the dock-yard, having occaſion to move ſome hemp in the hemp-houſe, diſcovered the machine.

It was then that the whole dock-yard was alarmed. Some hundreds of workmen were inſtantly drawn together, and every one looked at his neighbour, convinced that whoever was the contriver of that machine, and had placed it there, was the incendiary.

This called to mind every minute circumſtance that had happened, previous to the breaking out of the fire on the day abovementioned, and it occurred to one that a fellow had been locked into the rope-houſe the night before; to another, that a man, whoſe name was unknown, had been ſeen

loitering about the yard on the very day; and to others, that he was a painter, and had worked in the neighbourhood; and as he had never been ſeen there after the fire, a ſtrong ſuſpicion aroſe, that he muſt be ſome way or other concerned in the miſchief that had already been done, and alſo in the diabolical deſign which providentially had been defeated.

It were needleſs to take notice of the advertiſement that followed, deſcribing the perſon of the man, and under the name of John the Painter offering him a reward of 50l. to ſurrender himſelf to examination, and the ſame reward to any one who ſhould apprehend him.

In the mean time other fires broke out, particularly at Briſtol, which could no otherwiſe be accounted for than by ſuppoſing American agents employed to ſpread fire and devaſtation throughout the kingdom, wherever their malignant purpoſes could be executed with effect; an idea that favoured the prejudices of the vulgar, and therefore was the more eaſily credited.

It was not long, however, before Sir John Fielding found means to trace this John the Painter out, and ſome time about the beginning of February he was apprehended at Odiam, in Hants, for a burglary, and brought to town for examination.

The news of his commitment was ſoon ſpread; and it having been reported that he had been in America, and had worked there as a painter, Earl Temple deſired one Baldwin, a painter who had likewiſe been in America, and had done buſineſs there, to attend his examination before Sir John Fielding, to ſee if he could recollect him. But Baldwin, upon looking at the man, and being aſked the queſtion, frankly declared that he had never before ſeen him in his life.

This open declaration, after others, as he ſaid, had borne falſe witneſs againſt him, prejudiced the priſoner in favour of Baldwin, and he expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to cultivate an acquaintance with him, which Baldwin did not decline, being encouraged to viſit him as often as opportunity offered, in order, if poſſible, to bring him to confeſſion. This had the deſired effect, and brought the whole ſcene of iniquity to light.

After a regular attendance on him for 15 days, ſometimes once a day, and ſometimes twice, the priſoner at length began to truſt him, and to ſpeak openly. He told him he had been in France; that he had there ſeen Silas Deane; that Silas Deane had given him ſome money; had encouraged him to ſet fire to the dock-yards at Portſmouth, Plymouth, Woolwich, &c. as the beſt means of diſtreſſing Great-Britain; that he had promiſed to reward him according to the ſervice he ſhould do to the American cauſe; and that, as an earneſt of what ſhould follow, he had given him a recommendation to, and bills upon, a merchant in London to the amount of 300l. which, however, he had found it neceſſary to burn, to prevent a diſcovery; that, in conſequence of this encouragement, he procured a paſſport from the French king; which paſſport he lamented that he had left at Portſmouth, with other things, in a bundle. That

from

from France he came to Canterbury, where he deviſed the machine which had been found in the hemp-houſe, and had it there conſtructed; that before he left Canterbury he had a quarrel with a dragoon; and that when he removed from thence he directed his courſe to Portſmouth, where he prepared the combuſtibles with which he afterwards ſet the place on fire; that he diſcloſed to him (Baldwin) the ſecret of making the compoſition, and the manner of his applying it; told him the circumſtance of his being locked in the rope-houſe; of his quarrelling with his landlady, on account of the interruption ſhe gave him in his operations; of her forcibly turning him out of her houſe; of his taking another lodging; of the difficulty he had in lighting his matches; of his purchaſing other matches; of his flight from Portſmouth in a woman's cart; with many other particulars, all of which were confirmed on his trial by the teſtimony of the perſons, reſpectively, who were any ways employed by him, or with whom he had any thing to do in the buſineſs. The boy who made the canniſter, the dragoon with whom he quarrelled at Canterbury, the woman at whoſe houſe he lodged at Portſmouth, the man who let him out of the rope-houſe, the perſons who ſaw him in the dock-yard, the woman who ſold him the matches, the woman who took him up in her cart in his flight from Portſmouth, and laſt of all the bundle in which was his paſſport from France, with the identical articles in it, which he had ſpecifically mentioned to Baldwin; all theſe were produced againſt him, and, as the judge obſerved, in ſumming up the evidence, that from a chain of circumſtances attentively put together, ſuch a body of evidence may be drawn, as would be abundantly ſtronger than where two or three witneſſes ſwear to a poſitive fact; it is no wonder, therefore, that the jury, without going out of court, pronounced the priſoner GUILTY; and he being aſked in the uſual form what he had to ſay, why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him, replied *he had nothing to ſay.*

He had, indeed, in making his defence, obſerved, upon the evidence of Baldwin, that from his, the priſoner's, name being publicly advertiſed, and the kingdom ſearched for charges againſt him, it might be eaſy for Baldwin, or ſuch a man as Baldwin, properly inſtructed, to form ſuch a ſtory, and to bring ſuch a number of witneſſes as he has done to confirm it; nevertheleſs, ſaid he, "Be it a falſe accuſation brought againſt me, or a betraying of truſt through the treachery of the man's heart, I ſhould like that your lordſhip would take it into conſideration, whether ſuch a perſon has a right, in the ſight of God, and according to the laws of this kingdom, to give evidence againſt me; or, if he has, whether ſuch evidence ought to be regarded." He obſerved, likewiſe, on the witneſſes from Canterbury, that one ſays he was there about ſix weeks before Chriſtmas; another ſays 6 or 7 weeks; another between Michaelmas and Chriſtmas; another, before or after the 20th of November; yet his paſſport is dated at Fontainbleau the 13th of November, ſo that he could not be there and at Canterbury at the ſame

time. He was aſked if he reſted his defence on thoſe obſervations, or if he choſe to call any witneſſes. His anſwer was, For what end? till ſomething is proved againſt me I intend no defence in the world. I am ready to live and die according to juſtice.'

When the judge, in pronouncing ſentence againſt him, ſaid, "You cannot be ſurprized that the law has thought fit to puniſh ſuch a crime with death; you can as little be ſurprized if after you have been convicted upon the cleareſt evidence of this offence, I can give you no hope of pardon;" he ſaid, *I do not look for any, my lord.* And when in concluſion, his lordſhip added, "I have only now to pronounce the *painful* ſentence of the law," the priſoner ſaid "*joyful.*"

He was carried from Wincheſter gaol on the 10th of March, to Portſmouth dock-gate, where, before he was turned off, he ſaid, I acknowledge the juſtneſs of my ſentence, and hope for forgiveneſs, as I forgive all the world; I wiſh ſucceſs to his majeſty, King George, and his family, and all his loyal ſubjects; and I hope for forgiveneſs for all the tranſactions I have been guilty of.

He recommended ſtrict vigilance at the dock-yards of Chatham, Woolwich, Deptford, Portſmouth, and Plymouth; becauſe, he ſaid, it was in the power of any determined reſolute man to do a great deal of miſchief.

After hanging the uſual time upon a gallows 60 feet high, he was cut down, and immediately hung in chains.

Before he was taken from Wincheſter, he made a voluntary confeſſion, by which it appears, that his real name was James Aitken; that he was born at Edinburgh, September 28, 1752; that his father was a blackſmith, and he believes his mother is now living; that he ſerved an apprenticeſhip to a painter; that curioſity led him to Virginia at the age of 21; that he left America in March 1775; in October he inliſted in the 32d regiment at Graveſend, under the name of James Boſwell, but ſoon deſerted; in November he inliſted at Chard, in Somerſetſhire, in the 13th regiment, and ſoon after deſerted. He never was in the 45th regiment, neither did he go to America in any regiment, as ſworn againſt him by Baldwin; nor did he tell any one, that one Brooks, a priſoner in Newgate, would be hanged, or that he ever knew a man by the name of Brooks. That he never ſaid he had recommendations to any merchant in London, or that he burnt bills to the amount of 300l. He burnt his indentures, he ſaid, when he liſted for a ſoldier, to conceal his real name.

At Birmingham and Warrington he followed the trade of a painter; as he did likewiſe at Titchfield, in Hants, where he conceived the firſt idea of ſetting fire to the dock-yards. That he went to France, and applied to Mr. Silas Deane, who told him, when the work was done, he ſhould be rewarded. That, on his return to England, and after ſetting fire to the rope-yard at Portſmouth, he went to London, and waited on Dr. Bencraft, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Mr. Deane; but that the doctor gave him no countenance. That he afterwards

terwards wrote to him, and the day following met him at the Salopian coffee-houſe, and told him he would do all the prejudice he could to this kingdom; but the doctor not approving of his conduct, he took his leave, hoping that the doctor would not inform againſt him, to which the doctor ſaid, *he did not like to inform againſt any man.*

That from London he went to High Wickham, where he broke open a houſe: from thence to Oxford and Abingdon, at which laſt place he attempted to break into ſome ſilverſmiths ſhops, but without effect. At Fairford, he broke into a houſe, and took a watch and ſome money. At Plymouth, he twice attempted to ſet fire to the dock-yard, and twice reached the top of the wall for that purpoſe; but the watchmen being within hearing, he deſiſted. He then went to Briſtol, and in his way attempted to break into a houſe at Taunton. At Briſtol he attempted to ſet fire to the ſhipping in the harbour, and afterwards ſet fire to a warehouſe in Quay-lane. He then left the town, and broke open Mr. Lowe's houſe at Calne. That he committed or attempted to commit ſeveral other robberies; particularly one at Norwich, where he ſtole two ſilver table-ſpoons and a pair of ſilver buckles. He alſo committed a robbery on the highway between Portſmouth and Petersfield. By all which atrocious villainies, conceived and committed without any inſtigator or accomplice, other than the promiſe from Mr. Deane, he appears to have been a moſt abandoned miſcreant, capable of the moſt enormous crimes, and of ſuffering without remorſe the moſt rigorous puniſhments.

Summary of the new Act for granting his Majeſty a Duty upon all Servants retained or employed in the ſeveral Capacities therein mentioned.

AFTER a ſhort preamble, the ſtatute enacts: That, from and after the fifth day of July, 1777, there ſhall be raiſed unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, after the rate of twenty-one ſhillings per annum for every male ſervant, within the kingdom of Great Britain, who ſhall then have been, or ſhall afterwards be, retained or employed in the following capacities; (that is to ſay) of maitre d'hotel, houſe-ſteward, maſter of the horſe, groom of the chamber, valet de chambre, butler, under-butler, clerk of the kitchen, confectioner, cook, houſe-porter, footman, running-footman, coachman, groom, poſtillion, ſtable-boy, and the reſpective helpers in the ſtables of ſuch coachman, groom, or poſtillion, or in the capacity of gardener (not being a day-labourer) park-keeper, game-keeper, huntſman, whipper-in, whether ſuch male ſervants ſhall have been, or ſhall be, retained in one or more of the ſaid capacities, or in any other buſineſs jointly with one or more of the ſaid capacities of a ſervant; that every ſuch maſter or miſtreſs ſhall be charged fifteen ſhillings for every ſuch ſervant ſo retained or employed within the time which ſhall elapſe between the fifth day of July, 1777, and the 25th of March, 1778; and every ſuch maſter or miſtreſs

miſtreſs ſhall be charged the ſum of 21 ſhillings for every ſuch ſervant which ſhall be ſo retained within every ſubſequent year, ending on the 25th day of March; and the ſeveral ſums herein before mentioned ſhall be paid in every year, within ſix months ſubſequent to the 25th day of March.

Provided always, That this act ſhall not extend to any ſervant who ſhall be employed, bona fide, for the purpoſes of huſbandry or manufactures, or of any trade or calling by which the maſter or miſtreſs of ſuch ſervant earn a livelihood or profit.

Provided alſo, That the duty hereby granted for every coachman, groom, poſtillion, or helper, let out to hire by way of jobb, ſhall be paid by the maſter or miſtreſs for whoſe uſe, and in whoſe ſervice, ſuch coachman, groom, poſtillion, or helper, ſhall be employed reſpectively; and that the duty granted for every gardener, employed by any perſon who ſhall contract for the keeping of any garden or gardens, ſhall be paid by the perſon for whoſe uſe, and in whoſe garden, ſuch gardener ſhall be employed.

Provided alſo, That nothing in this act contained ſhall extend to exempt any perſon from the payment of the duty impoſed by this act, in reſpect of any ſervant employed in any of the capacities aforeſaid, on account that ſuch ſervant is or ſhall be bound as an apprentice to ſuch perſon or perſons; ſave and except ſuch apprentices as are or ſhall be impoſed upon any maſter or miſtreſs, by virtue of the powers given to magiſtrates, and pariſh-officers, by any act of parliament, ſo as the number of ſuch apprentices, ſo impoſed upon any maſter or miſtreſs, does not exceed two.

Provided alſo, That this act ſhall not extend to charge with the duty hereby granted the butler or butlers, manciple, cook or cooks, gardener or gardeners, porter or porters, of any college or hall within either of the Univerſities of Oxford or Cambridge; or the Univerſities of Edinburgh, Glaſgow, Aberdeen, or St. Andrew's, in Scotland; or of the ſeveral colleges of Weſtminſter, Eton, or Wincheſter; or to the ſervants of his majeſty or any of the royal family; or of any ambaſſador or foreign miniſter reſiding in the kingdom of Great Britain.

Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing herein contained ſhall extend to charge with the duty hereby granted any of the royal hoſpitals of Chriſt, St. Bartholomew, Bridewell, Bethlehem, St. Thomas in the city of London and borough of Southwark; or Guy's, or the Foundling hoſpital. The duties to be collected by ſuch perſons, and paid into the Exchequer, under ſuch penalties, &c. as are appointed for the duties on houſes and windows by two acts of 20 Geo. II.

The commiſſioners of the beforementioned acts ſhall alſo put this act in execution, and ſhall appoint aſſeſſors.

Aſſeſſors to give notice in writing to maſters, &c. to produce liſts of their ſervants employed within their diſtricts, &c.

The commiſſioners, on application, to grant relief to perſons who have been aſſeſſed in different places for the ſame ſervants.

The maſters to be doubly rated for

for thoſe ſervants they omit in their liſts.

One half of which ſurcharge to be allowed the aſſeſſor or ſurveyor making the ſame.

Surveyors or aſſeſſors not to enter any dwelling-houſe, &c. to examine the number of ſervants.

Perſons over rated may appeal to the commiſſioners for redreſs; and, if then diſſatisfied, may appeal to the court of King's-bench.

Abſtract of the Act of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, for reſtraining the Negotiation of Bills of Exchange, Promiſſory Notes, &c.

THE Act 17 Geo. III. c. 30, recites, that by an act of the 15th of this preſent reign, all negotiable promiſſory notes, &c. iſſued after the 24th of June 1775, for leſs than 20s. were made void; and that all ſuch notes iſſued before that time, were then made payable on demand. It adds, "that the ſaid act had been attended with very ſalutary effects; and ſuppoſes, that if the proviſions therein contained were extended to a further ſum ("but yet without prejudice to the convenience ariſing to the public from the negotiation of promiſſory notes, &c. for the remittance of money in diſcharge of any balance of account") the good purpoſe of the ſaid act would be further advanced. The legiſlature therefore have continued the prohibition of notes, &c. for any leſs ſum than 20s. and enacted, that from and after the 24th of June 1777, till the 1ſt day of January 1778, all notes for any ſum between one and five pounds, ſhall be liable to payment on demand, whatever be the conditions contained in the ſaid notes, &c. It alſo enacts, that from and after the firſt day of January 1778, all negotiable promiſſory notes, &c. for 20s. and leſs than five pounds, ſhall be made payable at 21 days after date; and each indorſement thereon ſhall ſpecify the name and place of abode of the perſon to whoſe order the money is to be paid; and that the ſigning of every ſuch note, &c. or any indorſement on it, ſhall be atteſted by one ſubſcribing witneſs at the leaſt."

The following are the Forms of Promiſſory Notes and Draughts, and of the Indorſements, taken from the Schedule, annexed to the Act.

SCHEDULE, N°. I.

—[*Place*]— —[*Day*]— —[*Month*]— —[*Year*]—

TWenty-one days after date, I promiſe to pay to *A. B.* of —[*Place*]— or his order, the ſum of —[*Sum*]— for value received by

C. D.

Witneſs, *E. F.*

And the Indorſement, toties quoties.

—[*Day*]— of —[*Month*]— —[*Year*]—

Pay the contents to

G. H. of —[*Place*]— or his order.

A. B.

Witneſs, *J. K.*

N°. II.

N°. II.

—[*Place*]— —[*Day*]— —[*Month*]— —[*Year*]—

TWenty one days after date, pay to *A. B.* of —[*Place*]— or his order, the ſum of —[*Sum*]— value received, as adviſed by

C. D.

To *E. F.* of —[*Place*]—

Witneſs, *G. H.*

And the Indorſement, toties quoties.

—[*Day*]— —[*Month*]— —[*Year*]—

Pay the contents to

J. K. of —[*Place*]— or his order.

Witneſs, *L. M.* *A. B.*

Short Account of the Proceedings at Madraſs, *and of the Controverſy reſpecting* Tanjour.

WHEN the Muſſelmen had over-run Hindoſtan, and had eſtabliſhed the vaſt empire of the Mogul, it became neceſſary for the carrying on ſo extenſive a government, to ſubdivide it; and large diſtricts and provinces were alloted to temporary governors appointed during pleaſure, to overawe the natural princes of the country, and collect from them the ſtipulated tribute for the Mogul. It often happened, that theſe temporary governors revolted, and appropriated to their own uſe the tributes which were to have paſſed through their hands. In vain were others ſent to relieve them, unleſs ſuch perſons were rich enough themſelves to raiſe armies, or were ſupplied from court with force ſufficient to diſplace their predeceſſors. Thus it was that Ancover de Cawn (father to the preſent Mahommed Alli Cawn) was appointed Nabob of Arcot; but Chauda Sail being in poſſeſſion, and ſupported by M. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, ſeveral battles were fought, in which Ancover de Cawn was worſted. He implored the aid of the then Governor of Madraſs, and received ſome ineffectual aſſiſtance; but was at length killed in battle.

Matters were in this ſtate when the war between England and France broke out; the French were triumphant in the beginning, and carried every thing before them: they took Fort St. David's, and beſieged the Engliſh in their laſt hold, Madraſs. There Alli Cawn, who then claimed the Nabobſhip, had taken ſhelter, but, dreading the worſt, had ſent his wife and children in an Engliſh ſhip to the Dutch ſettlement of Negopatnam. Lord Pigot gallantly defended the place, and raiſed the ſiege. This revived the Nabob's almoſt extinguiſhed hopes. Reinforcements were ſent from England, and Gen. Coote took the field, joined by the Nabob with a body of Maratta cavalry, and another from the Rajah of Tanjour. Gen. Coote was every where victorious; the Nabob's intereſt grew ſtrong in the country; and, by an article

: of the treaty of Paris, he
onfirmed in his dominions.
illiance between the Engliſh
he Nabob was equally uſeful
:h parties; it ſecured to him
ominions, and gave to them
lance of power, able to turn
:ale either way: they were
y reſpected by the Gentoos
Moors. To this happy ſtate
Pigot, by his wiſe manage-
had brought the company's
: on the coaſt, when he re-
l to Europe, where he was
ded with thoſe honours he ſo
merited. The Nabob, hav-
ius overcome his difficulties,
:eling himſelf firmly eſtabliſh-
: his dominions, began to
:e his ſtile; and, having form-
large well-regulated army,
rain of artillery, under the
ion of European officers, raiſ-
alarm in England, eſpecially
began to manifeſt the deſign
:ing aſide his eldeſt ſon, who
ticularly attached to the En-
appointing his ſecond ſon
n-general and paymaſter of
is forces, and allotting him
overnment of Tanjour; a ſi-
n of the utmoſt importance
: of a war with France, or any
on of intereſt in the Carna-

prevent the conſequence of
proceedings, Lord Pigot, as
g raiſed the Nabob to what
, was ſent out to check his
, and reſtore the Rajah of
ur.

: lordſhip's orders were ru-
d in India long before his
l; and the Nabob publicly
ed, that what he paid for
not with any juſtice be taken
him. But, to ward againſt
orſt, he ſent over agents and
, to purchaſe a revocation
of ſuch orders, if any ſuch were ſent. Hence it is, that the London papers have been filled with complaints againſt Lord Pigot, and the company's ſervants. We are told, that the Nabob has always been our ally, firm in our cauſe, and that we have extorted vaſt ſums of money from him. The fact is, that we have proved a conſtant ſupport to him, and have, through his artifices and bribes, given ſo entirely into his meaſures, that we have provoked the Gentoos, leſſened our own conſequence, and almoſt rendered him independent. He has tempted the company's ſervants beyond a poſſibility of withſtanding, in order to extend his dominion over the natural princes of the country; but he has ſo artfully and ſrugally beſtowed his gifts, that he has acquired a princely and encreaſing revenue, excluſive of the ſovereignty of the country, at leſs than two years purchaſe. Theſe notorious attempts upon the integrity of its ſervants, the flagrant injuſtice done to the Rajah of Tanjour, the artful and ambitious ſpirit of the Nabob, called upon the company at home to oppoſe to it ſome ſpeedy and effectual reſtraints. They ſaw the policy as well as juſtice of ſupporting the Rajah of Tanjour, and of taking ſome pains to conciliate the minds of the Gentoos, at the head of whom are the Marattas, a powerful and warlike people. Should a French war take place, it was not thought improbable but that the enemy might addreſs themſelves to them, and take up the cauſe of the Gentoos in general.

Therefore, it ſeems clear, that upon this view of the caſe, the orders given to Lord Pigot were juſt and wiſe.

Some

Some weeks after his lordſhip's arrival at Madraſs, he communicated to the Nabob the orders of the company for the reſtoration of Tanjour, which he had taken ſome time before with the aſſiſtance of the company's forces, having depoſed the old Rajah. The Nabob inſiſted upon what he called *his* right to Tanjour, by the laws of India, and by treaties with the company. His repreſentations had no effect. His lordſhip conſidered himſelf as commiſſioned to reſtore the Rajah, and accordingly he went to Tanjour the beginning of April, 1776.

Upon his return to Fort St. George, the majority of the council diſapproved of his proceedings at Tanjour. They repreſented to his lordſhip, that ſuch a meaſure would be entirely repugnant, to the intereſt of the company; that the directors, being at a great diſtance, could not be ſo able to judge as the council who were on the ſpot; that, ſince the laſt diſpatches to England, there had been many revolutions; and, from the then appearance of things, they did not ſuppoſe it would be for the benefit of the company to reſtore the King of Tanjour to the throne: but the plain truth was, ſeven of the council had lent large ſums of money on their own account, for which, it is ſaid, Tanjour was pledged to them as a ſecurity; they knew, therefore, that, if Tanjour was reſtored to its former king, they ſhould loſe that ſecurity; and they had reaſon to ſuppoſe, from the known cunning of the Nabob, that the money borrowed would be in the ſame predicament.

Lord Pigot, finding how matters ſtood, and that ſeven to four of the members of the council were againſt him, had recourſe to ſtratagem to obtain a majority. At a meeting of the council in the abſence of Sir R. Fletcher, commander in chief of the company's forces, his lordſhip told Meſſrs. Stratton and Brooke, two of his moſt violent opponents, that, having ſomething to propoſe with reſpect to them, he thought that in decency they ſhould withdraw. Upon quitting the council-chamber, he moved for *ſuſpending them*, and carried the motion by *his own* caſting vote: at the ſame time orders were iſſued for putting Sir Robert Fletcher under arreſt. But the members in oppoſition having afterwards met the members under ſuſpenſion, they privately combined together, and, with the aſſiſtance of the military, determined to remove his lordſhip from the government.

Lord Pigot, apprehenſive of a mutiny, ſlept in the fort that night; Col. Steuart invited himſelf to breakfaſt with his lordſhip the next morning, then to dinner, and to ſup with him at his country houſe in the evening, which his lordſhip agreed to; this was the point Col. Steuart wanted to gain, as he could not, without being liable to be tried for mutiny, arreſt him in the garriſon, for which purpoſe he had an order all that day in his pocket. Col. Steuart went with his lordſhip in his carriage, which had ſcarcely proceeded half a mile from Madras, before Col. Edington rode up and waved his drawn ſword over the horſes heads, calling out, Sepoys!—When Capt. Lyſaught, with a party, advanced to the door of the chaiſe with a piſtol in his hand, and told Lord Pigot he was his priſoner;

ositive proof, applied to Ad-
Gayton, who, after a delay
ther month, ſent a frigate to
agena, but poſitively refuſed
rmit Dr. Irving to go in the
e to aſſiſt the Captain in his
:ation for redreſs.

e Spaniſh governor, contrary,
probability, to the wiſhes of
ſil Keith and Admiral Gay-
cknowledged the capture, but
.e had no power or authority
ler reſtitution.

ving taken the earlieſt op-
ity of returning to England,
to London September 24, and
day preſented a memorial to
George Germaine, with an
d eſtimate of the actual loſs
diately ſuſtained, amounting
59l. 12s. 10d. ſterl. beſides
otal ruin of our project; his
ip acquainted me with the
on of Sir Baſil Keith, that
Morning Star was taken by
American privateers. I
d him the affidavits of John
, and Richard Burrel; but
rdſhip choſe to give more cre-
the vague ſuſpicion of the
rnor of Jamaica, than to my
ve aſſurances, as a ſpectator of
ranſaction, ſupported by the
ſt evidence the nature of the
would admit, or which there
.t that time any probability
er obtaining. His lordſhip
d extremely deſirous of not
ng any immediate application
: court of Spain, and in de-
:e to the critical ſituation of
:ountry at that time (for the
nts of our ſucceſſes in Ame-
were not then arrived) I did
then preſs the matter far-

:eived Frederick Sund's affi-
davit on the 17th of Dec. and wrote immediately to Lord George Germaine, incloſing a copy of it. I ſaw his lordſhip on the 19th, when he ſeemed ſtill deſirous of making further delays; but being preſſed by me for redreſs, referred me to Lord Weymouth, to whoſe department he told me it belonged to make application to the court of Spain.

I ſaw Lord Weymouth by appointment ſoon after, who told me that the firſt knowledge he had of the affair was by a copy of Dr. Irving's petition to the Governor of Jamaica, and of Frederick Sund's affidavit, tranſmitted to him from the admiralty; that he had immediately ſent them to Lord Grantham; that the papers which I had put into his hands ſhould be ſent that evening; and that as ſoon as any anſwer arrived from the court of Spain, it ſhould be communicated to me: this laſt part of his lordſhip's promiſe has never been performed; but I willingly impute the neglect to hurry of buſineſs.

The propriety of Lord Weymouth's conduct in the affair of Falkland's-iſland makes it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that if the repreſentations to the court of Spain, on the preſent occaſion, have not been made with becoming ſpirit, it is not his lordſhip's fault.

I am aſſured that Lord —— told the Houſe of Commons, that the Spaniſh miniſter denied any knowledge of the affair in the month of January. The Morning Star was taken on the 30th of April, and carried directly to Porto-Bello and Carthagena. Can any man believe that a Spaniſh governor da-

red ſo long neglect informing his court of the capture of a Britiſh veſſel in ſo unprecedented a manner?

Great pains have been taken to repreſent the whole affair as a complaint of a private injury, in order that adminiſtration might ſhelter themſelves under the ſhallow pretence, that I did not continue to harraſs them, with daily applications for redreſs, from the 25th of Sept. to the 17th of Dec. but this is by no means the caſe; the Britiſh flag has been inſulted; Britiſh ſeamen have been made captives in the moſt barbarous and diſgraceful manner; and the very exiſtence of a colony, capable of being made equal to any in the Weſt Indies, is at ſtake.

I conceive that I have diſcharged my duty to the public, by communicating to his majeſty's miniſters, as early as poſſible, all I knew of the matter; if the negociation has languiſhed in their hands, it is to be hoped the day will arrive, when they ſhall be made anſwerable for it.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,

ALEX. BLAIR.

Oxenden ſtreet, March 4.

THE petition which was offered to the houſe of commons, and which is alluded to in the above letter, ſtated, "That the petitioners, Capt. Blair, and Dr. Irving, an eminent man in his profeſſion, and a celebrated chymiſt, had, by an encouragement from government, eſtabliſhed a manufactory for expreſſing oil out of vegetable ſubſtances, with which the Muſquito country was known to abound; that the undertaking was accompanied with great ſucceſs; that the purpoſes to which the oil, thus expreſſed, was uſed in this country, was chiefly for oiling wool for the wool-combers. That the petitioners had incurred a very great expence in eſtabliſhing this manufacture; that ſome time in the month of April laſt, two Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas entered the harbour, or road, oppoſite the oil works, one of 14 guns, commanded by Don Juan Caſtello, and the other of eight guns, commanded by Don Antonio Euppi, under Dutch colours; that they bore down on the *Morning Star*, a veſſel belonging to the ſaid partnerſhip, and having approached very near, hoiſted Spaniſh colours, and ſent ſeveral armed men on board, making prize of the *Morning Star*, taking the Britiſh ſailors priſoners on board their own ſhips, where they ironed them, and carried them into Porto-Bello, and at length removed them to Carthagena, whence this informant made his eſcape to Jamaica, where, before the chief juſtice of the common pleas for ſaid iſland, he ſwore to the facts therein ſet forth."—— The petition then ſtated the different applications which had been made, as recited in the above letter, and finally prayed, "that the Houſe would be pleaſed to take the premiſes into conſideration, and do therein as they ſhall think fit. The motion for bringing up the above petition produced a moſt important and animated debate; but the queſtion being put, it was rejected without a diviſion."

Returns

Returns made from the Poor Rates to Parliament, ſtated to be from Eaſter, 1775, to Eaſter, 1776.

	Money raiſed. l.	s.	d.	County Rates*. l.	s.	d.
England —	1679585	0	0	—— ——	131387	18	11
Wales —	40731	14	7	—— ——	6268	11	9
	1720316	14	7		137656	10	8

	Expended on Poor. l.	s.	d.	Rents, &c. l.	s.	d.	Litigation. l.	s.	d.
England —	1523163	12	7	78176	4	0.	33935	18	0
Wales —	33640	13	8	2120	10	7	1136	2	8
	1556804	6	3	80296	14	7	35072	0	8

Abſtract of an Act for regiſtering the Grants of Life Annuities; and for the better Protection of Infants againſt ſuch Grants.

AFTER reciting in the preamble, that the pernicious practice of raiſing money by the ſale of life annuities, hath of late years greatly increaſed, and is much promoted by the ſecreſy with which ſuch tranſactions are conducted; it is enacted that a memorial of all deeds, bonds, &c. for granting life annuities, ſhall, within twenty days of the execution thereof, be enrolled in the court of chancery; which ſhall contain the date, names of the parties, witneſſes, &c. and ſhall ſet forth the annual ſum or ſums to be paid, and the name of the perſon or perſons for whoſe life or lives the annuity is granted, and the conſideration or conſiderations of granting the ſame; otherwiſe every ſuch deed, bond, &c. ſhall be void.

It further enacts, that before judgment ſhall be entered of record upon any warrant of attorney for recovering any annuity already granted, and before execution ſhall be ſued out, &c. on any judgment already entered, &c. a memorial ſhall be enrolled as aforeſaid; otherwiſe all the proceedings in the actions to be void.

It alſo enacts, that all future deeds for granting of annuities, ſhall contain the conſideration, and the names of the parties, in words at length. And that if any part of the conſideration ſhall be returned; or, in caſe the conſideration, or any part of it, is paid in notes, if any of the notes ſhall not be paid when due, or ſhall be cancelled or deſtroyed without being firſt paid; or if the conſideration, or any part of it, is paid in goods; or if any part of the conſideration is retained on pretence of anſwering the future payments of the annuity, or any

* In moſt of the Northern counties, theſe rates are raiſed ſeparately, and therefore are not included in theſe returns.

other pretence; the court may order the deed to be cancelled, and the judgement, if any has been entered, to be vacated.

The bill next contains directions relating to the inrollment of memorials, and the clerks fees.

It then enacts, that all contracts for the purchaſe of annuities with any perſon under twenty-one years of age, ſhall be void; and that any perſon who ſhall procure or ſolicit any minor to grant an annuity, or to make oath, or give his or her word of honour or ſolemn promiſe, that he or ſhe will not plead infancy, or make any other defence againſt the demand of any ſuch annuity, ſhall be puniſhed by fine or impriſonment, &c.

It alſo enacts, that ſolicitors, ſcriveners, brokers, &c. who ſhall take more than 10s. per 100l. for procuring money for annuities, ſhall be puniſhed by fine and impriſoned; and that the perſon or perſons who ſhall have paid or given any ſum or ſums of money, gratuity or reward, ſhall be deemed a competent witneſs or witneſſes to prove the ſame.

Dr. Price's *Account of the Progreſs of the National Debt, from* 1739 *to* 1775.

	Principal. £.	Intereſt. £.
AMOUNT of the principal and intereſt of the national debt before the war which began in 1740 -	46,382,650	1,903,961
Amount in 1749 immediately after the war -	78,166,906	2,765,608
Increaſed by the war - - - -	31,784,256	861,747
Diminiſhed by the peace from 1748 to 1755 -	3,089,641	111,590
Amount at the commencement of the laſt war -	75,077,264	2,654,018
Amount at the end of the war in 1763 - -	146,582,844	4,840,822
Increaſed by the laſt war - - -	71,505,580	2,186,805
Diminiſhed by the peace, in 12 years, from 1763 to 1775	10,639,793	400,000
Amount at Midſummer, 1775 - -	135,943,051	4,440,821

The following are given as Eſtimates of the Royal Income and Expenditure.

INCOME.

	£.
CIVIL Liſt - - -	800,000
Revenue of Hanover, when the eſtabliſhment, &c. is paid, brings in clear, at leaſt - - -	100,000
Ireland - - - -	90,000
Wales - - - -	10,000
Lancaſter - - - -	20,000
Cornwall, after paying the Lord Warden's Court, produces at leaſt	70,000
Four and a half *per cent.* in the Weſt Indies -	50,000
Coal pits at Louiſburgh - - -	12,000
Intereſt of debts due to the late king - -	150,000
	1,302,000

EXPENDI-

EXPENDITURE, *January* 6, 1776, *to January* 5, 1777.

	£.
THE Queen	50,000
Duke of Glouceſter	12,000
Duke of Cumberland	12,000
Princeſs Amelia	12,000
The ſervants of the late King, Princeſs of Wales, Queen of Denmark, &c.	8,000
Cofferer of the houſhold	109,600
Treaſurer of the chamber	60,200
Great wardrobe	36,400
Maſter of the robes	8,800
Maſter of the horſe	26,000
Paymaſter of the works	76,500
Foreign miniſters	98,600
Great officers, judges fees, ſalaries, &c.	130,000
Penſions and annuities	127,000
Royal bounties	11,500
Gentlemen penſioners	6,000
Preſents to foreign miniſters	3,000
Secret ſervice	86,000
His majeſty's privy purſe	48,000
Goldſmith	2,500
Law charges	60,000
	984,100

Genuine Correſpondence between Lord Howe *and Dr.* Franklin.

AS the ſubject of the following *authentic letters*, the time when they were written, and the rank and reputation of the writers, render them of much importance to the public, we cannot doubt of their being acceptable to the generality of our readers.

Eagle, June 20, 1776.

" I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have ſent you, in the ſtate I received them, to be landed, without adding a word upon the ſubject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy diſputes have engaged us.

" You will learn the nature of my miſſion from the official diſpatches which I have recommended to be forwarded by the ſame conveyance. Retaining all the earneſtneſs I ever expreſſed, to ſee our differences accommodated, I ſhall conceive, if I meet with the diſpoſition in the colonies which I was once taught to expect, the moſt flattering hopes of proving ſerviceable, in the objects of the king's paternal ſolicitude, by promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the colonies. But if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the neceſſity of preventing her trade from paſſing

into foreign channels, muſt keep us ſtill a divided people, I ſhall, from every private, as well as public motive, moſt heartily lament that it is not the moment wherein thoſe great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to aſſure you perſonally of the regard with which I am,

"Your ſincere and faithful
Humble ſervant,
HOWE.

"P. S. I was diſappointed of the opportunity I expected for ſending this letter at the time it was dated, and have been ever ſince prevented by calms and contrary winds, from getting here to inform General Howe of the commiſſion with which I have the ſatisfaction to be charged, and of his being joined in it.

Off Sandy Hook, 12 July,

Superſcribed

To Benjamin Franklin,
Eſq. Philadelphia."

"*Philadelphia, July* 30, 1776.

"I Received ſafe the letters your lordſhip ſo kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

"The official diſpatches to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had ſeen in the act of parliament, viz. offers of pardon upon ſubmiſſion; which I was ſorry to find, as it muſt give your lordſhip pain to be ſent ſo far on ſo hopeleſs a buſineſs.

"Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies who are the very parties injured, expreſſes indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baſeneſs and inſenſibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleaſed to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of encreaſing our reſentment. It is impoſſible we ſhould think of ſubmiſſion to a government that has, with the moſt wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceleſs towns, in the midſt of winter; excited the ſavages to maſſacre peaceful farmers, and our ſlaves to murder their maſters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our ſettlements with blood. Theſe atrocious injuries have extinguiſhed every ſpark of affection for that parent country we once held ſo dear: but were it poſſible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not poſſible for you, I mean the Britiſh nation, to forgive the people you have ſo heavily injured; you can never confide again in thoſe as fellow-ſubjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom, to whom, you know, you have given ſuch juſt cauſes of laſting enmity; and this muſt impel you, if we are again under your government, to endeavour the breaking our ſpirit by the ſevereſt tyranny, and obſtructing, by every means in your power, our growing ſtrength and proſperity.

"But your lordſhip mentions, 'the king's paternal ſolicitude for promoting the eſtabliſhment of laſting peace and union with the colonies.' If by peace is here meant a peace to be entered into by diſtinct ſtates, now at war, and his majeſty has given your lordſhip power to treat with us; of ſuch peace, I may venture to ſay, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpoſe not quite impracticable, before we enter into foreign alliances;

but

but I am perſuaded you have no ſuch powers. Your nation, though (by puniſhing thoſe American governors who have fomented the diſcord, rebuilding our burnt towns, and repairing, as far as poſſible, the miſchiefs done us) ſhe might recover a great ſhare of our regard, and the greateſt ſhare of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional ſtrength, to be derived from a friendſhip with us; yet I know too well her abounding pride, and deficient wiſdom, to believe ſhe will ever take ſuch ſalutary meaſures. Her fondneſs for conqueſt, as a warlike nation; her luſt of dominion, as an ambitious one; and her thirſt for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, (none of them legitimate cauſes of war) will all join to hide from her eyes every view of her true intereſt, and will continually goad her on, in theſe ruinous diſtant expeditions, ſo deſtructive both of lives and of treaſure, that they muſt prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the Croiſades formerly were to moſt of the nations in Europe.

"I have not vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating, by thus predicting the effects of this war; for I know it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed, till the event ſhall verify it.

"Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preſerve from breaking that fine and noble china vaſe, the Britiſh empire; for I know, that being once broken, the ſeparate parts could not retain even their ſhares of the ſtrength and value that exiſted in the whole; and that a perfect re-union of theſe parts could ſcarce ever be hoped for. Your lordſhip may poſſibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when at your good ſiſter's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might ſoon take place. I had the misfortune to find theſe expectations diſappointed, and to be treated as the cauſe of the miſchief, I was labouring to prevent. My conſolation under that groundleſs and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendſhip of many wiſe and good men in that country, and among the reſt, ſome ſhare in the regard of Lord Howe.

"The well-founded eſteem, and permit me to ſay, affection which I ſhall always have for your lordſhip, make it painful for me to ſee you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as deſcribed in your letter, 'is the neceſſity of preventing the American trade from paſſing into foreign channels: to me it ſeems that neither the obtaining nor retaining any trade, how valuable ſoever, is an object for which men may juſtly ſpill each others blood: that the true and ſure means of extending and ſecuring commerce, are the goodneſs and cheapneſs of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expence of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I conſider this war againſt us, therefore, as both *unjuſt* and *unwiſe*; and I am perſuaded that cool and diſpaſſionate poſterity will condemn to infamy thoſe who adviſed it; and that

even ſucceſs will not ſave from ſome degree of diſhonour thoſe who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

"I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being inſtrumental in a reconciliation; and believe, that when you find that to be impoſſible, on any terms given you to propoſe, you will relinquiſh ſo odious a command, and return to a more honourable private ſtation.

"With the greateſt and moſt ſincere reſpect, I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt obedient, humble ſervant, B. FRANKLIN."

Directed

To the Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Howe.

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1777.

NAVY.

NOVEMBER 9, 1776.

1. THAT 45,000 men be employed for the ſea ſervice, for the year 1777, including 10,129 marines

2. That a ſum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the ſaid 45,000 men, for 13 months, including ordnance for ſea ſervice — 2340000 0 0

NOVEMBER 26.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the ſea, and marine officers for the year 1777 — 400805 2 10

2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ſhips of war in his majeſty's yards, and other extra works over and above what are propoſed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1777. — 465500 0 0

MAY 21, 1777.

1. Towards paying off and diſcharging the navy debt — 1000000 0 0

2. Upon account, to be applied by the commiſſioners of Greenwich hoſpital, for the ſupport and relief of ſuch worn-out ſeamen, as ſhall not be provided for in the ſaid hoſpital, for the year 1777 — 4000 0 0

4210305 2 10

ARMY.

NOVEMBER 16, 1776.

1. That a number of land forces, including 3,213 invalids, amounting to 20,734 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſioned officers included, be employed for the ſervice of the year 1777.

2. For defraying the charge of 20,734 effective men, for guards, garriſons and other his majeſty's land forces in Great Britain, Jerſey and Guernſey — 648009 16 5

3. For

3. For the pay of the general, and general ſtaff officers, in Great Britain, for the year 1777	11473	18	6½
4. For maintaining his majeſty's forces and garriſons in the plantations and Africa, including thoſe in garriſon at Minorca and Gibraltar; and for proviſions for the forces in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the Ceded Iſlands, and Africa, for the year 1777	949720	11	3
5. For defraying the charge of the difference of pay between the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment, of one regiment of light dragoons, and ſix regiments of foot, ſerving in North America, for the year 1777	47178	0	3
6. For defraying the charge of five Hanoverian battalions, ſerving in Gibraltar and Minorca, and proviſions for the ſame	56074	19	4
7. For defraying the charge of 12,677 men, the troops of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy	336932	1	6½
8. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Hanau, &c.	18181	15	6¼
9. For defraying the charge of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, &c.	17370	1	2¼
10. For defraying the charge of 4300 men, the troops of the reigning Duke of Brunſwick	93947	15	8
11. For defraying the charge of proviſions for the foreign troops ſerving in America	41427	17	7¼
12. For making good a deficiency in the ſum voted laſt ſeſſion, for the troops of Heſſe	6617	5	3¼
13. For making good a deficiency in the ſum voted laſt ſeſſion, for the Hanau foot	1013	16	10
14. For defraying the charge of artillery for the foreign troops, for the year 1777	26053	7	4
15. For defraying the charge of deficiency for foreign troops, for the year 1776	5152	12	3¼
16. For defraying the charge of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, for artillery for 1776	13972	16	0
17. For defraying the charge of the artillery of Hanau, for 1776	3383	6	8
18. For defraying the charge of artillery for the Waldeck troops, for the year 1776	403	19	9½
JANUARY 31. 1777.			
1. Towards defraying the charge of the out-penſioners in Chelſea hoſpital	105279	13	9
2. Upon account of the reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces and marines	93616	8	4
3. For defraying the charge for allowances to the ſeveral officers and private gentlemen of the two			

troops

horſe guards reduced, and to the ſuper- gentlemen of the four troops of horſe			
	754	12	1
r paying of penſions to widows of ſuch re- ficers of his majeſty's land forces and ma- died upon the eſtabliſhment of half-pay Britain, and were married to them before			
r 25, 1716	370	0	0
FEBRUARY 24.			
ds defraying the extraordinary expences of ſty's land forces, and other ſervices incur- een Jan. 31, 1776, and Feb. 1, 1777	1200602	12	5¾
MARCH 24.			
r defraying the charge of a regiment of Chaſ- e troops of the Landgrave of Haſſe-Caſſel in of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, eal 1777	36728	11	8¼
r defraying the charge of a regiment of Chaſ- Hanau, in the pay of Great Britain, together ſubſidy, for the year 1777	16326	10	1½
r defraying the charge of 1285 men, the f the Margrave of Brandebourg Anſpach, in- artillery, in the pay of Great Britain, to- ith the ſubſidy, for the year 1777	39588	2	4½
o make good a deficiency in the ſum voted on of parliament, for the charge of Chaſ- ie troops of the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel in of Great Britain, together with the ſubſidy, 24, 1776	3390	18	4½
	3773592	17	10½

ORDNANCE.

NOVEMBER 16, 1776.

or the charge of the office of ordnance for vice, for the year 1777	320111	18	11
r defraying the expence of ſervices performed office of ordnance for land ſervice, and not i for by parliament in 1776	272705	18	1
	592817	17	0

ISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

JANUARY 31, 1777.

he expences of the new roads of communica- id building bridges, in the Highlands of North in the year 1777	6997	13	7

MARCH 4.

efraying the charges of the following civil ments, and other incidental expences attend-

ing

ing the ſame, to wit, In America:			
1. His majeſty's iſland of St. John's ——	3000	0	0
2. His majeſty's colony of Georgia ——	2816	0	0
3. His majeſty's colony of Nova Scotia	4596	10	5
4. His majeſty's colony of Eaſt Florida	5950	0	0
5. His majeſtyjs colony of Weſt Florida	5900	0	0
6. In Africa: Senegambia, ſituate between the port of Sallee in South Barbary, and Cape Rouge	5550	0	0
7. For defraying expences attending general ſurveys of his majeſty's dominions in North America, for the year 1777 —— ——	2993	5	0
APRIL 29.			
Towards enabling the Truſtees of the *Britiſh Muſeum*, to carry on the execution of the truſts repoſed in them —— ——	3000	0	0
MAY 28.			
1. For diſcharging ſuch unſatisfied claims and demands, for expences incurred upon account of hoſpitals, during the late war in Germany, as appear to be due by the reports of Mr. T. Biſhop, late director of foreign hoſpitals, to the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, dated March 28, 1777	41820	14	5
2. To make good the ſum which has been iſſued by his majeſty's orders to ſundry perſons, to be by them applied for the relief and benefit of ſuch American civil officers, and others, as have ſuffered on account of their attachment to his majeſty's government	32934	16	6
3. To replace the ſum iſſued by his majeſty's orders to *Mr. Duncan Campbell*, for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames —— ——	1879	10	6
4. To make good to his majeſty the ſums iſſued by his majeſty's orders, in purſuance of the addreſſes of this houſe —— —— ——	13060	2	0
JUNE 2.			
Towards defraying the expences of printing the Journals of the houſe, and to defray ſuch extraordinary expences as have been, or ſhall be incurred on account of the printed Journals and reports	600	0	0
JUNE 5.			
1. For repairing and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements, on the coaſt of Africa —	13000	0	0
2. To George White, Eſq; for defraying expences incurred by him in buſineſs done by the authority of the houſe, relative to enquiries into the ſtate of the poor of this kingdom ——	500	0	0
	144598	12	5

NOVEMBER 26, 1776.

Towards paying off and diſcharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament	1500000	0	0

DECEMBER 2.

For paying off and diſcharging the exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled *An act for enabling his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſe and purpoſes therein mentioned*	1000000	0	0

APRIL 18, 1777.

To diſcharge the arrears and debts due, and owing upon the civil liſt on Jan. 5, 1777	618340	9	6¼
At the ſame time it was reſolved, "*That for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, there be granted to his majeſty during his life, out of the aggregate fund, the clear yearly ſum of* 100,000l. *to commence from the 5th of Jan.* 1777. *over and above the ſum of* 800,000l. *granted by an act made in the 1ſt year of his majeſty's reign.*"			
For diſcharging and paying off the prizes of the lottery, of the year 1776	500000	0	0
	3618340	9	6¼

DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 29.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the year 1776	61288	7	1¾
2. To make good the deficiency on 5th July 1776, of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities granted, by an act made in the 31ſt year of his late majeſty, towards the ſupply granted for the year 1758	41599	13	4½
3. In the land tax	250000	0	0
4. In the malt tax	200000	0	0
	555888	0	6¼
Total of ſupplies	12895543	0	2

WAYS *and* MEANS *for raiſing the above Supplies granted to his Majeſty, for the year* 1777.

NOVEMBER 12, 1776.

THAT the ſum of four ſhillings in the pound, and no more, be raiſed within the ſpace of one year, from the 25th of March 1777, upon lands, tenements, heredita-

ments,

ments, penſions, officers and perſonal eſtates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed, and that a proportionable ceſs, according to the ninth article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland. 2000000

NOVEMBER 19.

That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which by an act of parliament of the 16th year of his preſent majeſty's reign, have continuance to the 24th of July 1777, ſhall be further continued and charged upon all malt, which ſhall be made, and all mum, which ſhall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry, which ſhall be made for ſale within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d of June 1777, to the 24th of June 1778. 750000

MARCH 24, 1777.

That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of 295,832l. 18s. 6¼. remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th of Jan. 1777, for the diſpoſition of parliament, of the monies which had then ariſen from the ſurpluſſes and other revenues compoſing the fund, commonly called the *ſinking fund.* 295832

APRIL 21.

That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of 760,363l. 14s. 2¼. remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th of April 1777, for the diſpoſition of parliament, of the monies which had then ariſen, of the ſurpluſſes and other revenues of the fund, commonly called the *ſinking fund.* 760363

MAY 15.

1. That, towards the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of 5,000,000l. be raiſed by annuities, and the further ſum of 500,000l. by a lottery, in manner following; that is to ſay,

That every contributor towards raiſing the ſaid 5,000,000l. ſhall, for every 100l. contributed and paid, be entitled to an annuity of 4l. to continue for a certain term of ten years, to commence from the 5th day of April 1777, ſubject to redemption by parliament after the expiration of that term, and not ſooner; and alſo be entitled, in reſpect of every ſuch 100l. ſo contributed, to a further annuity of 10s. to continue for a certain term of ten years, from the ſaid 5th day of April 1777, and then to ceaſe; the ſaid annuity of 4l. and of 10s. in reſpect of each

100l. contributed, to be charged upon the ſinking fund, and to be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England, and paid half-yearly, on the 10th day of October, and the 5th day of April, in every year:

That every ſuch contributor ſhall, upon payment of the further ſum of 10l. (in addition to each 100l. contributed for annuities as aforeſaid) be entitled to a ticket in a lottery to conſiſt of 50,000 tickets, amounting to 500,000l. the ſame to be diſtributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the ſaid lottery, which ſhall be paid in money at the Bank of England to ſuch proprietors, upon demand, as ſoon after the 1ſt day of March, 1778, as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatſoever:

That every contributor ſhall, on or before the 23d day of this inſtant May, make a depoſit of 15l. *per centum*, on ſuch ſum as he or ſhe ſhall chooſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 5,000,000l. with the chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England; and alſo a depoſit of 15l. *per centum* with the ſaid caſhier or caſhiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raiſing the ſaid ſum of 500,000l. by a lottery, as a ſecurity for making the future payments reſpectively, on or before the days or times hereinafter limited; that is to ſay,

On 5,000,000l. to be raiſed by annuities;

15l. *per centum* on or before the 30th day of June next.

15l. *per centum* on or before the 29th day of July next.

20l. *per centum* on or before the 5th day of September next.

15l. *per centum* on or before the 29th day of October next.

20l. *per centum* on or before the 1ſt day of December next.

On the lottery for 500,000l.

25l. *per centum* on or before the 10th day of July next.

30l. *per centum* on or before the 28th day of Auguſt next.

30l. *per centum* on or before the 7th day of October next.

That all the monies, ſo to be received by the ſaid chief caſhier or caſhiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, ſhall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to

time

time to ſuch ſervices as ſhall then have been voted by this houſe in this ſeſſion of parliament.

That every contributor, who ſhall pay in the whole of his or her contribution money towards the ſum of 5,000,000l. to be contributed for annuities as aforeſaid, at any time before the 27th day of October next, or on account of his or her ſhare in the ſaid lottery on or before the 27th day of Auguſt next, ſhall be allowed an intereſt, by way of diſcount, after the rate of 3l. *per centum per annum*, on the ſum ſo compleating his or her contribution reſpectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the ſame to the 1ſt day of December next, in regard to the ſum to be paid for the ſaid annuities; and to the 7th day of October next, in reſpect of the ſum to be paid on account of the ſaid lottery; and that all ſuch perſons as ſhall make their full payments on the ſaid lottery ſhall have their tickets delivered as ſoon as they can conveniently be made out. — — — — — 5500000 0

2. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be iſſued and applied the ſum of one million nine hundred thirty-nine thouſand ſix hundred thirty-ſix pounds, five millings, and nine-pence three farthings, out of ſuch monies as ſhall or may ariſe of the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, or overplus monies, and other revenues, compoſing the fund commonly called *The Sinking Fund.* 1939636 5

3. That, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds be raiſed, by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1778, to be exchanged and received in payment in ſuch manner as exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received in payment. 1500000 0

4. That, towards making good the ſupply granted to his majeſty, there be applied the ſum of three thouſand nine hundred nineteen pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and ſeven pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, of the monies ariſen by the duties on rice exported, the duties on apples imported, and on cambricks and ſugars granted by an act of the ſixth year of his preſent majeſty's reign, the monies paid by the receivers general of the ſeveral counties which have not raiſed the militia, and alſo of ſuch impreſt monies as remain there for the diſpoſition of parliament. 3919 1 5

That the ſum of one thouſand three hundred
ninety-one pounds, and ſeven pence, out of
monies remaining in the receipt of the exche-
as have ariſen by the duties and revenues
h have been directed to be reſerved for the
ſition of parliament, towards defraying the
ſary expences of defending, protecting, and
ng, the Britiſh colonies and plantations in
ica, be applied towards making good ſuch
of the ſupply as hath been granted to his ma-
or maintaining his majeſty's forces and gar-
in the plantations, and for proviſions for the
in North America, Nova Scotia, Newfound-
and the Ceded Iſlands, for the year 1777. 1391 0 7

That ſuch of the monies as ſhall be paid into
ceipt of the exchequer after the 5th day of
1777, and on or before the 5th day of April,
of the produce of the duties charged by two
made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his
t majeſty's reign, upon the importation and
ation of gum ſenega and gum arabic, be
d towards making good the ſupply granted
majeſty. —— —— 1391 0 0

MAY 28.

t ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as ſhall be
nto the exchequer by the executors of the
enry Lord Holland, formerly paymaſter of
jeſty's forces, be applied towards making
ne ſupply granted to his majeſty. —— 200000 0 0

Total of Ways and Means	12952534	12	8¾
Total of Supplies — —	12895543	0	2
Exceſs of Ways and Means	56991	12	6¾

The vote of credit for one million, granted this ſeſſion, for the future
ras, and expence of, and loſs by, coinage, is charged on the next aids.

ears from the above reſolutions, that the additional
ebt funded this year amounts to five millions, the
of which, at 4 per cent. per annum — — 200000
her with the additional annuity of 10s. per cent. per
for the term of ten years (by the 1ſt reſolution of
, 1777.) —— —— —— 25000

s in the whole to —— —— 225000

This ſum (by acts paſſed, in purſuance of ſeveral reſolutions of May 15, 1777) is to be raiſed in the following manner:

By a tax of one guinea each on all male ſervants not employed in agriculture, huſbandry, or trade	100000
By additional duties on glaſs	45000
By additional ſtamp duties	55000
By a duty on auctioneers, and on goods ſold by auction	37500
Total of new taxes	237500
From this is to be deducted the annual produce of the plate duty, which is repealed	12000
Left	225000

STATE

TATE PAPERS.

ajeſty's moſt gracious Speech to Houſes of Parliament, on ırſday *the* 31*ſt Day of* Octo- 1776.

Lords and Gentlemen,

)THING could have afford- ed me ſo much ſatisfaction ave been able to inform you, opening of this ſeſſion, that oubles, which have ſo long ted my colonies in North ca, were at an end; and ny unhappy people, reco- from their deluſion, had de- themſelves from the op- n of their leaders, and re- to their duty: but ſo daring ſperate is the ſpirit of thoſe , whoſe object has always lominion and power, that ave now openly renounced egiance to the crown, and itical connection with this y: they have rejected, with ſtances of indignity and in- e means of conciliation held them under the authority of mmiſſion; and have pre- to ſet up their rebellious eracies for independent If their treaſon be ſuffered root, much miſchief muſt rom it, to the ſafety of my olonies, to the commerce of gdoms, and indeed to the ſyſtem of all Europe. One great advantage, however, will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly underſtood; we ſhall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of our meaſures.

I am happy to inform you, that, by the bleſſing of Divine Providence on the good conduct and valour of my officers and forces by ſea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in my ſervice, Canada is recovered; and although, from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of Auguſt, the ſucceſs in that province has been ſo important as to give the ſtrongeſt hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequences: but, notwithſtanding this fair proſpect, we muſt, at all events, prepare for another campaign.

I continue to receive aſſurances of amity from the ſeveral courts of Europe; and am uſing my utmoſt endeavours to conciliate unhappy differences between two neighbouring powers; and I ſtill hope, that all miſunderſtandings may be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace: I think nevertheleſs that, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it is expedient that we ſhould be in

a reſpectable ſtate of defence at home.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I will order the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. It is matter of real concern to me, that the important conſiderations which I have ſtated to you muſt neceſſarily be followed by great expence: I doubt not, however, but that my faithful commons will readily and chearfully grant me ſuch ſupplies, as the maintenance of the honour of my crown, the vindication of the juſt rights of parliament, and the publick welfare, ſhall be found to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In this arduous conteſt I can have no other object but to promote the true intereſts of all my ſubjects. No people ever enjoyed more happineſs, or lived under a milder government, than thoſe now revolted provinces: the improvements in every art, of which they boaſt, declare it: their numbers, their wealth, their ſtrength by ſea and land, which they think ſufficient to enable them to make head againſt the whole power of the the mother country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My deſire is to reſtore to them the bleſſings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every Britiſh ſubject, which they have fatally and deſperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

It is with the trueſt ſatisfaction we congratulate your majeſty on the ſucceſs of your arms in the province of New York, the recovery of Canada, and the fair proſpect of deciſive good conſequences, which, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, is now opened by the firmneſs of your majeſty's councils, the valour and good conduct of your majeſty's officers and forces by ſea and land, and by the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in your majeſty's ſervice.

We beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that nothing would have given us equal happineſs to the having been informed by your majeſty, at the opening of this ſeſſion, that the troubles, which have ſo long diſtracted North America, had been at an end; that your majeſty's unhappy people in thoſe provinces had recovered from their deluſion, and, awakened by a due ſenſe of their misfortunes and miſdoings, had delivered themſelves from the oppreſſion of their leaders, and were returned to their duty. While we lament that your majeſty's humane and merciful intentions have been fruſtrated by the neglect ſhewn to the means of conciliation, notified under the authority of your majeſty's royal commiſſion, we feel the ſtrongeſt indignation at the inſolent manner in which they were rejected; and we want words to expreſs our abhorrence of the deſperate ſpirit of thoſe overbearing men, who with an inſatiable thirſt of power and dominion, which has uniformly actuated all their proceedings, have

now

now renounced allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with Great Britain; and, with an arrogance equal to the enormity of the attempt, left a doubt of their real deſigns ſhould remain on the breaſt of any perſon whatever, have ſet up their rebellious confederacies for independent ſtates. We are fully aware of the miſchief which would accrue from the ſucceſs of this treaſon, to your majeſty's loyal colonies, to the commerce of this nation, and, more remotely indeed but not leſs certainly, to the ſyſtem of Europe, and to every ſtate upon the continent of Europe poſſeſſed of diſtant colonies.

We reflect with pleaſure on the ſolid advantage which will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed and clearly underſtood, the unanimity which will prevail at home, founded in a conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of your majeſty's meaſures. Inſpired with the ſame zeal for the cauſe of our country which animates the kingdom at large, we will ſteadily ſupport your majeſty in the vindication of the honour of your crown, and the juſt rights of parliament, and will chearfully concur in making the neceſſary proviſions for thoſe great purpoſes.

The aſſurances of amity, which your majeſty continues to receive from the ſeveral courts of Europe, afford us great ſatisfaction; we entertain the moſt grateful ſenſe of the endeavours, which your majeſty is exerting to conciliate unhappy differences between two neighbouring powers; and we truſt that, by your majeſty's auſpicious endeavours, theſe miſunderſtandings will be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace. Permit us, Sir, at the ſame time to return your majeſty our dutiful thanks for your provident attention in guarding againſt any events which may ariſe out of the preſent ſituation of affairs, by keeping us in a reſpectable ſtate of defence at home.

With hearts full of duty and gratitude, we acknowledge the happineſs, which, under your majeſty's mild government, is extended to every part of the Britiſh empire; of which the late flouriſhing ſtate of the revolted provinces, their numbers, their wealth, their ſtrength by ſea and land, which they think ſufficient to enable them to make head againſt the whole power of the mother country, ſhew that they have abundantly participated. And we earneſtly hope, that your majeſty's paternal object of reſtoring your diſtracted colonies to the happy condition from which, by their own miſconduct, they are wretchedly fallen, will be ſpeedily attained.

Proteſt of the Lords.

Die Jovis, 31° *Oct.* 1776.

UPON the motion for the above addreſs an amendment was moved by the Marquis of Rockingham, and ſeconded by the Duke of Mancheſter, which produced a long debate; when the queſtion being put, the houſe divided,

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The queſtion was next put on the addreſs, and carried in the affirmative.

Diſſentient,

For the reaſons contained in the amendment propoſed and rejected, viz.

" To aſſure his majeſty, that animated with the moſt earneſt and ſincere zeal for his true intereſt, and the real glory of his reign, we behold with inexpreſſible concern, the minds of a very large, and lately loyal and affectionate part of his people, entirely alienated from his government. Nor can we conceive, that ſuch an event as the diſaffection and revolt of a whole people, could have taken place without ſome conſiderable errors, in the conduct obſerved towards them.

" Theſe erroneous meaſures we conceive are to be imputed to a want of ſufficient information being laid before parliament; and to too large a degree of confidence being repoſed in thoſe miniſters, who from their duty were obliged, and from their official ſituation were beſt enabled to know the temper and diſpoſition of his majeſty's American ſubjects; and were, therefore, preſumed moſt capable of pointing out ſuch meaſures as might produce the moſt ſalutary effect. Hence the ſchemes which were formed for the reduction and chaſtiſement of a ſuppoſed inconſiderable party of factious men, have driven thirteen large provinces to deſpair! Every act which has been propoſed as a means of procuring peace and ſubmiſſion, has become a new cauſe of war and revolt; and we now find ourſelves almoſt inextricably involved in a bloody and expenſive civil war, which beſides exhauſting, at preſent, the ſtrength of his majeſty's dominions, expoſing our allies to the deſigns of their, and our enemies, and leaving this kingdom in a moſt perilous ſituation, threatens in its iſſue, the moſt deplorable calamities, to the whole Britiſh race.

" We cannot avoid lamenting, that in conſequence of the credit afforded to the repreſentations of miniſters, no hearing has been given to the reiterated complaints and petitions of the colonies: neither has any ground been laid, for removing the original cauſe of theſe unhappy differences, which took their riſe from queſtions relative to parliamentary proceedings, and can be ſettled *only* by parliamentary authority. By this fatal omiſſion, the commiſſioners nominated for the apparent purpoſe of making peace, were furniſhed with no legal power, but thoſe of giving or withholding pardons at their pleaſure; and of relaxing the ſeverities of a ſingle penal act of parliament, leaving the whole foundation of this unhappy controverſy as it ſtood at the beginning.

" To repreſent to his majeſty, that in addition to this neglect, when, in the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion, his majeſty, in his gracious ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, had declared his reſolution of ſending out commiſſioners for the purpoſes therein expreſſed, as ſpeedily as poſſible; no ſuch commiſſioners were ſent, until nearly ſeven months afterwards; and until the nation was alarmed by the evacuation of the only town, then held for his majeſty, in the thirteen united colonies. By this delay, acts of the moſt critical nature, the effect of which muſt as much depend upon the power of immediately relaxing them on ſubmiſſion,

miſſion, as in enforcing them upon diſobedience, had only an operation to inflame and exaſperate. But if any colony, town, or place, had been induced to ſubmit by the operation of the terrors of thoſe acts, there were none in the place, of power ſufficient to reſtore the people ſo ſubmitting to the common right of ſubjection. The inhabitants of the colonies, apprized that they were put out of the protection of government, and ſeeing no means provided for their entering into it, were furniſhed with reaſons but too colourable, for breaking off their dependency on the crown of this kingdom.

"To aſſure his majeſty, that removing our confidence from thoſe who in ſo many inſtances have groſly abuſed it, we ſhall endeavour to reſtore to parliament, the confidence of all his people.

"To this end, it may be adviſeable to make a more minute enquiry into the grievances of the colonies, as well as into the conduct of miniſters, with regard to them. We may think it proper, particularly, to enquire how it has happened, that the commerce of this kingdom has been left expoſed to the repriſals of the colonies, at the very time that their ſeamen and fiſhermen being indiſcriminately prohibited from the peaceable exerciſe of their occupations, and declared open enemies, muſt be expected, with a certain aſſurance, to betake themſelves to plunder, and to wreak their revenge on the commerce of Great Britain.

"That we underſtand, that amidſt the many diſaſters and diſgraces which have attended on his majeſty's arms in many parts of America, an advantage has been gained by his majeſty's Britiſh and foreign mercenary forces, in the province of New York. That if a wiſe, moderate and prudent uſe be made of this advantage, it is not improbable, that happy effects may reſult from that uſe. And we aſſure his majeſty, that nothing ſhall be wanting on our part to enable his majeſty to take full advantage of any diſpoſitions to reconciliation, which may be the conſequence of the miſeries of war, by laying down, on our part, real permanent grounds of connection between Great Britain and the colonies, on principles of liberty and terms of mutual advantage.

"That whilſt we lament this effuſion of Engliſh blood, (which we hope has not been greater or other than neceſſity required and honour juſtified) we ſhould moſt heartily congratulate his majeſty, on any event leading to the great deſirable end of ſettling a peace, which might promiſe to laſt, by the reſtoration of the ancient affection which has happily ſubſiſted between this kingdom and its colonies; any other would neceſſarily require, even in caſe of a total conqueſt, an army to maintain, ruinous to the finances, and incompatible with the freedom of his majeſty's people. We ſhould look with the utmoſt ſhame and horror, on any events, of what nature ſoever, that ſhould tend to break the ſpirit of any large part of the Britiſh nation, to bow them to an abject unconditional ſubmiſſion to any power whatſoever, to annihilate their liberties, and to ſubdue them to ſervile principles, and paſſive habits, by the mere force of mercenary arms. Becauſe, amidſt the exceſſes and abuſes which have happened,

pened, we muſt reſpect the ſpirit and principles operating in theſe commotions; our wiſh is to regulate, not to deſtroy them. For though differing in ſome circumſtances, thoſe very principles evidently bear ſo exact an analogy with thoſe which ſupport the moſt valuable part of our own conſtitution, that it is impoſſible, with any appearance of juſtice, to think of wholly extirpating them by the ſword in any part of his majeſty's dominions, without admitting conſequences, and eſtabliſhing precedents the moſt dangerous to the liberties of this kingdom.

Richmond, Craven,
Devonſhire, Fitzwilliam,
Portland, Abingdon,
Manchester, De Ferrars,
Rockingham, Effingham,
Scarborough, Abergavenny,
King, Ponſonby."

The humble Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to the King.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty the humble thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

While we lament the continuance of the troubles which have ſo long diſtracted your majeſty's colonies in North America, and of the calamities and oppreſſions which our unhappy fellow ſubjects are ſtill ſuffering under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders; we cannot forbear to expreſs our deteſtation and abhorrence of the audacious and deſperate ſpirit of ambition, which has at laſt carried thoſe leaders ſo far, as to make them openly renounce all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country, and in direct terms to preſume to ſet up their rebellious confederacies for independent ſtates.

We conſider their rejection of the gracious and condeſcending means of reconciliation, held out to them, under the authority of your majeſty's commiſſion, as a freſh and convincing proof that the object of theſe men has always been power and dominion; but we can impute the circumſtances of indignity and inſult accompanying this proceeding to no other motive than a reſentment of your majeſty's firm and conſtant adherence to the maintenance of the conſtitutional rights of parliament, diveſted of every poſſible view of any ſeparate intereſts of the crown: and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that the ſame attachment of your majeſty to the parliamentary authority of Great Britain, which hath provoked the inſolence of the chiefs of this rebellion, cannot but operate, as it ought to do, in fixing your majeſty ſtill deeper, if poſſible, in the affections of a Britiſh houſe of commons.

With reverence and gratitude to Divine Providence, permit us to expreſs our unfeigned joy, and to offer our ſincere congratulations to your majeſty, on the ſucceſs which has attended the good conduct and valour of your majeſty's officers and forces both by ſea and land, and the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in your ſervice, in the recovery of Canada, and in the important operations in the province of New York, which give the ſtrongeſt hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequences.

It is with much ſatisfaction we learn, that your majeſty continues to receive aſſurances of amity from the ſeveral courts of Europe: and we thankfully acknowledge your majeſty's goodneſs and paternal concern for the happineſs of your people, in your conſtant attention to preſerve the general tranquillity; and it is our moſt earneſt wiſh that, by your majeſty's interpoſition, all miſunderſtandings and differences between two neighbouring powers may be happily reconciled, and Europe ſtill enjoy the bleſſings of peace.

Your faithful commons conſider it as a duty which they owe to your majeſty, and to thoſe they repreſent, to grant your majeſty ſuch ſupplies as the weighty conſiderations, which your majeſty has been pleaſed to ſtate to us, ſhall be found to require; and we have a well-grounded confidence, that, at this time, when the object of the rebels is openly avowed and clearly underſtood, the general conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of your majeſty's meaſures muſt unite all ranks of your faithful ſubjects in ſupporting your majeſty with one mind and heart in the great national cauſe in which you are engaged.

On the 10th day of April the following meſſage from the King was delivered to the Houſe of Commons by Lord North.

" G. REX.

" IT gives his majeſty much " concern to find himſelf obliged to acquaint the Houſe of " Commons with the difficulties " he labours under, by reaſon of " debts incurred by the expences " of his houſehold, and of the civil government, which being " computed on the 5th of January " laſt, do amount to more than " 600,000l. His majeſty relies " on the loyalty and affection of " his faithful commons, of which " he has received ſo many ſignal " proofs, for enabling him to diſcharge this debt; and that they " will at the ſame time make ſome " further proviſion for the better " ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold, and of the honour and " dignity of his crown.

" G. R."

A meſſage to the ſame purport was alſo delivered to the Lords by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; and the following addreſs ordered to be preſented.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty the thanks of this houſe for your majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage, by which your majeſty has been pleaſed to inform this houſe of the exceedings of the expences of your majeſty's houſehold and civil government, beyond the revenue ſettled on your majeſty for defraying the ſame; and to aſſure your majeſty of the grateful ſenſe this houſe entertains of your majeſty's well-founded reliance on the loyal and affectionate attachment of this houſe to your majeſty's perſon and government; and that, fully convinced of the tender and diſintereſted attachment which your majeſty has ſhewn, through the whole courſe

courſe of your reign, to the eaſe and welfare of your faithful people, this houſe will moſt readily concur in enabling your majeſty to diſcharge the debts which occaſion your majeſty's preſent difficulties, and in making ſome further proviſion for the better ſupport of your majeſty's houſehold, and the honour and dignity of the crown."

Proteſt of the Lords.

Die Mercurii, 16° *Apr.* 1777.

UPON the motion for the above addreſs, an amendment was moved by the Marquis of Rockingham, and ſeconded; when, after a warm debate, the queſtion being put, the houſe divided;

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The Duke of Grafton then moved the previous queſtion, when the houſe again divided;

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Proxies - 22 }

The main queſtion was then put, and the houſe divided a third time;

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Diſſentient,

For the reaſons contained in the amendment propoſed and rejected, viz.

"To aſſure his majeſty of the inviolable affection and loyalty of this houſe; and that it is with the ſincereſt affliction we find our duty to his majeſty and our country entirely incompatible with our compliance with the requeſt made to us in his majeſty's meſſage.

"That at a time when the increaſe of public debt, attended with the decreaſe of Britiſh empire, manifeſtly required the utmoſt œconomy in the management of the revenues of the crown, we cannot behold, without aſtoniſhment and indignation, a profuſion in his majeſty's miniſters, which the greateſt proſperity of our affairs could ſcarcely excuſe.

"That this houſe, with the moſt zealous devotion to your majeſty's true intereſts, beg leave to repreſent to your majeſty, that we humbly apprehend the clear revenue of 800,000*l.* a year, which ſupported your majeſty's grandfather, of happy memory, in great authority and magnificence, is fully ſufficient (if managed by your majeſty's ſervants with the ſame integrity and œconomy) to maintain alſo the honour and dignity of your majeſty's crown, in that reverence in which we wiſh, as much, at leaſt, as thoſe who have ſquandered away the revenues, to ſee it always ſupported.

"Parliament has already, in conſideration (we ſuppoſe) of ſom expence in the beginning of yo majeſty's reign, diſcharged debts and incumbr[illegible]es on civil liſt to a very [illegible] amo Again to exceed [illegible] ed by parliame[illegible] thority, and gence in payi[illegible] tracting, in [illegible] ther and a g[illegible] view, a cri[illegible] jeſty's mini[illegible] ſome matt[illegible] ing to the vernment ſupporte[illegible] parliame[illegible] only la[illegible] which out

ther to juſtify or excuſe the exceſs; and the only reaſon given to us for paying that debt is, that your majeſty's miniſters have incurred it.

"With regard to the further increaſe of your majeſty's civil liſt revenues, we muſt decline any concurrence therein, not ſolely from motives of œconomy (though at no time more ſtrictly required) but from a dread alſo of the effect of ſuch an augmentation on the honour and integrity of parliament, by veſting ſuch large ſums without account in the hands of miniſters, when an opinion is known to prevail, and which we have no means of contradicting—that your majeſty's civil liſt revenues are employed in creating undue influence in parliament, it would be extremely unbecoming of us to vote, without manifeſt reaſons, great ſums out of the property of your majeſty's ſubjects, which are ſuppoſed to be applied to our private emolument. It is our duty to attend to the reputation of parliament, and we beg leave to repreſent to your majeſty, that a further increaſe of the preſent overgrown influence of the crown would be a treacherous gift from parliament, even to the crown itſelf; as it will enable the miniſters to carry on thoſe deluſive ſyſtems which have been fatally adopted, and which, if purſued, muſt lead to the ruin, as they have already produced the diſtraction, of this once great empire."

Abingdon,	Effingham,
Abergavenny,	Portland,
Archer,	Richmond,
King,	Rockingham,
Thanet,	Fitzwilliam,
Torrington,	Devonſhire,
Stamford,	Mancheſter.

The Speech made by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty in the Houſe of Peers, on the 7th Day of May, *upon preſenting the Bill for ſettling an additional Revenue of* 100,000l. *per ann. upon his Majeſty for the Services of the Civil Liſt.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

THE bill, which it is now my duty to preſent to your majeſty, is intitled 'An act for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain;' to which your commons humbly beg your royal aſſent.

By this bill, Sir, and the reſpectful circumſtances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fulleſt and cleareſt proof of their zeal and affection for your majeſty; for, in a time of public diſtreſs, full of difficulty and danger, their conſtituents labouring under burthens almoſt too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons poſtponed all other buſineſs; and, with as much diſpatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majeſty a large preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue; great, beyond example; great beyond your majeſty's higheſt expence.

But all this, Sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wiſely what they have granted liberally; and feeling, what every good ſubject muſt feel with the greateſt ſatisfaction, that, under the direction of your majeſty's wiſdom, the affluence and grandeur of the ſovereign will

will reflect dignity and honour upon his people.

The Speech made by the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty, on the 6th Day of June, *previous to the Prorogation of Parliament.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

YOUR majeſty's loyal commons have paſſed five money-bills for the ſervice of the current year. The firſt, a bill for inabling your majeſty to defray the extra expences of the American war, and to make good the deficiency of the gold coin; the ſecond, for raiſing five millions by annuities, and for eſtabliſhing a lottery; another, for laying a tax upon ſervants; another, for laying a tax upon auctions, and upon ſales of eſtates, leaſes, and goods, by auction; and another, for granting to your majeſty a certain ſum out of the ſinking fund, and for appropriating the ſeveral ſums, granted in this ſeſſion, to uſes therein provided; to which your faithful commons, Sir, humbly deſire your aſſent. Your commons, Sir, in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, have applied themſelves, with all poſſible diligence, to public buſineſs; and have done all in their power to procure the eaſe, happineſs, and proſperity of your ſubjects; and have granted the moſt ample ſupplies. They have ſtrengthened the hands of government, and have done all in their power to promote a ſpeedy and effectual reconciliation with America. They are fully conſcious how neceſſary it is, that the troubles in America ſhould be amicably ſettled; and that the legiſlative authority of this country ſhould be eſtabliſhed and maintained over all your majeſty's dominions. Your faithful commons, firmly relying on your majeſty's wiſdom, and true regard to the intereſt of all your ſubjects, have ſtrengthened your hands in the fulleſt manner; and have every right to expect, that your majeſty's ſubjects in America will return to a proper ſenſe of their duty; and that diſorder and rebellion will give place to peace and reconciliation.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the 6th of June, 1777.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE concluſion of the public buſineſs, and the conſideration of the inconvenience which, I fear, you muſt have ſuffered by ſo long an attendance, call upon me to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament; but I cannot let you go into your ſeveral counties, without expreſſing my intire approbation of your conduct, and without thanking you for the unqueſtionable proofs you have given to me, and to all the world, of the continuance of your attachment to my perſon and government; of your clear diſcernment of the true intereſts of your country; and of your ſteady perſeverance in maintaining the rights of the legiſlature.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I cannot ſufficiently thank you for the zeal and public ſpirit, with which you have granted the large and

and extraordinary ſupplies, which I have found myſelf under the neceſſity of aſking of my faithful commons, for the ſervice of the current year; and I muſt, at the ſame time, acknowledge the particular marks of your affection to me, as well in enabling me to diſcharge the debts contracted on account of my civil government, as in making ſo conſiderable an augmentation to the civil liſt revenue, during my life.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I truſt in the Divine Providence, that, by a well-concerted and vigorous exertion of the great force you have put into my hands, the operations of this campaign, by ſea and land, will be bleſſed with ſuch ſucceſs, as may moſt effectually tend to the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in America, and to the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional obedience, which all the ſubjects of a free ſtate owe to the authority of law.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majeſty's command, ſaid:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Monday, the 21ſt day of July next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Monday, the 21ſt day of July next.

Dublin, Oct. 14, 1777.

The Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

HIS majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to honour me with a moſt diſtinguiſhed mark of his confidence in appointing me to the government of Ireland: with eaſe he might have found an abler miniſter; with difficulty one more anxiouſly ſolicitous to juſtify his choice in meriting your approbation.

Influenced by that benevolent ſpirit which may juſtly command the affections of all his ſubjects, his inſtructions to me are to co-operate with his parliament in every meaſure which can promote the improvement, inſure the happineſs, and cheriſh the true intereſts, of this kingdom.

The increaſe of his majeſty's royal family, by the birth of a princeſs, cannot but be conſidered as a moſt pleaſing and intereſting event.

With very particular ſatisfaction I hear of the conſiderable progreſs which agriculture is daily making; and that the great ſource of the proſperity of this country, the linen manufacture, continues to flouriſh. No objects can more juſtly claim your conſideration.

The educating the diſtreſſed children of the nation in ſound principles, and the early training them to habits of uſeful labour, is of ſuch importance, that I muſt not omit recommending the proteſtant charter-ſchools to your protection.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

That you may be perfectly apprized of the true ſtate of your affairs, I have directed the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you; thoroughly confident, that your wiſdom, your zeal for the honour of his majeſty's government, and your attachment to the eſſential

eſſential welfare of this kingdom, will induce you to make ſuch a proviſion as may be ſuitable to the preſent circumſtances of your country, and the exigencies of the public ſervice.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I decline making any profeſſions relative to my future conduct: it is by the tenor of my actions that the character of my adminiſtration muſt be determined.

Dublin Caſtle, Oct. 16. The houſes of lords and commons having reſolved upon humble addreſſes to his majeſty, the ſame, together with addreſſes from both houſes to the lord lieutenant, were this day preſented to his excellency; and, with his excellency's anſwers, are as follow:

To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your majeſty with the moſt dutiful and ſincere profeſſions of our unalterable loyalty and firm attachment to your majeſty's perſon, family, and government.

We cannot but acknowledge the many and great bleſſings which we have enjoyed during your auſpicious reign, and moſt humbly aſſure your majeſty, that, animated as we are with the warmeſt ſentiments of duty and gratitude, we ſhall ever be ready to ſhew our thankfulneſs to your majeſty, by our zealous endeavours to ſupport the honour and dignity of your crown, and to render your majeſty's government happy and proſperous to yourſelf and your people.

We cannot but expreſs to your majeſty the juſt ſenſe we have of your majeſty's tender and paternal regard, in having been graciouſly pleaſed to commit the government of this kingdom to his Excellency John Earl of Buckinghamſhire, who, in addition to his deſcent from anceſtors eminent for their knowledge of and attachment to the laws and conſtitution of their country, hath thoſe tried and approved abilities which afford us the pleaſing proſpect that his adminiſtration will be productive of the moſt ſolid advantages to this kingdom.

We beg leave to return our moſt grateful thanks to your majeſty, for having been graciouſly pleaſed to give inſtructions to his excellency the lord lieutenant to co-operate with your parliament in every meaſure which can promote the improvement, inſure the happineſs, and cheriſh the true intereſts, of this kingdom.

The addition made to your majeſty's domeſtick happineſs by the birth of another princeſs affords us the higheſt pleaſure and ſatisfaction, as it adds ſtrength to our hopes that there never will be wanting one deſcended from your majeſty to tranſmit the bleſſings we enjoy to the lateſt poſterity.

We have the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the importance of thoſe great objects recommended to us from the throne; the increaſe of agriculture, the proſperity of the linen manufacture, and the educating of the diſtreſſed

:d children of the nation in principles, and training of o habits of induſtry: and r leave to aſſure your ma- hat, in the conſideration of reat objects, and all others ay come before us, we will l with that attention and di- which may beſt conduce to e intereſt of this kingdom, ince our ardent deſire to pre- nd obtain your majeſty's fa- le countenance and approba-

'ts Gayer, } Cler. Parliament.
Gayer, }

King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

nble Addreſs of the Knights, zens and Burgeſſes in Parlia- aſſembled.

: gracious Sovereign,

E, your majeſty's moſt du- tiful and loyal ſubjects, the ns of Ireland in parliament led, humbly beg leave to your majeſty, that we have, the fulleſt experience, the grateful ſenſe of that be- it ſpirit which conſtantly s your royal breaſt, and to command the affections of r ſubjects.

r majeſty's gracious inſtruc- to his excellency the lord ant, to co-operate with the nent in every meaſure that mote the improvement, in- e happineſs, and cheriſh the tereſts, of this kingdom, are ſtances of your majeſty's pa- care of your people, and our warmeſt acknowledge-

h the utmoſt ſincerity we pre- ir humble congratulations to your majeſty on the happy increaſe of your royal family by the birth of a princeſs; not only rejoicing in that moſt pleaſing event, as intereſting to your majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, but juſtly conſidering it as adding ſtill further ſtrength to your royal houſe, and to that ſucceſſion on which the ſecurity of our religion and liberties ſo eſſentially depend.

We are deeply ſenſible of your majeſty's goodneſs in the protection you have been graciouſly pleaſed to give to the agriculture of this kingdom, which cannot but engage the attention of all who wiſh to ſee their country flouriſh in the great articles of population, induſtry and plenty.

Impreſſed with the warmeſt ſenſe of the goodneſs with which thoſe great objects of our national proſperity, the linen manufacture and the Proteſtant Charter Schools, have been recommended to us from the throne, we will not omit to take them into our moſt ſerious conſideration; the one being juſtly to be regarded as the moſt certain ſource of wealth, and the other the moſt effectual means of reclaiming numbers of the people from ſloth, ignorance and vice.

Animated no leſs by our attachment to the eſſential welfare of this kingdom, than by our zeal for the honour of your majeſty's government, we will moſt chearfully make ſuch a proviſion for the exigencies of the public ſervice, as may be ſuitable to the preſent circumſtances of our country.

We cannot do juſtice to the hopes we entertain of public ſatisfaction and happineſs in the adminiſtration of the Earl of Buckinghamſhire, without moſt thankfully

fully acknowledging your majeſty's goodneſs in placing us under the government of a nobleman, whoſe abilities and integrity have been already ſo amply proved in a ſtation of diſtinguiſhed confidence and importance, and who, we are fully aſſured, will not fail, upon every occaſion, to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, in fulfilling your majeſty's moſt gracious intentions for the benefit and proſperity of the people committed to his care.

H. Alcock,
S. Carew, } Cler. Dom. Com.

To his Excellency John *Earl of* Buckinghamſhire, *Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of* Ireland.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

WE, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, return your excellency our moſt ſincere thanks for your ſpeech from the throne to both houſes of parliament.

We beg leave to congratulate your excellency upon your appointment to the government of this kingdom. His majeſty, ever influenced by that benevolent ſpirit which muſt juſtly command the affections of all his people, could not have given us a more diſtinguiſhed mark of his regard than by placing at the head of this kingdom a nobleman eminent for his abilities and experience in public affairs, and deſcended from anceſtors illuſtrious for their knowledge of the laws, and their attachment to the conſtitution. And we ſhall moſt chearfully co-operate with your excellency in every meaſure which can promote the improvement, inſure the happineſs, and cheriſh the true intereſts, of this kingdom; ſatisfied, that the proſperity of his people is the great object of his majeſty's wiſhes, and of your excellency's adminiſtration.

We rejoice with your excellency on the increaſe of his majeſty's royal family, by the birth of another princeſs; as every ſuch event gives us an additional ſecurity to our religion, laws, and liberty.

We cannot ſufficiently acknowledge our gratitude to your excellency for the kind ſatisfaction you expreſs on the improving ſtate of agriculture, and of the linen manufactory in this country; objects of the higheſt conſideration to us, and of which we ſhall exert our utmoſt efforts to promote and extend the progreſs.

The Charter Schools, ſo ſtrongly recommended to us by your excellency, will ever be a principal object of our care; fully ſenſible of the importance of educating the diſtreſſed children of this nation in ſound principles, and the early training them to habits of induſtry.

Thoroughly convinced of your excellency's good wiſhes and intentions for the ſervice and proſperity of this country, we entertain the fulleſt and moſt pleaſing confidence, that your excellency will have the ſatisfaction of finding your adminiſtration equally beneficial to us, and eaſy and honourable to yourſelf.

W. Watts Gayer,
Edw. Gayer, } Cler. Parliament.

Excellency's Anſwer.

ſy Lords,

ir lordſhips will accept of
eſt thanks for this moſt
ng addreſs. It will ever
ambition to cultivate the
able ſentiments which you
conceived of me, by an
able attention to the wel-
f this kingdom."

ccellency John *Earl of* Buck-
nſhire, *Lord Lieutenant*
d, and General Governor,
and.

ble Addreſs of the Knights,
ns, and Burgeſſes, in Par-
t aſſembled.

it pleaſe your Excellency,
, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the
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to the country over which
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obſerve with pleaſure your
ncy's early attention to the
ement of agriculture, and
riſhing ſtate of the linen
cture; we ſhall not fail on
our part to pay them that regard, which matters of ſuch great importance deſerve.

As the educating the infant poor in the proteſtant religion, and the training them in habits of induſtry, are objects of humanity as well as of policy, we are doubly bound to afford protection to the charter ſchools of this kingdom.

We ſhall accurately conſider the ſtate of the public accounts, and chearfully make ſuch a proviſion as may be ſuitable to the circumſtances of this country, and the exigencies of the public ſervice.

We found our hopes of your excellency's adminiſtration, upon better omens than thoſe of mere aſſurances; and we are happy in having a chief governor, who chuſes rather to reſt his character upon his conduct than upon his profeſſions.

H. Alcock, *S. Carew,* } Clerc. Dom. Com.

His Excellency's Anſwer.

" My warmeſt acknowledgments
" are due to the houſe of commons
" for their moſt pleaſing and af-
" fectionate addreſs. Their good
" opinion will ever be my favou-
" rite object. I flatter myſelf to
" merit the continuance of it, by
" equally, from duty and incli-
" nation, fulfilling his majeſty's
" commands in promoting the
" proſperity of Ireland."

Tranſlation of a Memorial preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke *to the States General, on the 21ſt of* February 1777.

SINCE the commencement of the unnatural rebellion, which

has broke out in the Engliſh colonies againſt the legal conſtitution of the mother country, the underſigned ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, has had frequent occaſions to addreſs himſelf to your high mightineſſes, in the name of his maſter, to engage them by all motives of national intereſt, of good neighbourhood, of friendſhip, and finally of treaties, to put a ſtop to the clandeſtine commerce which is carried on between their ſubjects and the rebels. If the meaſures which your high mightineſſes have thought proper to take had been as efficacious as your aſſurances have been amicable, the underſigned would not now have been under the diſagreeable neceſſity of bringing to the cognizance of your high mightineſſes, facts of the moſt ſerious nature.

The king hath hitherto borne, with unexampled patience, the irregular conduct of your ſubjects in their intereſted commerce at St. Euſtatia, as alſo in America. His majeſty has always flattered himſelf, that in giving time to your high mightineſſes to examine to the bottom this conduct, ſo irregular and ſo inſufferable, they would have taken meaſures neceſſary to repreſs the abuſe, to reſtrain their ſubjects within bounds, and to make them reſpect the rights and friendſhip of Great Britain.

The complaints which I have orders to make to their high mightineſſes, are founded upon authentic documents annexed to this memorial, where their high mightineſſes will ſee with aſtoniſhment, and I doubt not at the ſame time with diſpleaſure, that their new governor, Mr. Van Graaf, after having permitted an illicit commerce at St. Euſtatia, hath paſſed his forgetfulneſs of his duty to the point of conniving at the Americans in their hoſtile equipments, and the permitting the ſeizure of an Engliſh veſſel, by an American pirate, within cannon ſhot of that iſland. And in aggravation to the affront given to the Engliſh nation, and to all the powers of Europe, to return from the fortreſs of his government the ſalute of a rebel flag. In return to the amicable repreſentations made by the preſident of the neighbouring iſland of St. Chriſtopher, on theſe facts of notoriety, M. Van Graaf has anſwered in a manner the moſt vague and unſatisfactory, refuſing to enter at all into the ſubject, or into an explanation of the matter with a member of his majeſty's council of St. Chriſtopher's, diſpatched by the preſident for that purpoſe to St. Euſtatia.

After exhibiting the documents annexed, nothing remains with me but to add, that the king who had read them, not with leſs ſurprize than indignation, hath ordered me to expreſsly demand of your high mightineſſes, a formal diſavowal of the ſalute by Fort Orange, at St. Euſtatia, to the rebel ſhip, the diſmiſſion and immediate recall of Governor Van Graaf, and to declare further, on the part of his majeſty, that until that ſatisfaction is given, they are not to expect that his majeſty will ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed by mere aſſurances, or that he will delay one inſtant

t to take ſuch meaſures as
ll think due to the intereſts
ignity of his crown.
(Signed) Jos. YORKE.
at the Hague, Feb. 21, 1777.

ial delivered by Order of the
es General, to the Court of
at Britain, in anſwer to the
ve Memorial, by the Envoy ex-
rdinary and Plenipotentiary of
r High Mightineſſes.

I R E,
is with the moſt profound
t, that the under-ſigned en-
traordinary and plenipoten-
of their high mightineſſes,
ſequence of the orders which
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icable aſſurances, which they
falſified by their acts; alſo
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ed and accuſtomed manner,
at ought to take place be-
two ſovereign and indepen-
powers, and eſpecially be-
two neighbouring powers,
have been, of ſo many years
uance, united by the ties of
harmony and mutual friend-

eir high mightineſſes truſt
n all occaſions, and parti-
cularly in reſpect to the unfortu-
nate troubles of your majeſty's co-
lonies in America, they have held
a conduct towards your majeſty,
which has been expected from a
good neighbour, and a friendly
and affectionate power.

Their high mightineſſes, Sire,
hold your majeſty's friendſhip in
the higheſt eſtimation, and wiſh
to do every thing in their power
(as far as the honour and dignity
of their ſtate will permit them to
go) to cultivate it ſtill more and
more; but they cannot at the ſame
time ſo far reſtrain themſelves, as
to diſguiſe the very poignant ſen-
ſation, with which that memorial
hath impreſſed them.

It is alone from the motive of
demonſtrating to your majeſty every
poſſible regard, and to prove that
their high mightineſſes will not
neglect any thing, which may ſerve
to inveſtigate properly the truth of
the facts, from whence the com-
plaints made to them ſeem to have
ariſen, that they have reſolved to
inſtitute an enquiry in a manner
the moſt ſummary, and cut off all
trainings of delay.

To this end their high mighti-
neſſes, paſſing by the ordinary and
uſual form in like caſes, requiring
a report in writing from their of-
ficers and others employed in their
colonies, have already diſpatched
their orders to the commandant
of St. Euſtatia, to render himſelf
within the republic without delay,
and as ſoon as poſſible, to give
the neceſſary information of all
that has paſſed within the iſland
of St. Euſtatia, and that which
hath come to his knowledge re-
lative to the American colonies and
their veſſels, during the period of
his command, and to lay his con-

duct, touching that matter, before the eyes of their high mightineſſes.

The under-ſigned is charged by his orders to bring the information of this reſolution to your majeſty, as alſo that their high mightineſſes make no difficulty of diſavowing, in the moſt expreſs manner, every act or mark of honour which may have been given by their officers, or by any of their ſervants, to the veſſels of your majeſty's colonies of North-America, or that they may give hereafter, ſo far as thoſe acts or marks of honour may be of ſuch a nature, as that any can conclude from them that it is intended thereby, in the leaſt degree, to recognize the independence of thoſe colonies.

The under-ſigned is alſo further charged to inform your majeſty, that their high mightineſſes have, in conſequence, given their orders to their governors and councils in the Weſt-Indies, and have enjoined them afreſh, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to obſerve exactly the placards and orders againſt the exportation of military ſtores to the American colonies of your majeſty, and to ſee them executed moſt rigorouſly.

(Signed) WELDEREN.

Date London, March 26, 1777.

A Circular Letter of Lord Howe, *to the Governors of the* American *Provinces.*

Eagle, off the Coaſt of the Province of Maſſachuſett's-bay, June 20, 1776.

SIR,

BEING appointed commander in chief of the ſhips and veſſels of his majeſty's fleet employed in North America, and having the honour to be by his majeſty conſtituted one of his commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his colonies, and for granting pardons to ſuch of his ſubjects therein, as ſhall be duly ſolicitous to benefit by that effect of his gracious indulgence; I take the earlieſt opportunity to inform you of my arrival on the American coaſt, where my firſt object will be an early meeting with General Howe, whom his majeſty hath been pleaſed to join with me in the ſaid commiſſion.

In the mean time, I have judged it expedient to iſſue the incloſed declaration, in order that all perſons may have immediate information of his majeſty's moſt gracious intentions: and I deſire you will be pleaſed forthwith to cauſe the ſaid declaration to be promulgated, in ſuch manner, and in ſuch places within the province of

as will render the ſame of the moſt public notoriety.

Aſſured of being favoured with your aſſiſtance in every meaſure for the ſpeedy and effectual reſtoration of the public tranquillity, I am to requeſt you will communicate, from time to time, ſuch information as you may think will facilitate the attainment of that important object in the province over which you preſide. I have the honour to be, with great reſpect and conſideration, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant, HOWE.

Firſt Declaration.

By Richard Viſcount Howe, of the Kingdom of Ireland, one of the King's Commiſſioners for reſtoring Peace to his Majeſty's

jeſty's colonies and plantations in North America, &c.

DECLARATION.

WHEREAS by an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to prohibit all trade and intercourſe with the colonies of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned, it is enacted, that "it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any perſon or perſons appointed and authoriſed by his majeſty, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons, by proclamation in his majeſty's name, to declare any colony or province, colonies or provinces, or any county, town, port, diſtrict, or place, in any colony or province, to be at the peace of his majeſty;" and that "from and after the iſſuing of any ſuch proclamation in any of the aforeſaid colonies or provinces, or if his majeſty ſhall be graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify the ſame by his royal proclamation, then, from and after the iſſuing of ſuch proclamation, the ſaid "act, with reſpect to ſuch colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, diſtrict, or place, ſhall ceaſe, determine, and be utterly void." And whereas the king, deſirous to deliver all his ſubjects from the calamities of war, and other oppreſſions which they now undergo; and to reſtore the ſaid colonies to his protection and peace, as ſoon as the conſtitutional authority of government therein may be replaced, hath been graciouſly pleaſed, by letters patent under the great ſeal, dated the 6th day of May, in the ſixteenth year of his majeſty's reign, to nominate and appoint me, Richard Viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Eſq; general of his forces in North America, and each of us, jointly and ſeverally, to be his majeſty's commiſſioner and commiſſioners for granting his free and general pardons to all thoſe, who in the tumult and diſorder of the times, may have deviated from their juſt allegiance, and who are willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour: and alſo for declaring, in his majeſty's name, any colony, province, county, town, port, diſtrict or place, to be at the peace of his majeſty; I do therefore hereby declare, That due conſideration ſhall be had to the meritorious ſervices of all perſons who ſhall aid and aſſiſt in reſtoring the public tranquillity in the ſaid colonies, or in any part or parts thereof: that pardons ſhall be granted, dutiful repreſentations received, and every ſuitable encouragement given for promoting ſuch meaſures as ſhall be conducive to the eſtabliſhment of legal government and peace, in purſuance of his majeſty's moſt gracious purpoſes aforeſaid.

Given on board his majeſty's ſhip the Eagle, off the coaſts of the province of Maſſachuſett's-bay, the 20th of June, 1776.

HOWE.

Reſolution of the Congreſs upon the above Declaration.

In Congreſs, July 19.

RESOLVED, That a copy of the circular letters, and of the declaration

claration they incloſed from Lord Howe to Mr. Franklin, Mr. Penn, Mr. Eden, Lord Dunmore, Mr. Martin, and Sir James Wright, late Governors, ſent to Amboy by a flag, and forwarded to Congreſs by Gen. Waſhington, be publiſhed in the ſeveral Gazettes, that the good people of theſe United States may be informed of what *nature* are the commiſſioners, and what the *terms*, with the expectation of which the inſidious court of Great Britain has endeavoured to amuſe and diſarm them; and that the few who ſtill remain ſuſpended by a hope founded either in the juſtice or moderation of their late king may now at length be convinced that the valour alone of their country is to ſave its liberties.

Extract from the Journals.

(Signed)

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

A Second Declaration of the American Commiſſioners.

By Richard Viſcount Howe, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Eſq; General of his Majeſty's Forces in America, the King's Commiſſioners for reſtoring Peace to his Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in North America, &c.

DECLARATION.

ALTHOUGH the Congreſs, whom the miſguided Americans ſuffer to direct their oppoſition to a re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional government of theſe provinces, have diſavowed every purpoſe of reconciliation not conſonant with their extravagant and inadmiſſible claim of independency, the king's commiſſioners think fit to declare, that they are equally deſirous to confer with his majeſty's well-affected ſubjects upon the means of reſtoring the public tranquillity, and eſtabliſhing a permanent union with every colony as a part of the Britiſh empire.

The king being moſt graciouſly pleaſed to direct a reviſion of ſuch of his royal inſtructions as may be conſtrued to lay an improper reſtraint upon the freedom of legiſlation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the reviſal of all acts by which his ſubjects there may think themſelves aggrieved, it is recommended to the inhabitants at large to reflect ſeriouſly upon their preſent condition, and to judge for themſelves, whether it be more conſiſtent with their honour and happineſs to offer up their lives as a ſacrifice to the unjuſt and precarious cauſe in which they are engaged, or to return to their allegiance, accept the bleſſings of peace, and be ſecured in a free enjoyment of their liberty and properties upon the true principles of the conſtitution.

Given at New-York, the 19th day of September, 1776.

HOWE.

W. HOWE.

By command of their excellencies,

HENRY STRACHEY.

Third Declaration.

By Richard Viſcount Howe, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Eſq; General of his Majeſty's Forces in America, the King's Commiſſioners for reſtoring Peace to his Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations

Plantations in North-America, &c.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS by our declarations of the 20th of June and 19th of September laſt, in purſuance of his majeſty's moſt gracious intentions towards his ſubjects in the colonies or provinces of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the three Lower Counties on Dalaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, all perſons ſpeedily returning to their juſt allegiance were promiſed a free and general pardon, and were invited to accept, not only the bleſſings of peace, but a ſecure enjoyment of their liberties and properties, upon the true principles of the conſtitution: And whereas, notwithſtanding the ſaid declarations, and the example of many who have availed themſelves of the aſſurances therein made, ſeveral bodies of armed men, in open contempt of his majeſty's proffered clemency, do ſtill continue their oppoſition to the eſtabliſhment of legal government and peace; and divers other ill diſpoſed perſons, purſuing their own ambitious purpoſes in the exerciſe of a lawleſs influence and power, are uſing freſh endeavours, by various arts and miſrepreſentations, to alienate the confidence and affection of his majeſty's ſubjects; to defeat every plan of reconciliation, and to prolong the unnatural war between Great Britain and her coſonies: Now, in order to the more effectual accompliſhment of his majeſty's moſt gracious intentions, and the ſpeedy reſtoration of the public tranquillity; and duly conſidering the expediency of limiting the time within which ſuch pardon as aforeſaid ſhall be granted, and of ſpecifying the terms upon which only the ſame ſhall and may be obtained, We do in his majeſty's name, and by virtue of the powers committed to us, hereby charge and command all perſons whatſoever, who are aſſembled together in arms againſt his majeſty's government, to diſband themſelves and return to their dwelling, there to remain in a peaceable and quiet manner: And we alſo charge and command all ſuch other perſons as are aſſembled together under the name of General or Provincial Congreſſes, committees, conventions, or other aſſociations, by whatever name or names known and diſtinguiſhed, or who, under the colour of any authority from any ſuch Congreſs, committee, convention, and other aſſociation, take upon them to iſſue or execute any orders for levying money, raiſing troops, fitting out armed ſhips and veſſels, impriſoning, or otherwiſe moleſting his majeſty's ſubjects, to deſiſt and ceaſe from all ſuch treaſonable actings and doings, and to relinquiſh all ſuch uſurped power and authority, ſo that peace may be reſtored, a ſpeedy remiſſion of paſt offences quiet the apprehenſions of the guilty, and all the inhabitants of the ſaid colonies be enabled to reap the benefit of his majeſty's paternal goodneſs in the preſervation of their property, the reſtoration of their commerce, and the ſecurity of their moſt valuable rights, under the juſt and moderate authority of the crown and parliament of Great Britain: And we do hereby declare, and make known to all

men, that every perſon, who within ſixty days from the day of the date hereof ſhall appear before the governor, or lieutenant-governor, or commander in chief, in any of his majeſty's colonies or provinces aforeſaid, or before the general or commanding officer of his majeſty's forces in America, or any other officer in his majeſty's ſervice having the command of any detachment or parties of his majeſty's forces there, or before the admiral or commander in chief of his majeſty's fleets, or any other officer commanding any of his majeſty's ſhips of war, or any armed veſſel in his majeſty's ſervice, within any of the ports, havens, creeks, or upon the coaſts of America, and ſhall claim the benefit of this proclamation, and at the ſame time teſtify his obedience to the laws, by ſubſcribing a declaration in the words following: "*I*, A. B. *do promiſe and declare, that I will remain in a peaceable obedience to his majeſty, and will not take up arms, nor encourage others to take up arms, in oppoſition to his authority*;" ſhall and may obtain a full and free pardon of all treaſons and miſpriſions of treaſons, by him heretofore committed or done, and of all forfeitures, attainders, and penalties for the ſame; and upon producing to us, or to either of us, a certificate of ſuch his appearance and declaration, ſhall and may have and receive ſuch pardon made and paſſed to him in due form.

Given at New-York this thirtieth day of November, 1776.

HOWE.

W. HOWE.

By command of their excellencies,

HENRY STRACHEY.

Copy of the free Pardon granted by his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, to ſuch Perſons as claimed the Benefit of the above Declarations.

(L. S.) Howe.

GEORGE the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, and ſo forth, to all men to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting; know ye, that we, of our eſpecial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, and out of the zeal and affection which we have and bear to our ſubjects, have pardoned, remiſed, and releaſed, and by theſe preſents do pardon, remiſe, and releaſe, to A. B. merchant of the town of in the province of otherwiſe called or by whatſoever other name or firname, dignity, office, or place, the ſaid A. B. ſhall be reputed, called, or named, all and ſingular treaſons, as well high treaſons as petit treaſons, rebellions, inſurrections, and conſpiracies, againſt us, our crown and dignity, and alſo all manner of miſpriſions of treaſon, or other miſpriſons by him the ſaid A. B. at any time heretofore had, done or perpetrated, whether the ſaid A. B. of the premiſes, or any of them, ſhould have been indicted, appealed, ſued and adjudged, outlawed, convicted, condemned, or attainted or not. We alſo pardon, remiſe, and releaſe by theſe preſents, to the aforeſaid A. B. all and ſingular judgments, pains of death, puniſhments, and iſſues and profits of all domains, manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, of him the ſaid A. B. on occaſion of the premiſes,

miſes, or any of them, by him the ſaid A. B. forfeited or loſt, and to us, by reaſon of the premiſes, due, belonging, or appertaining.

Given at New York, this day of December, 1776.

By command of his excellency,

HENRY STRACHEY.

American Oath of Allegiance.

In CONGRESS, *October* 21, 1776.

RESOLVED, That every officer who holds or ſhall hereafter hold a commiſſion, or office from Congreſs, ſhall ſubſcribe the following declaration, and take the following oath, viz.

"I ———, do acknowledge the thirteen united ſtates of America, namely, New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, *to be free, independent, and ſovereign ſtates*; and declare that the people thereof have no allegiance or obedience to George the third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuſe, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him. And I do ſwear, that I will, to the utmoſt of my power, ſupport, maintain, and defend the ſaid united ſtates againſt the ſaid king George the third, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, and his and their abettors, aſſiſtants and adherents; and will ſerve the ſaid united ſtates in the office of ———, which I now hold, and in any other office which I may hereafter hold, by their appointment, or under their authority, with fidelity and honour, and according to the beſt of my ſkill and underſtanding.

So help me God.

By order of Congreſs,

JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident.

Proclamation by his Excellency George Waſhington, *Eſq; General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces of the United States of* America.

WHEREAS ſeveral perſons, inhabitants of the united ſtates of America, influenced by inimical motives, intimidated by the threats of the enemy, or deluded by a proclamation iſſued the 30th of November laſt, by Lord and General Howe, ſtiled the king's commiſſioners for granting pardons, &c. (now at open war, and invading theſe ſtates) have been ſo loſt to the intereſt and welfare of their country, as to repair to the enemy, ſign a declaration of fidelity, and in ſome inſtances have been compelled to take the oaths of allegiance, and engaged not to take up arms, or encourage others ſo to do, againſt the King of Great Britain. And whereas it has become neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between the friends of America and thoſe of Great Britain, inhabitants of theſe States; and that every man who receives protection from, and as a ſubject of, any State (not being conſcientiouſly ſcrupulous againſt bearing arms) ſhould ſtand ready to defend the ſame againſt hoſtile invaſion; I do, therefore, in behalf of the United States, by virtue of the powers committed to me by Congreſs, hereby ſtrictly command and require every perſon, having ſubſcribed ſuch declaration, taken

taken ſuch oaths, and accepted ſuch protection and certificate, to repair to head quarters, or to the quarters of the neareſt general officer of the Continental army, or militia, (until further proviſion can be made by civil authority) and there deliver up ſuch protection, certificate and paſſports, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America: Nevertheleſs hereby granting full liberty to all ſuch as preſer the intereſt and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happineſs of their country, forthwith to withdraw themſelves and families within the enemy's lines. And I do hereby declare, that all and every perſon who may neglect or refuſe to comply with this order, within thirty days from the date hereof, will be deemed adherents to the King of Great Britain, and treated as common enemies to theſe American ſtates.

Given at Head Quarters,
Morris Town.
By his excellency's command,
ROBERT H. HARRISON, Sec.

Papers relating to the Capitulation of Lieutenant General Burgoyne's *Army at* Saratoga.

No. I.

October 13, 1777.

LIEUT.-GEN. Burgoyne is deſirous of ſending a field-officer with a meſſage to Major-General Gates, upon a matter of high moment to both armies. He requeſts to be informed at what hour General Gates will receive him to-morrow morning.

Major-General Gates.

ANSWER.

MAJ.-GEN. Gates will receive a field-officer from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne at the advanced poſt of the army of the United States, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning, from whence he will be conducted to head quarters.

Camp at Saratoga, 9 o'clock,
P. M. October 13, 1777.
Lieutenant-General Burgoyne.

No. II.

Major Kingſton *delivered the following Meſſage to Major-General* Gates, October 14, 1777.

AFTER having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited ſome days, in his preſent poſition, determined to try a third conflict againſt any force you could bring to attack him.

He is appriſed of the ſuperiority of your numbers, and the diſpoſition of your troops to impede his ſupplies, and render his retreat a ſcene of carnage on both ſides. In this ſituation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himſelf juſtified by eſtabliſhed principles and precedents of ſtate, and of war, to ſpare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms: ſhould Major-General Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propoſe a ceſſation of arms during the time neceſſary to communicate the preliminary terms by which, in any extremity, he and his army mean to abide.

No. III.

Major-General Gates's *Propoſals, together with Lieutenant-General* Burgoyne's *Anſwers.*

I. GENERAL Burgoyne's army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by deſertion, ſickneſs,

&c. their proviſions exhauſt-
heir military horſes, tents,
aggage taken or deſtroyed,
retreat cut off, and their camp
ed, they can only be allowed
render priſoners of war.

ſwer. Lieut.-General Bur-
's army, however reduced,
ıever admit that their retreat
: off, while they have arms
ir hands.

The officers and ſoldiers may
the baggage belonging to
The generals of the United
never permit individuals to
laged.

The troops under his Excel-
General Burgoyne will be
cted by the moſt convenient
to New-England, marching
ſy marches, and ſufficiently
ded for by the way.

ſwer. This article is anſwered
eneral Burgoyne's firſt propo-
/hich is here annexed.

. The officers will be ad-
d on parole; may wear their
ms, and will be treated with
berality cuſtomary in Europe,
ng as they, by proper beha-
, continue to deſerve it; but
who are apprehended having
their parole, as ſome Britiſh
s have done, muſt expect to
ſe confined.

ſwer. There being no officer
is army under, or capable of
under, the deſcription of
ing parole, this article needs
wer.

All public ſtores, artille-
ms, ammunition, carriages,
, &c. &c. muſt be delivered
mmiſſaries appointed to re-
them.

ſwer. All public ſtores may
livered, arms excepted.

Theſe terms being agreed to, and ſigned, the troops under his Excellency Gen. Burgoyne's command, may be drawn up in their encampments, where they will be ordered to ground their arms, and may thereupon be marched to the river-ſide, to be paſſed over in their way towards Bennington.

Anſwer. This article inadmiſſible in any extremity. Sooner than this army will conſent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will ruſh on the enemy, determined to take no quarter.

VII. A ceſſation of arms to continue till ſun-ſet, to receive General Burgoyne's anſwer.

(Signed) *Horatio Gates.*

Camp at Saratoga, Oct. 14, 1777.

No. IV.

MAJOR Kingſton met the Adjutant-General of Major-General Gates's army, October the 14th, at ſun-ſet, and delivered the following meſſage:

If General Gates does not mean to recede from the 6th article, the treaty ends at once.

The army will, to a man, proceed to any act of deſperation, rather than ſubmit to that article.

The ceſſation of arms ends this evening.

No. V.

Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's *Propoſals, together with Major-General* Gates's *Anſwers.*

THE annexed anſwers being given to Major-General Gates's propoſals, it remains for Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and the army under his command, to ſtate the following preliminary articles on their part.

I. The troops to march out of their camp with the honours of war,

war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, which will be left as hereafter may be regulated.

I. The troops to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort ſtood, where their arms and artillery muſt be left.

II. A free paſſage to be granted to this army to Great-Britain, upon condition of not ſerving again in North-America during the preſent conteſt; and a proper port to be aſſigned for the entry of tranſports to receive the troops whenever General Howe ſhall ſo order.

II. Agreed to for the port of Boſton.

III. Should any cartel take place, by which this army or any part of it may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void, as far as ſuch exchange ſhall be made.

III. Agreed.

IV. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horſes, and other cattle; and no baggage to be moleſted or ſearched, the lieutenant-general giving his honour that there are no public ſtores ſecreted therein. Major-General Gates will of courſe take the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of this article.

IV. Agreed.

V. Upon the march the officers are not to be ſeparated from their men; and in quarters the officers ſhall be lodged according to rank; and are not to be hindered from aſſembling their men for roll-calling, and other neceſſary purpoſes of regularity.

V. Agreed to, as far as circumſtances will admit.

VI. There are various corps in this army compoſed of ſailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army; and it is expected that thoſe perſons, of whatever country, ſhall be included in the fulleſt ſenſe, and utmoſt extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every reſpect as Britiſh ſubjects.

VI. Agreed to in the fulleſt extent.

VII. All Canadians, and perſons belonging to the eſtabliſhment in Canada, to be permitted to return there.

VII. Agreed.

VIII. Paſſports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captain, who ſhall be appointed by General Burgoyne to carry diſpatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great-Britain by the way of New-York, and the public faith to be engaged that theſe diſpatches are not to be opened.

VIII. Agreed.

IX. The foregoing articles are to be conſidered only as preliminaries for framing a treaty, in the courſe of which others may ariſe to be conſidered by both parties; for which purpoſe it is propoſed that two officers of each army ſhall meet and report their deliberations to their reſpective generals.

IX. This capitulation to be finiſhed by two o'clock this day, and the troops march from their encampment at five, and be in readineſs to move towards Boſton to-morrow morning.

X. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne will ſend his deputy adjutant-general to receive Major-General Gates's anſwer to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

X. Com-

X. Complied with.

(Signed) *Horatio Gates.*

Saratoga, Oct. 15, 1777.

No. VI.

THE eight firſt preliminary articles of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's propoſals, and the 2d, 3d, and 4th of thoſe of Major-General Gates of yeſterday, being agreed to, the foundation of the propoſed treaty is out of diſpute; but the ſeveral ſubordinate articles and regulations neceſſarily ſpringing from theſe preliminaries, and requiring explanation and preciſion between the parties, before a definitive treaty can be ſafely executed, a longer time than that mentioned by General Gates in his anſwer to the 9th article becomes indiſpenſably neceſſary. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne is willing to appoint two officers immediately to meet two others from Major-General Gates, to propound, diſcuſs, and ſettle thoſe ſubordinate articles, in order that the treaty, in due form, may be executed as ſoon as poſſible.

(Signed) *John Burgoyne.*

Camp at Saratoga, Oct. 15, 1777.

Major Kingſton has authority to ſettle the place for a meeting of the officers propoſed.

Settled by Major Kingſton on the ground where Mr. Schuyler's houſe ſtood.

No. VII.

IN the courſe of the night, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has received intelligence that a conſiderable force has been detached from the army under the command of Major-General Gates during the courſe of the negotiations or the treaty depending between them. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne conceives this, if true, to be not only a violation of the ceſſation of arms, but ſubverſive of the principles on which the treaty originated, viz. a great ſuperiority of numbers in General Gates's army. Lieutenant-General Burgoyne therefore requires that two officers on his part be permitted to ſee that the ſtrength of the forces now oppoſed to him is ſuch as will convince him that no ſuch detachments have been made; and that the ſame principle of ſuperiority on which the treaty firſt began ſtill exiſts.

16*th October.*

No. VIII.

Articles of Convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne *and Major-General* Gates.

I.

THE troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the intrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort ſtood, where the arms and artillery are to be left: the arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

II. A free paſſage to be granted the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great-Britain, on condition of not ſerving again in North-America during the preſent conteſt; and the port of Boſton is aſſigned for the entry of tranſports to receive the troops whenever General Howe ſhall ſo order.

III. Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void, as far as ſuch exchange ſhall be made.

IV. The army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to march to Maſſa-

Maſſachuſetts Bay, by the eaſieſt, moſt expeditious and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as poſſible to Boſton, that the march of the troops may not be delayed when tranſports arrive to receive them.

V. The troops to be ſupplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with proviſions, by Major-General Gates's orders, at the ſame rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and, if poſſible, the officers horſes and cattle are to be ſupplied with forage at the uſual rates.

VI. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horſes, and other cattle; and no baggage to be moleſted or ſearched, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne giving his honour that there are no public ſtores ſecreted therein. Major-General Gates will of courſe take the neceſſary meaſures for a due performance of this article. Should any carriages be wanted during the march, for the tranſportation of officers baggage, they are, if poſſible, to be ſupplied by the country at the uſual rates.

VII. Upon the march, and during the time the army ſhall remain in quarters in the Maſſachuſetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumſtances will admit, to be ſeparated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to their rank, and are not to be hindered from aſſembling their men for roll-callings, and other neceſſary purpoſes of regularity.

VIII. All corps whatever of General Burgoyne's army, whether compoſed of ſailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, ſhall be included in the fulleſt ſenſe and utmoſt extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every reſpect as Britiſh ſubjects.

IX. All Canadians, and perſons belonging to the Canadian eſtabliſhment, conſiſting of ſailors, batteau-men, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular deſcription, are to be permitted to return there: they are to be conducted immediately, by the ſhorteſt route, to the firſt Britiſh poſt on Lake George, are to be ſupplied with proviſions in the ſame manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the ſame condition of not ſerving during the preſent conteſt in North-America.

X. Paſſports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captains, who ſhall be appointed by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to carry diſpatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great-Britain by the way of New York; and Major-General Gates engages the public faith that theſe diſpatches ſhall not be opened. Theſe officers are to ſet out immediately after receiving their diſpatches, and are to travel the ſhorteſt route, and in the moſt expeditious manner.

XI. During the ſtay of the troops in the Maſſachuſetts Bay, the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be permitted to wear their ſide-arms.

XII. Should the army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne find it neceſſary to ſend for their cloathing and other baggage from Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the moſt . . . . manner, and

and the neceſſary paſſports granted for that purpoſe.

XIII. Theſe articles are to be mutually ſigned and exchanged to-morrow morning at nine o'clock; and the troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Horatio Gates, Maj. Gen.

Camp at Saratoga,
Oct. 16, 1777.

(True Copy.)

To prevent any doubts that might ariſe from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's name not being mentioned in the above treaty, Major-General Gates hereby declares that he is underſtood to be comprehended in it as fully as if his name had been ſpecifically mentioned.

Horatio Gates.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

t from the Life of the late Lord hop of Rocheſter, *written by ſelf.*

t. Pearce was the ſon of a diſtiller in High Holborn. narried Miſs Adams, the ter of a diſtiller in the ſame ɔourhood, with a conſider- ortune, who lived with him wo years in the higheſt de- f connubial happineſs. He d his education in Weſtmin- hool, where he was diſtin- d by his merit, and elected f the King's ſcholars. In when he was twenty years e was elected to Trinity Col- Cambridge. During the ears of his reſidence at the ſity, he ſometimes amuſed f with lighter compoſitions, ɔf which are inſerted in the ian and Spectator *. In he publiſhed his edition of *de Oratore*, and, at the de- a friend, luckily dedicated Lord Chief Juſtice Parker, ards Earl of Macclesfield,) ɔm he was a ſtranger. This ıt laid the foundation of his fortune; for Lord Parker recommended him to Dr. y, maſter of Trinity, to be made one of the fellows; and the doctor conſented to it on this condition, that his lordſhip would promiſe to *unmake* him again as ſoon as it lay in his power to give him a living. In 1717, Mr Pearce was ordained at the age of *twenty-ſeven*; having taken time enough, as he thought, to attain a ſufficient knowledge of the ſacred office. In 1718, Lord Parker was appointed chancellor, and invited Mr. Pearce to live with him in his houſe, as chaplain. In 1719 he was inſtituted into the rectory of Stapleford Abbots, in Eſſex; and in 1720 into that of St. Bartholomew, behind the Royal-Exchange, worth 400l. per ann. In 1723 the lord chancellor preſented him to St. Martin's in the Fields. His majeſty, who was then at Hanover, was applied to in favour of Dr. Claget, who was there along with him; and the doctor actually kiſſed hands upon the occaſion; but the chancellor, upon the king's return, diſputed the point, and was permitted to preſent Mr. Pearce.— Mr. Pearce ſoon attracted the notice and eſteem of perſons in the higheſt ſtations, and of the greateſt abilities. Beſide Lord Parker, he could reckon amongſt his patrons

1 account of a *Silent Club*, Guard. No. 121. On *Quacks*, Spect. 2. On *Eloquence*, Ibid. No. 633.

or friends, Lord Macclesfield, Mr. Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath), Archbiſhop Potter, Lord Hardwicke, Sir Iſaac Newton, and other illuſtrious perſonages. Queen Caroline (to whom he had been ſtrongly recommended by Lady Sundon) frequently honoured him with her converſation at her drawing-room. 'One day at that place, ſhe aſked him, if he had read the pamphlets publiſhed by Dr. Stebbing and Mr. Foſter, upon the ſort of heretics meant by St. Paul, whom in Titus iii. 10, 11. he repreſents as *ſelf-condemned*. *Yes, madam*, replied the doctoe, *I have read all the pamphlets written by them, on both ſides of the queſtion.* "Well, ſaid the queen, Which of the two do you think to be in the right?" The doctor replied, "I cannot ſay, madam, which of the two is in the right, but I think that both of them are in the wrong." She ſmiled, and ſaid, 'Then what is your opinion of that text?—'Madam,' ſaid the doctor, 'it would take up more time than your majeſty can ſpare at this drawing-room, for me to give my opinion and the reaſons of it; but if your majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to lay your commands upon me, you ſhall know my ſentiments of the matter in the next ſermon, which I ſhall have the honour to preach before his majeſty.' *Pray do then*, ſaid the queen; and Dr. Pearce accordingly made a ſermon on that text; but the queen died a month before his term of preaching came about.'—In 1724 the degree of doctor in divinity was conferred on him by Archbiſhop Wake. The ſame year he dedicated to his patron, the Earl of Macclesfield, his edition of *Longinus on the Sublime*, with a new Latin verſion and notes. Longinus, whoſe name had been long known only to men of abſtruſe erudition, till he was introduced, by his tranſlator Boileau, among the witty and the elegant, had now, for about half a century, enjoyed great popularity, quoted by every poet and every critic, and deciding upon faults and beauties of ſtile with authority conteſted only by *Huetius* and *Le Clerc*. But it was the opinion of Dr. Pearce, that ſomething was wanting, which general admiration had not yet ſupplied.

The work was originally publiſhed by Robertellus and Manutius, who each uſed his own MSS. without the knowledge of the other's undertaking. The texts of the two editions did not always agree, and to which the preference was due had not yet been decided. It had been four times tranſlated into Latin; of the three former editions, that of Gabriel de Petra was conſidered as the beſt, and had accordingly been adopted by Tanaquillus Faber, and, I think, by our Langbane, in their editions. After Boileau's tranſlation, it was again tranſlated into Latin by Tollius, but with ſuch paraphraſtical luxuriance, as ſeemed intended rather to diſplay his own copiouſneſs of diction, than to explain the original. Dr. Pearce undertook to adjuſt the readings, and, what was of far greater difficulty, to write a new Latin verſion, which ſhould approach as near as is poſſible to the Greek, without violating its purity. To play round the text of an author, and to recede and approach as convenience may dictate, is no very arduous work, but to attend it without deviation, and meaſure

ſtep by ſtep, requires at once
r and caution. By what me-
he proceeded in this work,
be known from his preface
his notes. Some of his firſt
hts were retracted in the ſub-
nt editions? but Dr. Pearce
enerally pleaſed the public,
h he found it difficult to
himſelf.

hen the church of St. Martin's
ebuilt, Dr. Pearce preached a
n at the conſecration, which
erwards printed, and accom-
d with an Eſſay on the Origin
Progreſs of Temples, traced
the rude ſtones, which were
ſed for altars, to the noble
ure of Solomon, which he
lers, as the firſt temple com-
y covered. In this diſſerta-
e declares his conviction of
enuineneſs of the relation at-
ed to Sanchoniatho; and
the difficulties which embar-
is opinion, by ſolutions drawn
the Newtonian chronology,
ich only an abſtract had been
publiſhed. Yet he does not
Sanchoniatho of much autho-
but imputes his inaccuracy
arrenneſs to miſinformation,
ant of materials; and regards
ook, as one of the venerable
es of rude antiquity, and the
of one, who had miſſed the
, rather than concealed it.
s obſervations on that build-
which is called the temple of
n, removes part of the diffi-
, which preſents itſelf in the
tion of the manner in which
on deſtroyed it.

1725, the Earl reſigned the
ſeal, which reſignation was
followed with an impeach-
by the houſe of commons ſent
the lords. The ground of
this impeachment, according to Dr. Pearce, was as follows: In the *South Sea year*, the money of the ſuitors in chancery was, by ancient cuſtom, ordered by the lord chancellor to be paid to the maſter in chancery, in court. Mr. Dormer, one of the maſters, had trafficked with the ſuitors money in 'Change-Alley, and, dying ſoon after, his accounts were found to be deficient 60,000l. This raiſed a violent commotion againſt Lord Macclesfield, eſpecially among ſome who had perſonal reſentments. The late king was then Prince of Wales, had lived ſeparately from his father, as he had been ordered to do, and the education of his children had been detained from him, upon an opinion then given by ten of the twelve judges, called together, at his majeſty's command, by Lord Macclesfield, upon this queſtion; *Whether the education of the grand-children did belong to their grand-father, as ſovereign, or to the Prince of Wales as father?* The anſwer of the judges being not pleaſing to the prince, he bore it with reſentment; and when the houſe of commons took the affair of the ſuitors money into conſideration, all the members who paid their court at Leiceſter-Houſe joined in the outcry, and came into the impeachment. Lord Macclesfield was tried by the houſe of lords, was declared guilty, and received a ſevere judgment. He was fined 30,000l. (though he had before paid 10,000l. into chancery,) upon an unrepealed ancient ſtatute, and directed to be confined in the Tower till the money ſhould be paid; which was ſoon done. The king, fully ſenſible of the hardſhip of the ſentence, and that it had

been incurred chiefly on *his* account, informed Lord Macclesfield, that he intended to repay the ſum out of his privy purſe, as faſt as he could ſpare the money. Within twelve months his lordſhip received 1000l. and the next year a meſſage from Sir Robert Walpole informed him, that he might tend for 2000l. more; but the king's death happening before his lordſhip ſent for the latter ſum, the former was all he ever received from the intended bounty of his gracious maſter.

Lord Macclesfield lived to the year 1732, and then died of a ſuppreſſion of urine. Upon his aſking if his phyſician was gone, and being told that he was, he replied, *Ay, I am going too, but I will cloſe my eye-lids myſelf*, which he did, and in a few moments expired. After ſeveral diſappointments, the deanry of Winchester becoming vacant, Dr. Pearce was appointed dean in 1739,* and in the year 1744 he was elected prolocutor of the lower houſe of convocation for the province of Canterbury. His friends now began to think of him for the epiſcopal dignity, but Mr. Dean's language rather declined it. However, after ſeveral difficulties had been ſtarted and removed, he conſented to accept the biſhoprick of Bangor, and promiſed Lord Hardwicke to "do it with a good grace." He accordingly made proper acknowledgments of the royal goodneſs, and was conſecrated, Feb. 12, 1748. Upon the declining ſtate of health of Dr. Wilcocks, Biſhop of Rocheſter, the Biſhop of Bangor was ſeveral times applied to by Archbiſhop Herring to accept of Rocheſter, and the deanry of Weſtminſter, in exchange for Bangor, but the biſhop then firſt ſignified his deſire to obtain leave to reſign, and retire to a private life. His lordſhip, however, upon being preſſed, ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon:—— "My Lord, (ſaid he to the Duke of Newcaſtle,) your grace offers theſe dignities to me in ſo generous and friendly a manner, that I promiſe you to accept them." Upon the death of Biſhop Wilcocks he was accordingly promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter, and deanry of Weſtminſter, in 1756. Biſhop Sherlock died in 1761, and Lord Bath offered his intereſt for getting the Biſhop of Rocheſter appointed to ſucceed him in the dioceſe of London, but the biſhop told his lordſhip, that he had determined never to be Biſhop of London, or Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

* As ſoon as it was known that the doctor was to be dean of Winchester, his friend Mr. Pulteney came to congratulate him on the occaſion, and among other things which he then ſaid, one was, "Dr. Pearce, though you may think that others, beſides Sir Robert, have contributed to get you this dignity, yet you may depend upon it that he is all in all, and that you owe it entirely to his good-will towards you; and therefore as I am now ſo engaged in oppoſition to him, it may happen that ſome who are of our party, may, if there ſhould be any oppoſition for members of parliament at Winchester, prevail upon me to deſire you to act there in aſſiſtance of ſome friend of ours, and Sir Robert, at the ſame time, may aſk your aſſiſtance in the election for a friend of his own, againſt one whom we recommend: I tell you, therefore, beforehand, that if you comply with my requeſt, rather than Sir Robert's, to whom you are ſo very much obliged, I ſhall have the worſe opinion of you."

In

In the year 1763, his lordſhip being ſeventy-three years old, and finding himſelf leſs fit for the buſineſs of his ſtations as biſhop and dean, informed his friend, Lord Bath, of his intention to reſign *both*, and live in a retired manner upon his private fortune. Lord Bath undertook to acquaint his majeſty, who named a day and hour, when the biſhop was admitted alone into the cloſet. He told the king, that he wiſhed to have ſome interval between the fatigues of buſineſs and eternity, and deſired his majeſty to conſult proper perſons about the propriety and legality of his reſignation. In about two months the king informed him, that Lord Mansfield ſaw no objection, and that Lord Northington, who had been doubtful, on farther conſideration thought, that the requeſt might be complied with. Unfortunately for the biſhop, Lord Bath applied for Biſhop Newton to ſucceed. This alarmed the miniſtry, who thought that no dignities ſhould be obtained but through their hands. They, therefore, oppoſed the reſignation, and his majeſty was informed that the biſhops diſliked the deſign. His majeſty ſent to him again, and at a third audience told him, that he muſt think no more of reſigning. The biſhop replied, " Sir, I am all duty and ſubmiſſion," and then retired.*

In 1768 he obtained leave to reſign the deanry; in 1773 he loſt his lady, and after ſome months of lingering decay, he died at Little Ealing, June 29, 1774. Being aſked one day how he could live with ſo little nutriment? *I live*, ſaid he, *upon the recollection of an innocent and well ſpent life, which is my only ſuſtenance.*

This eminent prelate diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every part of his life by the virtues proper to his ſtation. His literary abilities, and application to ſacred and philological learning, will appear by the following catalogue of his works. A Thankſgiving Sermon for Preſervation from the Plague, before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, 1723.—A Farewell Sermon, on quitting the Rectory of St. Bartholomew's, 1723-4.—A Sermon at the Conſecration of St. Martin's Church, Oct. 20, 1726.—A Sermon on the Propagation of the Goſpel, 1729-30.—A Sermon on Self-Murder, 1734.—A Sermon on the Subject of Charity-Schools, 1735.—Concio ad Synodum Cleri, in Provinciâ Cant. habita, 1741.—A Spittal Sermon, at St. Bride's, 1743.—A Sermon before the Lords, Jan. 30, 1748-9.—A Faſt Sermon before the Lords, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, March 14, 1760.—A Jubilee Sermon, in ditto, June 3, 1760.—Three Letters in the Guardian and Spectator, mentioned

* With reſpect to the biſhop's earneſt deſire of reſigning his preferments, the editor (his lordſhip's chaplain) obſerves, that it gave occaſion to much diſquiſition and conjecture. 'As it could not be founded in avarice, it was ſought in vanity, and Dr. Pearce was ſuſpected as aſpiring to the antiquated praiſe of contempt of wealth, and deſire of retirement.' But the editor, who had the beſt opportunities of judging, ſeems ſtrongly perſuaded, that the intended reſignation proceeded from the cauſes publickly alledged, a deſire of diſmiſſion from public cares, and of opportunity for more continued ſtudy. Some of the biſhop's manuſcripts confirm him in this opinion.

above.—Cicero de Oratore, 1716, 1732, 1746, 1771.—Longinus de Sublimitate, 1724, 1732, 1733, 1752, 1762, 1773.—Cicero de Officiis, 1745, 1761.—An Account of Trinity College, Cambridge, pamph. 1720. Epiſtolæ duæ de editione N. T. à Bentleio ſuſceptâ, de corruptis epiſtolarum N. T. locis, &c. 1721.—A Letter to the clergy of the church of England, on occaſion of the Biſhop of Rocheſter's commitment to the Tower, 2d. ed. 1722.—The ſame in French.—Miracles of Jeſus vindicated, 1727 and 1728.—A Review of the Text of Milton, 1733.—Two Letters againſt Dr. Middleton, occaſioned by the doctor's letter to Waterland, on the publication of his treatiſe, intitled Scripture Vindicated, 3d edit. 1752.—

Since his death a commentary with notes on the four Evangeliſts and the Acts of the Apoſtles; together with a new tranſlation of St. Paul's firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, with a paraphraſe and notes, have been publiſhed with his life prefixed, from original MSS. in 2 vol. 4to. by his Lordſhip's chaplain, John Derby, A. M.

Extracts from the Life of David Hume, *Eſq. written by himſelf.*

Theſe Memoirs, as we are told in an Advertiſement by the Editor, were written by Mr. Hume, *a few Months before his Death, and in a Codicil to his Will they are ordered to be prefixed to the next Edition of his Works. We flatter ourſelves therefore that they will not be unacceptable to our Readers, as well on account of the Source from which they are derived, as forming an authentic Supplement to the Account we gave of the Author in our laſt Volume.**

IT is difficult for a man to ſpeak long of himſelf without vanity; therefore, I ſhall be ſhort. It may be thought an inſtance of vanity that I pretend at all to write my life; but this narrative ſhall contain little more than the hiſtory of my writings; as, indeed, almoſt all my life has been ſpent in literary purſuits and occupations. The firſt ſucceſs of moſt of my writings was not ſuch as to be an object of vanity.

I was born the 26th of April 1711, old ſtyle, at Edinburgh.—I paſſed through the ordinary courſe of education with ſucceſs, and was ſeized very early with a paſſion for literature, which has been the ruling paſſion of my life, and the great ſource of my enjoyments. My ſtudious diſpoſition, my ſobriety, and my induſtry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profeſſion for me; but I found an unſurmountable averſion to every thing but the purſuits of philoſophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors which I was ſecretly devouring.

My very ſlender fortune, however, being unſuitable to this plan of life, and my health being a little broken by my ardent application, I was tempted, or rather forced, to make a very feeble trial for entering into a more active ſcene of life. In 1734, I went to Briſtol, with ſome recommen-

* Vid. Ann. Reg. Vol. xix. p. 27.

dations

dations to eminent merchants, but in a few months found that ſcene totally unſuitable to me. I went over to France, with a view of proſecuting my ſtudies in a country retreat; and I there laid that plan of life, which I have ſteadily and ſucceſsfully purſued.

During my retreat in France, firſt at Reims, but chiefly at La Fleche, in Anjou, I compoſed my *Treatiſe of Human Nature*. After paſſing three years very agreeably in that country, I came over to London in 1737. In the end of 1738, I publiſhed my Treatiſe, and immediately went down to my mother and my brother, who lived at his country-houſe, and was employing himſelf very judiciouſly and ſucceſsfully in the improvement of his fortune.

Never literary attempt was more unfortunate than my Treatiſe of Human Nature. It fell *dead-born from the preſs*, without reaching ſuch diſtinction, as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and ſanguine temper, I very ſoon recovered the blow, and proſecuted with great ardour my ſtudies in the country. In 1742, I printed at Edinburgh the firſt part of my Eſſays: the work was favourably received, and ſoon made me entirely forget my former diſappointment.

In 1745, I received a letter from the Marquis of Annandale, inviting me to come and live with him in England; I found alſo, that the friends and family of that young nobleman were deſirous of putting him under my care and direction, for the ſtate of his mind and health required it.—I lived with him a twelvemonth. My appointments during that time made a conſiderable acceſſion to my ſmall fortune. I then received an invitation from General St. Clair to attend him as a ſecretary to his expedition, which was at firſt meant againſt Canada, but ended in an incurſion on the coaſt of France. Next year, to wit, 1747, I received an invitation from the General to attend him in the ſame ſtation in his military embaſſy to the courts of Vienna and Turin. I then wore the uniform of an officer, and was introduced at theſe courts as aid-de-camp to the general, along with Sir Harry Erſkine and Captain Grant, now General Grant.

I had always entertained a notion, that my want of ſucceſs in publiſhing the Treatiſe of Human Nature, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter, and that I had been guilty of a very uſual indiſcretion, in going to the preſs too early. I, therefore, caſt the firſt part of that work anew in the Enquiry concerning Human Underſtanding, which was publiſhed while I was at Turin. But this piece was at firſt little more ſucceſsful than the Treatiſe of Human Nature. On my return from Italy, I had the mortification to find all England in a ferment, on account of Dr. Middleton's Free Enquiry, while my performance was entirely overlooked and neglected. A new edition, which had been publiſhed at London of my Eſſays, moral and political, met not with a much better reception.

Such is the force of natural temper, that theſe diſappointments made little or no impreſſion on me. I went down in 1749, and lived two years with my brother at his country-houſe, for my mother was

now dead. I there compoſed the ſecond part of my Eſſays, which I called Political Diſcourſes, and alſo my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, which is another part of my Treatiſe that I caſt anew. Meanwhile, my bookſeller, A. Millar, informed me, that my former publications (all but the unfortunate Treatiſe) were beginning to be the ſubject of converſation; that the ſale of them was gradually increaſing, and that new editions were demanded. Anſwers by Reverends, and Right Reverends, came out two or three in a year; and I found, by Dr. Warburton's railing, that the books were beginning to be eſteemed in good company.

In 1751, I removed from the country to the town, the true ſcene for a man of letters. In 1752, were publiſhed at Edinburgh, where I then lived, my Political Diſcourſes, the only work of mine that was ſucceſsful on the firſt publication. It was well received abroad and at home. In the ſame year was publiſhed at London, my Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals; which, in my own opinion (who ought not to judge on that ſubject), is of all my writings, hiſtorical, philoſophical, or literary, incomparably the beſt. It came unnoticed and unobſerved into the world.

In 1752, the Faculty of Advocates choſe me their Librarian, an office from which I received little or no emolument, but which gave me the command of a large library. I then formed the plan of writing the hiſtory of England; but being frightened with the notion of continuing a narrative through a period of 1700 years, I commenced with the acceſſion of the Houſe of Stuart, an epoch when, I thought, the miſrepreſentations of faction began chiefly to take place. I was, I own, ſanguine in my expectations of the ſucceſs of this work. I thought that I was the only hiſtorian, that had at once neglected preſent power, intereſt, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the ſubject was ſuited to every capacity, I expected proportional applauſe. But miſerable was my diſappointment: I was aſſailed by one cry of reproach, diſapprobation, and even deteſtation; Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, Whig and Tory, churchman and ſectary, freethinker and religioniſt, patriot and courtier, united in their rage againſt the man, who had preſumed to ſhed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the Earl of Straffford; and after the firſt ebullitions of their fury were over, what was ſtill more mortifying, the book ſeemed to ſink into oblivion. Mr. Millar told me, that in a twelvemonth he ſold only forty-five copies of it. I ſcarcely, indeed, heard of one man in the three kingdoms, conſiderable for rank or letters, that could endure the book. I muſt only except the primate of England, Dr. Herring, and the primate of Ireland, Dr. Stone, which ſeem two odd exceptions. Theſe dignified prelates ſeparately ſent me meſſages not to be diſcouraged.

I was, however, I confeſs, diſcouraged; and had not the war been at that time breaking out between France and England, I had certainly retired to ſome provincial town of the former kingdom, have changed my name, and never

more have returned to my
: country. But as this ſcheme
ıot now practicable, and the
quent volume was conſiderably
ıced, I reſolved to pick up
ge and to perſevere.

this interval, I publiſhed at
on my Natural Hiſtory of Re-
ı, along with ſome other ſmall
s: its public entry was ra-
ɔbſcure, except only that Dr.
* wrote a pamphlet againſt
ith all the illiberal petulence,
ance, and ſcurrility, which
guiſh the Warburtonian ſchool.
pamphlet gave me ſome con-
on for the otherwiſe indiffe-
eception of my performance.

1756, two years after the fall
ıe firſt volume, was publiſhed
econd volume of my Hiſtory,
ıining the period from the
ı of Charles I. till the Revo-
n. This performance hap-
d to give leſs diſpleaſure to
Whigs, and was better re-
d. It not only roſe itſelf, but
d to buoy up its unfortunate
ıer.

ıt though I had been taught by
rience, that the Whig party
in poſſeſſion of beſtowing all
s, both in the ſtate and in li-
ure, I was ſo little inclined to
l to their ſenſeleſs clamour,
that in above a hundred alterations, which farther ſtudy, reading, or reflection engaged me to make in the reigns of the two firſt Stuarts, I have made all of them invariably to the Tory ſide. It is ridiculous to conſider the Engliſh conſtitution before that period as a regular plan of liberty.

In 1759, I publiſhed my Hiſtory of the Houſe of Tudor. The clamour againſt this performance was almoſt equal to that againſt the Hiſtory of the two firſt Stuarts. The reign of Elizabeth was particularly obnoxious. But I was now callous againſt the impreſſions of public folly, and continued very peaceably and contentedly in my retreat at Edinburgh, to finiſh, in two volumes, the more early part of the Engliſh Hiſtory, which I gave to the public in 1761, with tolerable, and but tolerable ſucceſs.

The author being now, as he informs us, turned of fifty, and having obtained by the ſale of his books, a competent and independent fortune, he retired into his native country of Scotland, *determined never more to ſet his foot out it.* From this reſolution he was however diverted by the Earl of Hertford, whom he attended, as

The title of the pamphlet alluded to is—*Remarks on Mr. David Hume's on the Natural Hiſtory of Religion. Addreſſed to the rev. Dr. Warburton.*
ıce the appearance of Mr. Hume's Life, a new edition of this performance ɔeen publiſhed, with the following advertiſement from the bookſeller to eader.

The following is ſuppoſed to be the pamphlet referred to by the late Mr. d Hume, in page 21, of his Life, *as being written by* Dr. Hurd. Upon pplying to the biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry for his permiſſion to reſh it, he very readily gave me his conſent. His lordſhip only added, he ſorry he could not take himſelf the WHOLE infamy of the charge brought ıſt him; but that he ſhould hereafter, if he thought it worth his while, ıin himſelf more particularly on that ſubject.

" *Strand, March*, 1777. T. CADELL."

ſecretary,

ſecretary, on his embaſſy to Paris in the year 1763. He gives us the following account of his reception in that capital.

Thoſe who have not ſeen the ſtrange effects of modes, will never imagine the reception I met with at Paris, from men and women of all ranks and ſtations. The more I reſiled from their exceſſive civilities, the more I was loaded with them. There is, however, a real ſatisfaction in living at Paris, from the great number of ſenſible, knowing, and polite company with which that city abounds above all places in the univerſe. I thought once of ſettling there for life.

I was appointed ſecretary to the embaſſy; and, in ſummer 1765, Lord Hertford left me, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. I was *chargé d'affaires* till the arrival of the Duke of Richmond, towards the end of the year. In the beginning of 1766, I left Paris, and next ſummer went to Edinburgh, with the ſame view as formerly, of burying myſelf in a philoſophical retreat. I returned to that place, not richer, but with much more money, and a much larger income, by means of Lord Hertford's friendſhip, than I left it; and I was deſirous of trying what ſuperfluity could produce, as I had formerly made an experiment of a competency. But, in 1767, I received from Mr. Conway an invitation to be Under-ſecretary; and this invitation, both the character of the perſon, and my connexions with Lord Hertford, prevented me from declining. I returned to Edinburgh in 1769, very opulent (for I poſſeſſed a revenue of 1000 l. a year), healthy, and though ſomewhat ſtricken in years, with the proſpect of enjoying long my eaſe, and of ſeeing the increaſe of my reputation.

In ſpring 1775, I was ſtruck with a diſorder in my bowels, which at firſt gave me no alarm, but has ſince, as I apprehend it, become mortal and incurable. I now reckon upon a ſpeedy diſſolution. I have ſuffered very little pain from my diſorder; and what is more ſtrange, have, notwithſtanding the great decline of my perſon, never ſuffered a moment's abatement of my ſpirits; inſomuch, that were I to name the period of my life, which I ſhould moſt chooſe to paſs over again, I might be tempted to point to this later period. I poſſeſs the ſame ardour as ever in ſtudy, and the ſame gaiety in company. I conſider, beſides, that a man of ſixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities; and though I ſee many ſymptoms of my literary reputation's breaking out at laſt with additional luſtre, I knew that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at preſent.

To conclude hiſtorically with my own character. I am, or rather was (for that is the ſtyle I muſt now uſe in ſpeaking of myſelf, which emboldens me the more to ſpeak my ſentiments); I was, I ſay, a man of mild diſpoſitions, of command of temper, of an open, ſocial, and cheerful humour, capable of attachment, but little ſuſceptible of enmity, and of great moderation in all my paſſions. Even my love of literary fame, my ruling paſſion, never ſoured my temper,

, notwithſtanding my frequent
pointments. My company
ıot unacceptable to the young
careleſs, as well as to the ſtu-
: and literary; and as I took a
cular pleaſure in the company
odeſt women, I had no reaſon
: diſpleaſed with the reception
t with from them. In a word,
gh moſt men any wiſe eminent,
found reaſon to complain of
nny, I never was touched, or
attacked by her baleful tooth:
though I wantonly expoſed
lf to the rage of both civil and
ious factions, they ſeemed to
ſarmed in my behalf of their
ed fury. My friends never
occaſion to vindicate any one
miſtance of my character and
uct: not but that the zealots,
ıay well ſuppoſe, would have
glad to invent and propagate
ſtory to my diſadvantage, but
could never find any which
thought would wear the face
obability. I cannot ſay there
vanity in making this fune-
ration of myſelf, but I hope it
t a miſplaced one; and this is
atter of fact which is eaſily
ed and aſcertained.

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*following Sketches are ſaid to
ve been delineated by the Pen of
the late Lord* Cheſterfield. *In order to make the Group complete, we have added that of Lord* Cheſterfield *himſelf by another Hand.*

Sir Robert Walpole.

IMuch queſtion, whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be tranſmitted to poſterity: for he governed this kingdom ſo long, that the various paſſions of mankind mingled and in a manner incorporated themſelves with every thing that was ſaid or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered or more abuſed; and his long power was probably the cauſe of both. I was much acquainted with him both in his public and private life. I mean to do impartial juſtice to his character, and therefore my picture of him will perhaps be more like him, than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

In private life he was good-natured, chearful, ſocial; inelegant in his manners, looſe in his morals, he had a coarſe ſtrong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his ſtation, as it is always inconſiſtent with dignity. He was very able as a miniſter, but without a certain elevation of mind, neceſſary for great good, or great

The author of a letter addreſſed to Dr. Smith, and ſaid to have been
en by a dignitary of the Univerſity of Oxford, puts the following queries
n, upon this point—" Was there, then, any ſuſpicion in Scotland, that
might not, at times, be quite ſo compoſed and eaſy as he ſhould have
en? Was there *any particular book* ever written againſt him, that ſhook
s ſyſtem to pieces about his ears, and reduced it to a heap of ruins, the
ceſs and eclat of which might be ſuppoſed to have hurt his mind, and to
ve affected his health? Was there *any author*, whoſe *name* his friends
ver dared mention before him, and warned all ſtrangers, that were introced to him, againſt doing it, becauſe he never failed, when by any accint it was done, to fly out into a tranſport of paſſion and ſwearing?"

miſchief.

miſchief. Profuſe and appetent, his ambition was ſubſervient to his deſign of making a great fortune—He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu—He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory. He was both the beſt parliament-man, and the ableſt manager of parliament, that I believe ever lived. An artful rather than eloquent ſpeaker, he ſaw, as by intuition, the diſpoſition of the houſe, and preſſed or receded accordingly. So clear in ſtating the moſt intricate matters, eſpecially in the finances, that, whilſt he was ſpeaking the moſt ignorant thought that they underſtood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his adminiſtration; and he employed it with a ſucceſs, which in a manner diſgraced humanity.* He was not, it is true, the inventor of that ſhameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground inſenſibly ever ſince Charles the Second, but with uncommon ſkill and unbounded profuſion he brought it to that perfection which at this time diſhonours and diſtreſſes this country, and which, (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) muſt ruin it.

Beſides this powerful engine of government, he had a moſt extraordinary talent of perſuading and working men up to his purpoſe—A hearty kind of frankneſs, which ſometimes ſeemed imprudence, made people think that he let them into his ſecrets, whilſt the impoliteneſs of his manners ſeemed to atteſt his ſincerity. When he found any body proof againſt pecuniary temptations, which, alas! was but ſeldom, he had recourſe to a ſtill worſe art: for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue and the love of one's country, calling them "*The chimerical ſchool-boy flights of claſſical learning*"; declaring himſelf at the ſame time "*No Saint, no Spartan, no Reformer.*" He would frequently aſk young fellows at their firſt appearance in the world, while their honeſt hearts were yet untainted—"*Well, are you to be an old Roman? a patriot? You'll ſoon come off of that and grow wiſer.*" And thus he was more dangerous to the morals, than to the liberties of his country, to which I am perſuaded that he meant no ill in his heart.†

He was the eaſy and profuſe dupe of women, and in ſome inſtances indecently ſo—He was exceſſively open to flattery, even of the groſſeſt

* Notwithſtanding his avowed principles of venality, it is a well known truth, that he ſometimes checked the mean ſervility of members of parliament, eſpecially thoſe from North Britain.

† Though it cannot be denied that Sir Robert ruled this country by general corruption, and ſucceeded in his plans of government by temporary expedient, there was a decency in his parliamentary conduct, of which we now lament the total abſence.

Every motion during his adminiſtration was treated with reſpect, and every queſtion diſcuſſed with ſeeming fairneſs and impartiality. The parliamentary chiefs were ranged on both ſides, according to their ſuppoſed merit; and engaged each other, not only with vigour, but with that liberality which becomes citizens. There was then no rude and boiſterous uproar, no boyiſh and tumultuous clamour of The queſtion! the queſtion!

kind,

, and from the coarſeſt bung-
of that vile profeſſion; which
ged him to paſs moſt of his
e and jovial hours with peo-
whoſe blaſted characters re-
d upon his own—He was
by many, but reſpected by
, his familiar and illiberal
and raillery leaving him no
ty—He was not vindictive,
n the contrary very placable
oſe who had injured him the
—His good humour, good na-
and beneficence in the ſeveral
ons of father, huſband, maſ-
and friend, gained him the
eſt affections of all within that
e.

is name will not be recorded
ſtory amongſt the Beſt Men,
he Beſt Miniſters, but much
ught it to be ranked amongſt
vorſt.*

MR. PULTENEY.

R. Pulteney was formed by nature for ſocial and convi-
pleaſures—Reſentment made
engage in buſineſs. He had
ght himſelf ſlighted by Sir
ert Walpole, to whom he pub-
y avowed not only revenge,
utter deſtruction. He had
y and ſhining parts, a ſurpri-
zing quickneſs of wit, and a happy turn to the moſt amuſing and entertaining kinds of poetry, as epigrams, ballads, odes, &c. in all which he had an uncommon facility. His compoſitions in that way were ſometimes ſatyrical, often licentious, but always full of wit.

He had a quick and clear conception of buſineſs, could equally detect and practiſe ſophiſtry—he could ſtate and explain the moſt intricate matters, even in figures, with the utmoſt perſpicuity. His parts were rather above buſineſs, and the warmth of his imagination, joined to the impetuoſity and reſtleſſneſs of his temper, made him incapable of conducting it long together with prudence and ſteadineſs.

He was a moſt complete orator and debater in the houſe of commons, eloquent, entertaining, perſuaſive, ſtrong, and pathetic, as occaſion required; for he had arguments, wit, and *tears* at his command. His breaſt was the ſeat of all thoſe paſſions which degrade our nature and diſturb our reaſon. There they raged in a perpetual conflict; but Avarice, the meaneſt of them all, generally triumphed, ruled abſolutely, and in many inſtances, which I forbear to mention, *moſt ſcandalouſly*.

No miniſter was ever ſo liberal in rewarding his authors as W. It has ſaid, and I believe proved beyond contradiction, that Arnall, the writer he Britiſh Journal, at different times, had ſums from him to the amount n thouſand pounds. The ſlighteſt favour from the preſs was ſure to be y rewarded; of which the following is a remarkable inſtance.——About ear 1735, ſeveral very ſevere pamphlets were publiſhed againſt Walpole's miſtration. Among the reſt was a poem called—"Are theſe things ſo?" oung gentleman of about nineteen years of age, took it into his head to an anſwer to this piece, to which he gave the title of, "Yes, they are!" obert was ſo pleaſed with it, though but a flimſy performance, that he er Roberts, the publiſher, and expreſſed his great ſatisfaction at the com- nt paid him, by giving a bank note of a hundred pounds; which he de- the publiſher to preſent with his compliments to the author.

His

His ſudden paſſion was outrageous, but ſupported by great perſonal courage.

Nothing exceeded his ambition but his avarice: they often accompany and are frequently and reciprocally the cauſes and the effects of each other, but the latter is always a clog upon the former.

He affected good nature and compaſſion, and perhaps his heart might feel the misfortunes and diſtreſſes of his fellow-creatures, but his hand was ſeldom or never ſtretched out to relieve them.

Though he was an able actor of truth and ſincerity, he could occaſionally lay them aſide to ſerve the purpoſes of his ambition or avarice.*

He was once in the greateſt point of view that I ever ſaw any ſubject in. When the oppoſition, of which he was the leader in the houſe of commons, prevailed at laſt againſt Sir Robert Walpole, he became the arbiter between the crown and the people: the former imploring his protection, the latter his ſupport. In that critical moment his various jarring paſſions were in the higheſt ferment, and for a while ſuſpended his ruling one. Senſe of ſhame made him heſitate at turning courtier on a ſudden, after having acted the patriot ſo long and with ſo much applauſe, and his pride made him declare that he would accept of no place, vainly imagining, that he could by ſuch a ſimulated and temporary ſelf-denial preſerve his popularity with the people, and his power at court.† He was miſtaken in both. The king hated him almoſt as much for what he might have done, as for what he had done: and a motley miniſtry was formed who by no means deſired his company.

The nation looked upon him as a deſerter, and he ſhrunk into inſignificancy and an earldom.

He made ſeveral attempts afterwards to retrieve the popularity he had loſt, but in vain—his ſituation would not allow it—he was fixed in the houſe of lords, that hoſpital of incurables, and his retreat to

* During the courſe of his long oppoſition, his animoſity to Walpole led him (as we are informed by the ingenious reviewer of Lord Cheſterfield's Characters) into that moſt ſcandalous practice of betraying private converſation. Mr. Pulteney in a pamphlet which he publiſhed about the year 1735, and which contained a particular defence of himſelf againſt a miniſterial work called "Scandal and Defamation diſplayed," declared upon his honour, that Sir Robert Walpole had ſpoken in very ſlight terms of the king when Prince of Wales; he quoted the very words which were ſuppoſed to be made uſe of by the miniſter, and which conveyed great marks of contempt. However, he loſt his aim; for the king generouſly took the part of the perſon betrayed; and, to ſhew his indignation againſt the informer, with his own hand he ſtruck his name from the liſt of privy counſellors.

† We are told by the above-mentioned author, that the following accident, which happened during the adjournment of parliament, might poſſibly accelerate his determination:—As he was riding in Hyde Park, he had an accidental fall from his horſe, which gave him a ſlight bruiſe; the king happened to come by at the very inſtant, and being informed of Mr. Pulteney's misfortune, he immediately went to him, took him into his coach, and ſhewed ſuch concern for him, as could not but ſoothe and affect the mind of a perſon ſo publickly diſtinguiſhed by his ſovereign at ſo critical a time.

popularity was cut off—For the confidence of the people, when once great, and once loſt, is never to be regained—He lived afterwards in retirement with the wretched comfort of Horace's miſer.

*Populus me ſibilat &c.**

I may perhaps be ſuſpected to have given too ſtrong colouring to ſome features of this portrait; but I ſolemnly proteſt, that I have drawn it conſcientiouſly and to the beſt of my knowledge, from very long acquaintance with and obſervation of the original. Nay, I have rather ſoftened than heightened the colouring.†

LORD HARDWICKE.

LORD Hardwicke was perhaps the greateſt magiſtrate that this country ever had. He preſided in the court of chancery above twenty years, and in all that time none of his decrees were reverſed, nor the juſtneſs of them ever queſtioned. Though avarice was his ruling paſſion, he was never in the leaſt ſuſpected of any kind of corruption—a rare and meritorious inſtance of virtue and ſelf-denial, under the influence of ſuch a craving, inſatiable, and increaſing paſſion!

* Upon the death of George the Second, the E. of B. made a tender of his ſervices to his preſent majeſty.—The offer was accepted, ſo far as to the hearing of his advice; but the Great Perſon knew his character was ſo diſagreeable to all parties, and ſo odious to the people in general, that he could not think of giving him any poſt in the adminiſtration. It is affirmed with great confidence, that, whenever his opinion was aſked relating to ſtate-matters, he conſtantly gave it againſt the popular ſide of the queſtion.

† In juſtice to the noble earl's memory we cannot paſs by this opportunity of ſubmitting to the reader's judgment another character, differing in many reſpects from that which my Lord Cheſterfield has given us of him, and drawn by a perſon of ſound judgment, ſtrict veracity, and who enjoyed a long and intimate connection with him, Dr. Z. Pearce, late Biſhop of Rocheſter.

"William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, deſcended from a very ancient family, (the De Pultneys, who, I think, came to England with the Norman Duke, William,) was, by inheritance and prudent œconomy, poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate, out of which he yearly beſtowed, contrary to the opinion of thoſe who were leſs acquainted with him, more than a tenth part of his whole income. He was a firm friend to the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, and free from all the vices of the age, even in his youth. He conſtantly attended the public worſhip of God, and all the offices of it in his pariſh-church, while his health permitted it; and when his great age and infirmities prevented him from ſo doing, he ſupplied that defect by daily reading over the morning-ſervice of the church before he came out of his bedchamber. That he had quick and lively parts, a fine head, and ſound judgment, the many things which he publiſhed occaſionally, ſufficiently teſtify. He had twice, chiefly by his own perſonal weight, overturned the miniſtry; viz. in 1741 and 1745; though he kept not in power long at each of thoſe great events, which was occaſioned by his adhering to his reſolution of not filling any place of profit or honour in the adminiſtration; and by ſome other means leſs creditable to his aſſociates than to himſelf, which the writer of this account is well acquainted with. The Biſhop of Rocheſter had lived near forty years in friendſhip with him; and, for a great part of thoſe years, in an intimacy with him."

He

He had great and clear parts; underſtood, loved, and cultivated the belles lettres.

He was an agreeable, eloquent ſpeaker in parliament, but not without ſome little tincture of the pleader.

Men are apt to miſtake, or at leaſt to ſeem to miſtake their own talents, in hopes perhaps of miſleading others to allow them that which they are conſcious they do not poſſeſs. Thus Lord Hardwicke valued himſelf more upon being a great miniſter of ſtate, which he certainly was not, than upon being a great magiſtrate, which he certainly was.

All his notions were clear, but none of them great. Good order and domeſtic details were his proper department. The great and ſhining parts of government, though not above his parts to conceive, were above his timidity to undertake.

By great and lucrative employments, during the courſe of thirty years, and by ſtill greater parſimony, he acquired an immenſe fortune, and eſtabliſhed his numerous family in profitable poſts and advantageous alliances.*

Though he had been ſolicitor and attorney general, he was by no means what is called a prerogative lawyer—he loved the conſtitution, and maintained the juſt prerogative of the crown, but without ſtretching it to the oppreſſion of the people.

He was naturally humane, moderate, and decent, and when by his former employments he was obliged to proſecute ſtate-criminals, he diſcharged that duty in a very different manner from moſt of his predeceſſors, who were too juſtly called the Blood-hounds of the crown.

He was a chearful and inſtructive companion, humane in his nature, decent in his manners, unſtained with any vice (avarice excepted) a very Great Magiſtrate, but by no means a Great Miniſter.

MR. FOX.

MR. Henry Fox was a younger brother of the loweſt extraction.† His father, Sir Stephen Fox, made a conſiderable fortune, *ſome how or other*, and left him a fair younger brother's portion, which

* The Marriage Act, ſays the reviewer, was a thing of his own creating, and which he eſpouſed with all his might and vigour: it met with great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, and was thought, by all impartial people, a very improper law in a commercial country, where all poſſible methods ſhould be taken to encourage a legal commerce between the ſexes. However, by his great power and influence, the chancellor carried this bill triumphantly through both houſes. Thoſe who pretended to know his real intentions gave out, that, in the proſecution of this buſineſs, he had nothing ſo much at heart as the ſecuring his own children from raſh and imprudent marriages.

† The editor of the Characters has corrected this miſtake of Lord Cheſterfield's, and has given us the following account of Mr. Fox's family.—Mr. Henry Fox was the ſecond ſurviving ſon of Sir Stephen Fox. Sir Stephen was one of the younger of many children, and his father, Mr. William Fox, was a gentleman of the county of Wilts, poſſeſſing a landed eſtate of about 300l. a year; which eſtate, upon a moderate computation, muſt have been at one time in

which he ſoon ſpent in the common vices of youth, gaming included. This obliged him to travel for ſome time. While abroad, he met with a very ſalacious Engliſhwoman, whoſe liberality retreived his fortune, with ſeveral circumſtances, more to the honour of his vigour than his morals.

When he returned, though by education a Jacobite, he attached himſelf to Sir Robert Walpole, and was one of his ableſt *eleves*. He had no fixed principles either of religion or morality, and was too unweary in ridiculing and exploding them.

He had very great abilities and indefatigable induſtry in buſineſs, great ſkill in managing, that is, in corrupting, the houſe of commons, and a wonderful dexterity in attaching individuals to himſelf. He promoted, encouraged, and practiſed their vices; he gratified their avarice, or ſupplied their profuſion. He wiſely and punctually performed whatever he promiſed, and moſt liberally rewarded their attachment and dependance. By theſe and all other means that can be imagined, he made himſelf many perſonal friends and political dependants.

He was a moſt diſagreeable ſpeaker in parliament, inelegant in his language, heſitating and ungraceful in his elocution, but ſkillful in diſcerning the temper of the houſe, and in knowing when and how to preſs or to yield.

A conſtant good humour and ſeeming frankneſs made him a welcome companion in ſocial life, and in all domeſtic relations he was goodnatured.

As he advanced in life, his ambition became ſubſervient to his avarice. His early profuſion and diſſipation had made him feel the many inconveniences of want, and, as it often happens, carried him to the contrary and worſe extreme of corruption and rapine. *Rem, quocunque modo rem* became his maxim, which he obſerved (I will not ſay religiouſly and ſcrupulouſly) but invariably and ſhamefully.

in that family from father to ſon at leaſt two hundred years. The preſent Earl of Ilcheſter, heir and elder branch of that family, is the preſent poſſeſſor of it. It is at a place called Farley, where the family has been buried, as appears by their monuments in that church, authenticating the facts here advanced. Sir Stephen Fox was in his earlieſt youth recommended as a companion to King Charles the Second, then Prince of Wales, by the Earl of Northumberland, who protected and in ſome ſort educated this young perſon, the ſon of his friend and neighbour; as was very cuſtomary with the great noblemen of that time, who had uſually in their houſes ſome of the ſons of the lower nobility and of the gentry to be brought up under their care and inſpection. Mr. Fox, afterwards Sir Stephen, accompanied his majeſty during his exile, and beſides receiving diſtinguiſhing marks of the royal favour abroad, upon his return to England, and at the reſtoration, he was made privy counſellor, paymaſter of the army, and was at one time firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. Sir Stephen had by his firſt lady two daughters, the one married to the Earl of Northampton, the other to the Lord Cornwallis—two families the moſt unlikely to have condeſcended to mean or unſuitable alliances. He died at a very advanced age, leaving two ſons, who were afterwards the Earl of Ilcheſter and Lord Holland, and one daughter, the mother of the preſent Lord Digby.

He had not the leaſt notion of, or regard for, the public good or the conſtitution, but deſpiſed thoſe cares, as the objects of narrow minds, or the pretences of intereſted ones. And he lived, as Brutus died, calling Virtue only a name.

The following traits of Mr. Fox's character are given us by the judicious writer of Lord Cheſterfield's Characters reviewed, and will ſerve to make the reſemblance more perfect and complete.

WHEN he applied to buſineſs, he proved himſelf equal to any employment. He ſtudied his great maſter Walpole with ſucceſs; drew from him what was uſeful in his miniſterial capacity; and copied him in the joyous part of his character, which beſt ſuited his future views of gaining friends. He ſoftened the broad ſtaring mirth and licentious feſtivity of Walpole into a conviviality more agreeable, into wit more reliſhing, and gaiety more palatable.

George the Second had often experienced his abilities, as well as a conſtant and ready ſubmiſſion to his will. In a very critical time, he truſted to him the management of his buſineſs in the houſe of commons. Fox was ſo far intoxicated with royal favour, that his natural caution forſook him; he ſent cards to the members of parliament, importing that the king had truſted to his care *the management of the houſe of commons*.—The glaring abſurdity of ſuch a behaviour diſguſted every body;—his power was immediately loſt, and he was obliged to reſign his place. His influence with his maſter continued ſtill as great as ever, and he gained a more lucrative employment under a miniſter who hated him.

His art in managing elections was ſuperior:—a late conteſt for the county of Oxford will not be ſoon forgotten, nor his ſkill in managing for the party he eſpouſed. He knew beyond all men the true method of gaining votes. A tradeſman in the Strand, who has ſince figured in Germany as a commiſſary, was well rewarded for underſtanding and obeying the commands of his friend and patron, upon this and other ſimilar occaſions.

Fox was an excellent huſband, a moſt indulgent father, a kind maſter, a courteous neighbour; and, what the world in general has little known, but which I now tell them on the beſt authority, a man whoſe *charities* demonſtrated that he poſſeſſed in abundance *the milk of human kindneſs*.

MR. PITT.

MR. Pitt owed his riſe to the moſt conſiderable poſts and power in this kingdom ſingly to his own abilities. In him they ſupplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter, in others, too often ſupply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune was only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his original deſtination, and a cornetcy of horſe his firſt and only commiſſion in it. Thus unaſſiſted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to

to introduce him into buſineſs, and (if I may uſe that expreſſion) to do the honours of his parts—but their own ſtrength was fully ſufficient.

His conſtitution refuſed him the uſual pleaſures, and his genius forbid him the idle diſſipations of youth, for ſo early as at the age of ſixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leiſure, which that tedious and painful diſtemper either procured or allowed him in acquiring a great fund of premature and uſeful knowledge.* Thus by the unaccountable relation of cauſes and effects, what ſeemed the greateſt misfortune of his life was perhaps the principal cauſe of its ſplendour.

His private life was ſtained by no vice, nor ſullied by any meanneſs. All his ſentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling paſſion was an unbounded ambition, which when ſupported by great abilities, and crowned with great ſucceſs, make what the world calls a Great Man.

He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing—qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones.

He had manners and addreſs, but one might diſcern through them too great a conſciouſneſs of his own ſuperior talents.

He was a moſt agreeable and lively companion in ſocial life, and had ſuch a verſatility of wit, that he would adopt it to all ſorts of converſation. He had alſo a moſt happy turn to poetry; but he ſeldom indulged, and ſeldom avowed it.

He came young into parliament, and upon that great theatre he ſoon equalled the oldeſt and the ableſt actors.† His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative, as well as in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with ſuch energy of diction, and ſuch dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated thoſe who were the moſt willing and the beſt able to encounter him.‡ Their arms fell out of their hands, and they ſhrunk under the aſcendant which his genius gained over their's.‖

In that aſſembly, where public good is ſo much talked of, and private intereſt ſingly purſued, he ſet out with acting the patriot, and performed that part ſo ably, that

* Notwithſtanding what is here ſaid by the noble author, it is well known that Pitt, when a boy at Eton, was the pride and boaſt of the ſchool: Dean Bland, the maſter, valued himſelf upon having ſo bright a ſcholar: the old man ſhewed him to his friends, and to every body, as a prodigy.

† It is ſaid that Sir R. Walpole ſcarce heard the ſound of his voice in the houſe of commons, but he was alarmed and thunderſtruck; he told his friends, that he would be glad, at any rate, to muzzle that terrible cornet of horſe. The miniſter would have promoted his riſe in the army, provided he would have given up his ſeat in parliament.

‡ Hume Campbell and Lord Mansfield.

‖ Demoſthenes was his great model in ſpeaking; and we are told, that he tranſlated ſome of his orations, by way of exerciſe, ſeveral times over. But though he was delighted with the manner of this orator, who united a wonderful power of expreſſion to the moſt forcible method of reaſoning, yet he was equally maſter of the pleaſing, diffuſe, and paſſionate ſtyle of the Roman orator.

he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather their only unſuſpected, champion.

The weight of his popularity and his univerſally acknowledged abilities obtruded him upon King George the Second, to whom he was perſonally obnoxious. He was made ſecretary of ſtate. In this difficult and delicate ſituation, which one would have thought muſt have reduced either the patriot, or the miniſter, to a deciſive option, he managed with ſuch ability, that while he ſerved the king more effectually in his moſt unwarrantable electoral views, than any former miniſter, however willing, had dared to do, he ſtill preſerved all his credit and popularity with the public, whom he aſſured and convinced that the protection and defence of Hanover with an army of ſeventy-five thouſand men in Britiſh pay, was the only poſſible method of ſecuring our poſſeſſions or acquiſitions in North America—So much eaſier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own diſintereſtedneſs, and even contempt of money, ſmoothed his way to power, and prevented or ſilenced a great ſhare of that envy which commonly attends it. Moſt men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make a proper uſe of them, but not very many of them have the impudence to think themſelves qualified for power.

Upon the whole, he will make a great and ſhining figure in the annals of this country; notwithſtanding the blot which his acceptance of three thouſand pounds per annum penſion for three lives, upon his voluntary reſignation of the ſeals, in the firſt year of the preſent king, muſt make in his character, eſpecially as to the diſintereſted part of it.—However, it muſt be acknowledged, that he had thoſe qualities which none but a Great Man can have, with a mixture of ſome of thoſe failings, which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

The following Character appears to have been drawn in the Year 1759, *nineteen Years after Lord* Scarborough's *Death. It is more finiſhed than any of thoſe which we have already exhibited, and furniſhes convincing proof of the noble Author's Diſcernment and Obſervation.*

Lord Scarborough.

IN drawing the character of Lord Scarborough, I will be ſtrictly upon my guard againſt the partiality of that intimate and unreſerved friendſhip, in which we lived for more than twenty years; to which friendſhip, as well as to the public notoriety of it, I owe much more than my pride will let my gratitude own. If this may be ſuſpected to have biaſſed my judgment, it muſt at the ſame time be allowed to have informed it; for the moſt ſecret movements of his ſoul, were, without diſguiſe, communicated to me only. However, I will rather lower than heighten the colouring; I will mark the ſhades, and draw a credible rather than an exact likeneſs.

He had a very good perſon, rather above the middle ſize; a handſome face, and, when he was chearful, the moſt engaging countenance imaginable; when grave, which

which he was oftenest, the most respectable one: he had in the highest degree the air, manners, and address of a man of quality; politeness with ease, and dignity without pride.

Bred in camps and courts, it cannot be supposed he was untainted with the fashionable vices of those warm climates; but, if I may be allowed the expression, he dignified them, instead of their degrading him into any mean or indecent action. He had a good degree of classical, and a great one of modern knowledge, with a just, and at the same time a delicate taste.

In his common expences he was liberal within bounds, but in his charities and bounties, he had none. I have known them put him to some present inconveniencies.

He was a strong, but not an eloquent or florid speaker in parliament. He spoke so unaffectedly the honest dictates of his heart, that truth and virtue, which never want, and seldom wear ornaments, seemed only to borrow his voice. This gave such an astonishing weight to all he said, that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. Such is the authority of an unsuspected virtue, that it would sometimes shame vice into decency at least.

He was not only offered but pressed to accept the post of secretary of state, but he constantly refused it. I once tried to persuade him to accept it; but he told me that both the natural warmth and melancholy of his temper made him unfit for it, and that moreover he knew very well that in those ministerial employments the course of business made it necessary to do many hard things, and some unjust ones, which could only be authorized by the jesuitical casuistry of the direction of the intention: a doctrine which he said he could not possibly adopt. Whether he was the first that ever made that objection I cannot affirm, but I suspect that he will be the last.

He was a true constitutional and yet practicable patriot; a sincere lover, and a zealous asserter of the natural, civil, and religious rights of his country.

But he would not quarrel with the crown for a few stretches of the prerogative; nor with the people for some unwary ebullitions of liberty; nor with any one for difference of opinion in speculative points. He considered the constitution in the aggregate, and only watched that no one part of it should preponderate too much.

His moral character was so pure, that, if one may say of that imperfect creature man, what a celebrated historian says of Scipio, *nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut fecit, aut sensit*, I sincerely think (I had almost said I know) one might say it with great truth of him, one single instance excepted, which shall be mentioned.

He joined to the noblest and strictest principles of honour and generosity, the tenderest sentiments of benevolence and compassion; and he was naturally warm; he could not even hear of an injustice or a baseness without a sudden indignation; nor of the misfortunes or miseries of a fellow-creature, without melting into softness, and endeavouring to relieve them.

This part of his character was so universally known, that our best

and moſt ſatyrical Engliſh poet ſays,

When I confeſs there is who feels for fame,
And melts to goodneſs, Scarb'rough need I name?

He had not the leaſt pride of birth and rank; that common narrow notion of little minds, that wretched miſtaken ſuccedaneum of merit: but he was jealous to anxiety of his character, as all men are who deſerve a good one. And ſuch was his diffidence upon that ſubject, that he never could be perſuaded that mankind really thought of him as they did. For ſurely never man had a higher reputation, and never man enjoyed a more univerſal eſteem; even knaves reſpected him, and fools thought they loved him. If he had any enemies (for I proteſt I never knew one) they could only be ſuch as were weary of always hearing of Ariſtides the Juſt.

He was too ſubject to ſudden guſts of paſſion, but they never hurried him into any illiberal or indecent expreſſion or action; ſo invincibly habitual to him were good nature and good manners. But if ever any word happened to fall from him in warmth, which upon ſubſequent reflection he himſelf thought too ſtrong, he was never eaſy till he had made more than ſufficient atonement for it.

He had a moſt unfortunate, I will call it a moſt fatal kind of melancholy in his nature, which often made him both abſent and ſilent in company, but never moroſe or ſour. At other times he was a cheerful and agreeable companion; but, conſcious that he was not always ſo, he avoided company too much, and was too often alone, giving way to a train of gloomy reflections.

His conſtitution, which was never robuſt, broke rapidly at the latter end of his life. He had two ſevere ſtrokes of apoplexy or palſy, which conſiderably affected his body and his mind.

I deſire that this may not be looked upon as a full and finiſhed character, writ for the ſake of writing it; but as my ſolemn depoſit of the truth to the beſt of my knowledge. I owed this ſmall tribute of juſtice, ſuch as it is, to the memory of the beſt man I ever knew, and of the deareſt friend I ever had.

[The act of violence which this noble lord committed on himſelf, in 1740, is thus related by the editor:]

"The morning of the day on which he accompliſhed this reſolution, he paid a long viſit to Lord Cheſterfield, and opened himſelf to him with great earneſtneſs on many ſubjects. As he appeared ſomewhat diſcompoſed, his friend preſſed him to ſtay and dine with him, which he refuſed, but tenderly embraced him at parting. It happened in the courſe of the converſation that ſomething was ſpoken of which related to Sir Wm. Temple's negociations, when the two friends not agreeing about the circumſtances, Lord Cheſterfield, whoſe memory was at all times remarkably good, referred Ld. S. to the page of Sir W.'s memoirs, where the matter was mentioned. After his lordſhip's death the book was found open at that very page, ſeveral other books being piled about him, with the piſtol in his mouth. Thus he ſeems, in his laſt

laſt moments, to have been ſtill attentive to his friend, and deſirous that he ſhould know he was ſo. This fatal cataſtrophe was univerſally lamented, tenderly cenſured, and *entirely excuſed* by thoſe who conſidered the unaccountable effects of natural evils upon the human mind. But what muſt Lord Cheſterfield's ſituation have been upon his being informed of this unfortunate event? His excellent lady does not, even now, without the greateſt emotion, ſpeak of the manner in which his lordſhip, on her return home at night, acquainted her with his loſs of that amiable nobleman; ſhe ever after lamented that he did not detain him at his houſe, ſaying he might perhaps have been ſaved, if he had not been left to himſelf that day.

Earl Chesterfield.

THE character of Lord Cheſterfield is generally well underſtood.—It is agreed on all hands that he was a diſcreet Clodius; a ſober duke of Wharton—born with inferior abilities to thoſe which diſtinguiſhed that unfortunate nobleman, but with the ſame paſſion for univerſal admiration, he was maſter of more prudence and diſcretion.

He formed himſelf very early to make a diſtinguiſhed figure in the ſtate. Impelled by his ruling paſſion, he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to ſtudies which might render him an accompliſhed ſpeaker, an able negotiator, a counſellor in the cabinet—to ſum up all, one equal to any civil employment. There cannot be a doubt that he aimed at acquiring the office of prime miniſter; or at leaſt the power of appointing the perſon whom he approved to that poſt. But the ſuperior abilities of Walpole diſappointed his ambition.

His ſituation was flattering:—When young, he was placed about the perſon of George the Second, when Prince of Wales; he did not reflect, that thoſe who are in the moſt elevated ſtation have no idea of friendſhip independent of a moſt implicit, not to ſay *abject*, reſignation to their will. His marriage with the Dutcheſs of Kendal's niece, ſo far from advancing his intereſt at court, occaſioned a litigation between him and his ſovereign.

He underſtood what is called the balance of Europe, or the ſeveral intereſts and claims of its princes, perfectly. This ſcience, with his poliſhed addreſs, qualified him to be one of the ableſt negotiators of his time. He made himſelf acquainted with the characters of all the great men in the ſeveral courts of Europe; he knew their intrigues, their attachments, and their foibles; and was enabled from thence to counteract all their political machinations.

I am perſuaded that his being ſent on his firſt embaſſy to Holland was rather an honourable exile than a mark of favour; he would in all probability have been troubleſome at home. Walpole did not envy him the honour of ſhining among the Dutch, and eclipſing a French envoy by his ſuperior adroitneſs.

As a ſpeaker, he is juſtly celebrated for a certain accuracy, as well as brilliancy, of ſtyle; for pointed wit, gay humour, and ſportive facetiouſneſs. However,

his admirers muſt confeſs, that he never could reach the ſublime in oratory. Of all the great ſpeakers ancient and modern, he chiefly reſembled Hyperides.* He frequently ſtrove to diſarm his adverſaries by the moſt profuſe commendation of their abilities; but, what is certainly very reprehenſible in him, while he beſtowed unlimited commendations on the miniſters whom he oppoſed, he threw out the moſt ſtinging reflections on the prince, as if he had forgotten that the ſervants of the crown are alone accountable for errors in government.

The moſt applauded, as well as unexceptionable part of his public character, was his adminiſtration of Ireland: as a viceroy, he ſhone with great luſtre, and was univerſally approved; perhaps he was indebted to this ſingular good fortune, for his being called to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, at the expiration of his firſt year's government of that kingdom.

In private life we ſhould naturally pronounce a Cheſterfield the moſt ſatisfied of all men: eaſy, gay, polite, and maſter of his paſſions, what could ſuch a man want, to render his happineſs complete?—The ſame paſſion for admiration, which actuated him in public, accompanied him through every walk of life.

"Tho' wondering ſenates hung on
"all he ſpoke;
"The club muſt hail him maſter of
"the joke."

When he had reached one goal, he panted for another. He aimed at univerſality of character: he wiſhed to be eſteemed the patron of learned men; but wanted generoſity of ſoul to merit that title.

He eſpouſed and patronized a great genius of the age, who addreſſed an admirable plan of his Dictionary to him; but the capriciouſneſs and unſtability of his mind prevented his gaining that honour he moſt ardently wiſhed for, a dedication of the work itſelf. A letter written to him on that memorable occaſion by the author, who deſpiſed his meanneſs, and diſdained to gratify his vanity, will live for ever in the memory of thoſe who have been favoured with the recital of it.

It is impoſſible to reconcile to any principles of reaſon and morality the ſhocking advice which he gives his ſon, "to treat all wo-
"men alike, and to ſuppoſe them
"all equally liable to ſeduction."
Was then his lordſhip ſo ſucceſsful a lover? was his addreſs ſo formidable, that no lady could reſiſt him? His lordſhip, I am afraid, was not wholly free from affectation. Great wits, and men who court applauſe from all the world, are not generally the moſt paſſionate lovers!

An Account of the Life of the late Mr. Harriſon.

MR. John Harriſon (a moſt accurate mechanic, the cele-

* ——Habet moratum dicendi genus cum ſuavitate jucundum, leniter dulcedine conditum; et innumeræ ſunt in illo urbanitates, naſus maxime forenſis, feſtivitas liberalis, victrix in ironiis facilitas, joci non illepidi et minime inepti, ſed rei inhærentes, felixque diaſyrmus, & multa vis comica, aculeoſque cum joco ſcopum bene attingente, & non imitabilis venuſtas in his omnibus.
Longinus de Hyperide, p. 187. ed. Pearce.

brated

brated inventor and maker of the famous *Time-keeper* for aſcertaining the longitude at ſea, and alſo of the compound, or, as it is commonly called, the gridiron pendulum) was born at Foulby, in the pariſh of Wragby, near Pontefract in Yorkſhire, in 1693. The vigor of his natural abilities, if not even ſtrengthened by the want of education, which confined his attention to few objects, at leaſt amply compenſated the deficiences of it; as fully appeared from the aſtoniſhing progreſs he made in that branch of mechanics to which he devoted himſelf. His father was a carpenter, in which profeſſion the ſon aſſiſted; occaſionally alſo, according to the miſcellaneous practice of country artiſts, ſurveying land, and repairing clocks and watches. He was, from his early childhood, attached to any machinery moving by wheels, as appeared while he lay ſick of the ſmall-pox, about the 6th year of his age; when he had a watch placed open upon his pillow, to amuſe himſelf by contemplating on the movement. In 1700, he removed with his father to Barrow in Lincolnſhire, where, though his opportunities of acquiring knowledge were very few, he eagerly improved every incident from which he might collect information; frequently employing all, or great part of his nights, in writing, or drawing: and he always acknowledged his obligations to a clergyman who came every Sunday to officiate in the neighbourhood, who lent him a MS. copy of profeſſor Saunderſon's Lectures; which he carefully and neatly tranſcribed, with all the diagrams. His native genius exerted itſelf ſuperior to theſe ſolitary diſadvantages; for in the year 1726, he conſtructed two clocks, moſtly of wood, in which he applied the eſcapement and compound pendulum of his own invention: theſe ſurpaſſed every thing then made, ſcarcely erring a ſecond in a month. In 1728, he came up to London with the drawings of a machine for determining the longitude at ſea; in expectation of being enabled to execute one by the board of longitude. Upon application to Dr. Halley, he referred him to Mr. George Graham; who diſcovering he had uncommon merit, adviſed him to make his machine before he applied to the board of longitude. He returned home to perform this taſk, and in 1735, came to London again with his *firſt machine*; with which he was ſent to Liſbon the next year for a trial of its properties. In this ſhort voyage he corrected the dead reckoning about a degree and a half, a ſucceſs that proved the means of his receiving both public and private encouragement. About the year 1739, he compleated his *ſecond machine*, of a conſtruction much more ſimple than the former, and which anſwered much better: this, though not ſent to ſea, recommended Mr. Harriſon yet ſtronger to the patronage of his private friends and of the public. His *third machine*, which he produced in 1749, was ſtill leſs complicated than the ſecond, and ſuperior in accuracy, as erring only three or four ſeconds in a week. This he conceived to be the ne plus ultra of his attempts; but in an endeavour to improve pocket watches, he found the principles he applied, to ſurpaſs his expectations ſo much, as to encourage

courage him to make his *fourth Time-keeper*, which is in the form of a pocket watch, about ſix inches in diameter. With this Time-keeper his ſon made two voyages, the one to Jamaica, and the other to Barbadoes; in both which experiments it corrected the longitude within the neareſt limits required by the act of the 12th of queen Anne: and the inventor therefore, at different times, though not without infinite trouble, received the propoſed reward of 20,000 *l.* Theſe four machines were given up to the board of longitude. The three former were not of any uſe, as all the advantages gained by making them, were comprehended in the laſt: they were worthy however of being carefully preſerved as mechanical curioſities, in which might be traced the gradations of ingenuity, executed with the moſt delicate workmanſhip! whereas, they now lie totally neglected, in the royal obſervatory at Greenwich. The fourth machine, emphatically diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Time-keeper*, has been copied by the ingenious Mr. Kendal; and that duplicate, during a three years circumnavigation of the globe, in the ſouthern hemiſphere with Captain Cook, anſwered as well as the original. The latter part of Mr. Harriſon's life, was employed in making a *fifth improved Time-keeper*, on the ſame principles with the preceding one; which at the end of a ten weeks trial, in 1772, at the king's private obſervatory at Richmond, erred only $4\frac{1}{2}$ ſeconds. Within a few years of his death, his conſtitution viſibly declined, and he had frequent fits of the gout, a diſorder that never attacked him before his 77th year: he died at his houſe in Red Lion Square, London, on the 24th of March, 1776, aged 83. The recluſe manner of his life in the unremitted purſuit of his favourite object, was by no means calculated to qualify him as a man of the world; and the many diſcouragements he encountered, in ſoliciting the legal reward of his labours, ſtill leſs diſpoſed him to accommodate himſelf to the humours of mankind. In converſing on his profeſſion, he was clear, diſtinct, and modeſt, yet, like many other meer mechanics, found a difficulty in delivering his meaning by writing; in which he adhered to a peculiar and uncouth phraſeology. This was but too evident in his *Deſcription concerning ſuch Mechaniſm as will afford a nice or true Menſuration of Time*, &c. 8vo. 1775; which his well known mechanical talents will induce the public to account for from his unacquaintance with letters, from his advanced age, and attendant mental infirmities; among which may be ranked his obſtinate refuſal to accept of any aſſiſtance whatever in this publication. This ſmall work includes alſo an account of his new muſical ſcale; or mechanical diviſion of the octave, according to the proportion which the radius and diameter of a circle, have reſpectively to the circumference. He had, in his youth, been the leader of a diſtinguiſhed band of church-ſingers; had a very delicate ear for muſic; and his experiments on ſound, with a moſt curious monochord of his own improvement, are reported to have been not leſs accurate than thoſe he was engaged in for the menſuration of time.

Memoirs of the late Samuel Foote, *Eſq.*

MR. Foote was born at Truro, in Cornwall, and was deſcended from a very antient family. His father was member of parliament for Tiverton, in Devonſhire, and enjoyed the poſt of commiſſioner of the prize-office and fine-contract. His mother was heireſs of the Dinely and Goodere families. The dreadful conſequence of the miſunderſtanding between her two brothers, Sir John Dinely Goodere, Bart. and Samuel Goodere, Eſq; Captain of his Majeſty's ſhip the Ruby, is well known; on which a conſiderable part of the Goodere eſtate, which was better than 5000l. per annum, deſcended to Mr. Foote.

He was educated at Worceſter college, Oxford, which owed its foundation to Sir Thomas Cookes Winford, Bart. a ſecond couſin of our author's. On leaving the univerſity, he commenced ſtudent of law in the Temple; but, as the dryneſs of this ſtudy did not ſuit the livelineſs of his genius, he ſoon relinquiſhed it. He married a young lady of a good family and ſome fortune; but, their tempers not agreeing, a perfect harmony did not long ſubſiſt between them. He now launch'd into all the faſhionable foibles of the age, gaming not excepted, and in a few years ſpent his whole fortune. His neceſſities led him to the ſtage, and he made his firſt appearance in the character of Othello *. He next performed Fondlewife with much more applauſe; and this, indeed, was ever after one of his capital parts. He attempted Lord Foppington likewiſe, but prudently gave it up. But, as Mr. Foote was never a capital actor in the plays of others, his ſalary was very unequal to his gay and extravagant turn; and he contracted debts which forced him to take refuge within the verge of the court.

He relieved his neceſſities by a very laughable ſtratagem. Sir Fr—s D—l—l had long been his intimate friend, and had diſſipated his fortune by ſimilar extravagance. Lady N-ſſ-u P—l-t, who was likewiſe an intimate acquaintance of Foote's, and who was exceeding rich, was fortunately at that time bent upon a matrimonial ſcheme. Foote ſtrongly recommended to her to conſult upon this momentous affair the conjurer in the Old Bailey, whom he repreſented as a man of ſurpriſing ſkill and penetration. He employed an acquaintance of his own to perſonate the conjurer, who depicted Sir Fr—s D—l—l at full length; deſcribed the time when, the place where, and the dreſs in which ſhe would ſee him. The lady was ſo ſtruck with the coincidence of every circumſtance, that ſhe married D---l---l in a few days. For this ſervice Sir Francis ſettled an annuity upon Foote; and this enabled him once more to emerge from obſcurity.

In 1747 he opened the little theatre in the Hay-market, taking upon himſelf the double character of

* "But when I play'd Othello, thouſands ſwore
They never ſaw ſuch tragedy before;"
ſaid Woodward, in the character of Foote, when he took him off in his *Tit for Tat.*

author

author and performer, and appeared in a dramatic piece of his own compoſing, called the *Diverſions of the Morning*. This piece conſiſted of nothing more than the exhibition of ſeveral characters well known in real life, whoſe manner of converſation and expreſſion this author very happily hit off in the diction of his drama, and ſtill more happily repreſented on the ſtage, by an exact and moſt amazing imitation, not only of the manner and tone of voice, but even of the very perſons of thoſe whom he intended to take off. In this performance, a certain phyſician, Dr. L—n, well known for the oddity and ſingularity of his appearance and converſation, and the celebrated Chevalier Taylor, who was at that time in the height of his popularity, were made objects of Foote's ridicule; the latter, indeed, very deſervedly: and in the concluding part of his ſpeech, under the character of a theatrical director, Mr. Foote took off, with great humour and accuracy, the ſeveral ſtyles of acting of every principal performer on the Engliſh ſtage *.

This performance at firſt met with ſome oppoſition from the civil magiſtrates of Weſtminſter, under the ſanction of the act of parliament for limiting the number of playhouſes, as well as from the jealouſy of one of the managers of Drury-lane playhouſe; but, the author being patronized by many of the principal nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction, this oppoſition was over-ruled: and, having altered the title of his performance, Mr. Foote proceeded, without further moleſtation, to give *tea in a morning* to his friends, and repreſented it thro' a run of forty mornings to crowded and ſplendid audiences.

The enſuing ſeaſon he produced another piece of the ſame kind, which he called *An Auction of Pictures*. In this performance he introduced ſeveral new and popular characters; particularly Sir Thomas De Veil, then the acting juſtice of peace for Weſtminſter, Mr. Cock the celebrated auctioneer, and the equally famous Orator Henley. This piece alſo had a very great run.

His *Knights*, which was the produce of the enſuing ſeaſon, was a performance of ſomewhat more dramatic regularity; but ſtill, although his plot and characters ſeemed leſs immediately perſonal, it was apparent that he kept ſome particular real perſons ſtrongly in his eye in the performance; and the town took upon themſelves to fix them where the reſemblance appeared to be the moſt ſtriking.

Thus Mr. Foote continued, from time to time, to ſelect, for the entertainment of the public, ſuch characters, as well general as individual, as ſeemed moſt likely to engage their attention. His dramatic pieces, excluſive of the interlude called *Piety in Pattens*, are as follow: "Taſte, The Knights,

* One of theſe was the late facetious Harry Woodward, mentioned above, who returned the compliment in a little piece called *Tit for Tat*, of which the following was the beginning:

"Call'd forth to battle, ſee poor I appear
To try one fall with this fam'd auctioneer."

The

The Author, The Engliſhman in Paris, The Engliſhman Returned from Paris, The Mayor of Garet, The Lyar, the Patron, The Minor, The Orators †, The Commiſary, The Devil upon Two Sticks, The Lame Lover, The Maid of Bath, The Nabob, The Couzeners, The Capuchin, The Bankrupt," and an unfiniſhed comedy called "The Slanderer."

All theſe works are only to be ranked among the *petites pieces* of the theatre. In the execution they

† It was in this performance that he took off George Faulkner, the celebrated printer; who reſented the joke ſo ſeriouſly, that he indicted our humoriſt for a libel, and, from the diſpoſition of the judge who preſided in the court of king's bench, Dublin, it was generally believed the matter would have terminated very much to his diſgrace: but he ſuddenly quitted that metropolis, and returned to England, leaving his bail to pay the penalty of their bonds, whom, notwithſtanding the reports to the contrary, he afterwards reimburſed.

This proſecution very probably took its riſe from a ludicrous letter of Lord Cheſterfield to his *friend* George, which that maukiſh compound of butter and honey conſidered as a ſerious piece of advice. "Would you think it?" ſays his lordſhip: "Mr. Foote, who, if I miſtake not, was one of your *Sympoſion* while in London, (and, if ſo, the worſe man he,) takes you off in his new farce called The Orators. As the *Government* here cannot properly take notice of it, would it be amiſs, *that you ſhould ſhew ſome ſpirit on this occaſion*, either by way of ſtricture, contempt, or by bringing an action againſt him; I do not mean for writing the ſaid farce, but for acting it. The doctrine of *ſcribere eſt agere* was looked upon as too hard in the caſe of Algernoon Sydney; but my Lord Coke, my Lord Chief Juſtice Hales, my Lord Vaughan, Salkeld, and, in ſhort, all the greateſt men of the law, do, with their *uſual perſpicuity and preciſion*, lay it down for law, that *agere eſt agere*. And this is exactly Mr. Foote's caſe with regard to you: therefore, any orders that you ſhall think fit to ſend me in this affair as to retaining counſel, filing a bill of *Faulkner verſus Foote*, or bringing a common *action upon the caſe*, which I think would be beſt of all, *the caſe itſelf being actionable*, ſhall be punctually executed by your faithful friend

CHESTERFIELD."

The irony of this letter will beſt appear by a ſubſequent letter of his lordſhip's, in which he expreſſes his impatience to congratulate his *friend George* on his late triumph in making his enemy his *foot-ſtool*. "A man of leſs philoſophy than yourſelf," ſays his lordſhip, would, perhaps, have chaſtiſed Foote corporally, and have made him feel that your wooden leg, which he mimicked, had an avenging arm to protect it; but you ſcorned ſo inglorious a victory, and called juſtice and the laws of your country to puniſh the *criminal*, and to avenge your cauſe. You triumphed; and I heartily join my weak voice to the loud acclamations of the good citizens of Dublin upon this occaſion. I take it for granted, that ſome of your many tributary wits have already preſented you with gratulatory poems, &c. upon this ſubject. I own I had ſome thoughts myſelf of inſcribing a ſhort poem to you upon your triumph; but, to tell you the truth, when I had *writ* not above two thouſand verſes of it, my Muſe forſook me, my poetic vein ſtopped, I threw away my pen, and I burned my poem, to the irreparable loſs not only of the preſent age, but alſo of lateſt poſterity."

are

are ſomewhat looſe, negligent, and unfiniſhed; the plots are often irregular, and the cataſtrophes not always concluſive; but, with all theſe deficiencies, they contain more ſtrength of character, more ſtrokes of keen ſatire, and more touches of temporary humour, than are to be found in the writings of any other modern dramatiſt. Even the language ſpoken by his characters, incorrect as it may ſometimes ſeem, will, on a cloſer examination, be found entirely dramatical; as it abounds with thoſe natural minutiæ of expreſſion which frequently form the very baſis of character, and which render it the trueſt mirror of the converſation of the times in which he wrote.

In the year 1766, being on a party of pleaſure with the late Duke of York, Lord Mexborough, and Sir Francis Delaval, Mr. Foote had the misfortune to break his leg, by a fall from his horſe, in conſequence of which he was compelled to undergo an amputation. This accident ſo ſenſibly affected the duke, that he made a point of obtaining for Mr. Foote a patent for life, whereby he was allowed to perform, at the little theatre in the Haymarket, from the 15th of May to the 15th of September, every year.

He now became a greater favourite of the town than ever; his very laughable pieces, with his more laughable performances, conſtantly filled his houſe; and his receipts were ſome ſeaſons almoſt incredible. Parſimony was never a vice to be aſcribed to Mr. Foote; his hoſpitality and generoſity were ever conſpicuous; he was viſited by the firſt nobility, and he was ſometimes honoured even by royal gueſts.

The attack made upon his character by one of his domeſtics, whom he had diſmiſſed for miſbehaviour, is too well known to be particularized here. Suffice it to ſay he was honourably acquitted of that charge; but it is believed by ſome that the ſhock which he received from it accelerated his death; others pretend that his literary altercation with a certain *then* ducheſs, or rather her agents, much affected him, and that from that time his health declined. We are of opinion, however, that his natural volatility of ſpirits could ſcarcely fail to ſupport him againſt all impreſſions from either of theſe quarters.

Mr. Foote, finding his health decline, entered into an agreement with Mr. Colman, for his patent of the theatre, according to which he was to receive from Mr. Colman 1600l. per annum, beſides a ſtipulated ſum whenever he choſe to perform. Mr. Foote made his appearance two or three times laſt ſummer, in ſome of the moſt admired characters; but being ſuddenly affected with a paralytic ſtroke one night whilſt upon the ſtage, he was compelled to retire, and from that time the public loſt their juſtly-admired Ariſtophanes. He was adviſed to bathe, and accordingly repaired to Brighthelmſtone, where he apparently recovered his former health and ſpirits, and was, what is called, the "fiddle of the company" who reſorted to that agreeable place of amuſement. A few weeks before his death he returned to London; but, by

advice of his phyſicians, with an intention to ſpend nter at Paris, and in the of France. He had got no than Dover, when he was ly attacked by another ſtroke palſy, which in a few hours ated his exiſtence. He died 21ſt of October in the 56th his age, and was privately d in the cloiſters of Weſt- r-abbey. He has left a na- on, a minor, to whom he equeathed moſt of his for-

are informed from good au- , that the day on which Mr. ſet out for Dover, about an efore he went into his chaiſe, lked into every room in his examined, with an accuracy ual to him, every article of ire he had, but more parti- his pictures, of which he large and elegant collection. he came to the portrait of n, he made a full ſtop, as if me ſecret impulſe; and ri- his eyes upon the counte- of his old acquaintance for ten minutes, without utter- ſyllable. Then turning off a tear in his eye, he exclaim- 'Poor Weſton!" But the had ſcarce dropped from ps, when, with a tone, as it of reproach for his ſeeming y, he repeated again, "Poor n! It will be very ſhortly Foote! or the intelligence of irits deceives me."

Mr. Foote, as a private man, was ſincere, generous, and humane. As no man ever contributed more to the entertainment of the public, ſo no man oftener made the minds of his companions expand with mirth and good-humour; and, in the company of men of high rank and ſuperior fortune, who courted his acquaintance, he always preſerved an eaſy and noble independency. That he had his foibles and caprices, no one will pretend to deny; but they were amply counterbalanced by his merit and abilities, which will tranſmit his name to poſterity with diſtinguiſhed reputation.

"Alas, poor Yorick!—Where be your gambols? your ſongs? your flaſhes of merriment, that were wont to ſet the table in a roar? Not one now! Alas, poor Yorick!"

Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Voltaire *.

SOME fix the birth of Francis de Voltaire to the 20th of February, others to the 20th of November, 1694, and there are extant medals of him bearing each of theſe dates.

At twelve years of age, having written ſome verſes that appeared to be ſuperior to what could have been expected ſo early in life, he was introduced to the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, by the Abbé

* Theſe anecdotes are extracted from a work, originally publiſhed in n, entitled *Hiſtorical Memoirs of the author of the Henriade.* We are d, in an advertiſement prefixed to the Engliſh tranſlation, that they are ork of the celebrated author himſelf; and indeed the contents leave us ttle room to doubt of their authenticity.

Chateau-

Chateauneuf, her intimate friend, and that extraordinary woman bequeathed to him the ſum of two thouſand livres to buy books; which legacy was punctually paid.

The little piece in verſe here alluded to, is probably that which he compoſed for an Invalid who had ſerved in the regiment of Dauphiné, under the only ſon of Louis XIV. The old ſoldier had gone to the Jeſuits college to entreat one of the maſters to oblige him, by writing a petition in verſe, to be preſented to the Dauphin. The maſter told him he was then too buſy, but that there was a young ſcholar who could do him the favour he requeſted *.

Notwithſtanding his extreme youth, he was admitted to an intimacy with the Abbé Chaulieu, the Marquis de la Fare, the Duke of Sully, and the Abbé Courtin; and he has often told us that his father believed him entirely ruined, becauſe he kept company with people of faſhion, and made verſes.

At the age of eighteen, he began the tragedy of Oedipus, in which he propoſed to introduce choruſes after the manner of the ancients †. The players were very unwilling to appear in a tragedy, the ſubject of which had been already treated by Corneille, whoſe performance was what is commonly called a *Stock Play*. It was not acted till 1718, and even then, not without an order from the court.

The young man, who was exceſſively diſſipated and immerſed in all the pleaſures common at his time of life, was not ſenſible of the riſque he ran, nor did he give himſelf any trouble whether his piece ſucceeded or not. He indulged himſelf in a thouſand ſallies on the ſtage, and at laſt wantonly laid hold of the train of the chief prieſt, in a ſcene where that pontiff was producing a very tragical effect. Marſhal Villars's lady, who was in the firſt box, enquired who the young man was that had play'd that trick, as it ſeemed to be done with a view to ruin the

* The following verſes are given as having been compoſed by him on that occaſion.

Digne fils du plus grand des Rois,
Son amour et notre eſperance,
Vous qui, ſans régner ſur la France,
Régnés ſur le cœur des Francois;
Souffrez-vous que ma vieille veine,
Par un effort ambitieux,
Oſe vous donner une étrenne,
Vous qui n'en recevez que de la main des Dieux?
On a dit qu'a votre naiſſance
Mars vous donna la vaillance,
Minerve la ſageſſe, Apollon la beauté:
Mais un Dieu bienfaiſant, que j' implore en me peines,
Voulut auſſi me donner mes étrennes,
En vous donnant la libéralité.

† We have a letter of the learned Dacier, dated 1713, in which he adviſes the author, who had then finiſhed his piece, to add ſinging choruſes, in imitation of the Greeks; but it was impracticable on the French ſtage.

and being told that he was
hor, ſhe ſent for him into
ĸ, and the attachment he
from that time to the Mare-
d his lady, continued during
ves.

.t is as ſingular, and a fact
r known, is, that the Prince
iti, the father of him who
ſo great reputation by the
at the blockade of Demont
hateau Dauphin, addreſſed
erſes to him, which con-
nus ;

int puiſé ſes vers aux eaux de
l' Aganippe,
ſon premier projet il fait le choix
d'Oedipe,
ɔique des longtems ce ſujet fut
connu,
n ſtile plus beau cette piece
changée
ɔire des Enfers Racine revenu,
ie Corneille avait la ſienne cor-
rigée."

ganippe's ſource, his ſtrains he
rew,
ɔught old Oedipus again to view,
well known—yet ſuch correct-
eſs ſhines,
y grace adorns his poliſh'd lines;
ik Racine has left the ſhades
elow,
eille's rugged numbers learnt to
ow.

nave not been able to find
wer of the author of Oedi-
We aſked him one day if he
jeſtingly ſay to the prince,
lord, you will be a great
I muſt procure you a pen-
m the king ;" and whether,
lſo pretended, he did not
ut this queſtion to his high-
ſupper. Are we all princes?
we all poets? He replied,
juventutis meæ ne memineris
Remember not the ſins of
b, O Lord.
XX. 1777.

After having finiſhed his Oedi-
pus, but before it had been per-
formed, he began the *Henriade*,
when with Monſieur de Caumartin,
intendant of the finances, at St.
Ange.

We have oftner than once heard
him ſay, that when he undertook
theſe two performances, he did not
imagine he ſhould be able to finiſh
them, and that he was neither ac-
quainted with the rules of the
drama, nor Epic poetry; but that
he was fired with what he heard of
Henry IV. from Monſieur Cau-
martin, who was well verſed in
hiſtory, an exceſſive admirer of that
prince, and a gentleman of a moſt
reſpectable character; and that he
began the work from meer enthu-
ſiaſm, almoſt without reflection.

Having one day read ſeveral
cantos of his poem when on a viſit
to his intimate friend, the young
Preſident de Maiſons, he was ſo
teazed with objections, that he loſt
patience, and threw his manuſcript
into the fire. The preſident, He-
naut, with difficulty reſcued it.
"Remember, ſaid Mr. Henaut to
him, in one of his letters, it was
I that ſaved the Henriade, and
that it coſt me a handſome pair
of ruffles."

Some years after, ſeveral copies
of this poem were handed about,
while it was only a ſketch, and an
edition of it with many chaſms was
publiſhed under the title of *The
League*.

All the poets in Paris, and even
many of the learned, fell foul of
him. Twenty pamphlets were let
fly againſt him. The Henriade
was play'd at the fair; and it was
inſinuated to the old Biſhop of
Frejus, preceptor to the king, that
it was indecent, and even crimi-

nal, to write in praiſe of Admiral Coligny and Queen Elizabeth.

The Cabal had intereſt enough to engage Cardinal de Biſſi, then preſident of the aſſembly of the clergy, to paſs a judicial cenſure upon the work; but this ſtrange deſign proved abortive. The young author was filled with equal ſurprize and reſentment at theſe intrigues. His diſſipation prevented him from making friends among the literati: and he had not the art of combating his enemies with their own weapons, which is ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary in Paris, if a man wiſhes to ſucceed in any kind of purſuit.

In 1722, he gave the tragedy of Marriamne. That princeſs was poiſoned by Herod. When ſhe drank the cup, the faction cried out, *the Queen drinks*, and the piece was damned *.

Theſe continual mortifications determined him to print the Henriade in England, as he could neither obtain privilege nor patronage for it in France.

He was right; King George the Firſt, and more particularly the Princeſs of Wales, afterwards Queen of England, raiſed an immenſe ſubſcription for him. Their liberality laid the foundation of his fortune: for on his return to France in 1728, he put his money into a lottery eſtabliſhed by Mr. Desforts, comptroller general of the finances. The adventurers received a rent charge on the *Hotel-de-Ville* for their tickets; and the prizes were paid in ready money; ſo that if a ſociety had taken all the tickets, it would have gained a million of livres. He joined with a numerous company of adventurers, and was fortunate. We were furniſhed with this anecdote by a member of the ſame ſociety, who verified it by producing his regiſters. Mr. Voltaire wrote to him as follows: "To make a fortune in this country, nothing more is requiſite than to read the arrets of the Council. It is ſeldom but the miniſtry is obliged to make ſuch arrangements in the finances, as turn to the advantage of individuals."

We are afterwards informed of the bad ſucceſs of his Brutus and Zara, and of the refuſal of the Academicians to admit him into their ſociety. About this time he became intimately acquainted with the illuſtrious Marchioneſs of Chatellet, with whom he ſtudied the principles of Newton, and the ſyſtems of Leibnitz. They retired to Circy, in Champagne, for ſeveral years, two of which Mr. Kœnig, an eminent mathematician, paſſed with them. Mr. Voltaire cauſed a gallery to be erected, where they performed all the experiments on light and electricity.

When he attempted to publiſh his *Elements of the Newtonian Philoſophy*, a philoſophy then ſcarce known in France, he could not obtain a privilege from the Chancellor Agueſſeau, who was a man of univerſal learning, but being bred a Carteſian, diſcouraged the new diſcoveries as much as he

* Probably this alluded to ſome report circulated at that time, which has not come to the knowledge of the tranſlator, otherwiſe the expreſſion could not have had ſuch an effect.

could

. Our author's attachment
e principles of Newton and
e, drew upon him a new crowd
ıemies. He wrote to Mr.
ıer, to whom he dedicated
Zara. " It is believed that
French love novelty, but it
be in cookery and faſhions,
s to new truths they are al-
proſcribed among us; it is
when they grow old that they
ell received."

way of relaxation from his
s in Natural Philoſophy, he
ed himſelf in writing his *Maid*
leans. We have proofs that
piece of drollery was compoſed
ſt entirely at Cirey. Madame
hatellet loved poetry as much
ometry, and was a very good
: of it. Although this poem
ınly comic, yet there is much
fancy in it than in the Hen-
; but it was vilely diſgraced
me ſhameleſs ſcoundrels, who
ed it with horrid lewdneſſes.
ɔnly good editions are thoſe of
:va.

ɔt long afterwards, he became
ıinted with the celebrated
ſeau at Bruſſels, and they ſoon
:ived a ſtrong averſion from
other. Rouſſeau having ſhewn
ıntagoniſt a lyric epiſtle ad-
ed to poſterity, met with this
tée: *my friend, this letter will
be delivered according to its di-
n.* Rouſſeau never forgave
piece of raillery. There is
ıt a letter from Mr. de Vol-
to Mr. Linant, containing
ollowing paſſage: " Rouſſeau
ſes me becauſe I am careleſs
y rhimes, and I deſpiſe Rouſ-
becauſe he is only a rhimer."

In the year 1738, commenced the correſpondence with which the king, then Hereditary Prince Royal of Pruſſia, hath ever ſince been pleaſed to honour him; and in the year 1740, he went to pay his court at Berlin before the king was prepared for invading Sileſia.

Soon after his return from Berlin, he wrote the tragedies of Mahomet and Merope. The tragedy of Merope is the firſt piece, not upon a ſacred ſubject, that ſucceeded without the aid of an amorous paſſion, and which procured our author more honour than he hoped from it. It was play'd on the 26th of February, 1743. We cannot better deſcribe the ſingular circumſtances attending its reception, than by inſerting his letter of the 4th of April following, to his friend Mr. L'Aiguebere, then at Tholouſe.

" Merope is not yet printed, I am afraid it will not ſucceed ſo well in the cloſet as on the ſtage. —The piece is not mine; it is Mademoiſelle Dumenil's.—What think you of an actreſs that kept the audience in tears through three ſucceſſive acts?—The public have run into a little miſtake, and given me credit for a part of the extreme pleaſure given them by the actors. The ſeduction was ſo great, that the pit, with loud ſhouts, inſiſted upon ſeeing me*. I was ſeized in the hiding place, where I had ſquatted for ſhelter, and brought by force into the box of Marſhal Villars's lady, who was there with her daughter-in-law. — The pit was mad; they called out to the Dutcheſs de Villars to kiſs me, and

* Hence the ridiculous cuſtom of crying the author, the author, when a , whether good or bad, ſucceeds the firſt night.

they made ſo much noiſe, that ſhe was obliged to comply by order of her mother in-law.—Thus have I been kiſſed in public, as was Alain Chartier, by the Princeſs Margaret of Scotland; but he was aſleep, and I was wide awake."

Soon after we ſee him again taking a journey to the King of Pruſſia, who was always inviting him to Berlin, but could never prevail on him to quit his old friends for any conſiderable time. In this journey he performed a ſingular ſervice to the king his maſter, as we ſee by the letters which paſſed between him and Mr. Amelot, the miniſter of ſtate. But theſe particulars come not within our preſent deſign.——We view him only in his literary character.

In the year 1749, after the death of the illuſtrious Marchioneſs of Chatellet, whom Mr. Voltaire had attended to the court of Staniſlaus, the King of Pruſſia gave him an invitation to come and live with him. It was not till towards the end of the month of Auguſt, 1750, after having for ſix months combated the opinions of all his friends, who ſtrongly diſſuaded him from going, that we find him reſolved to quit France, and attach himſelf to his Pruſſian Majeſty for the reſt of his life. He could not withſtand the letter which the King of Pruſſia wrote to him the 23d of Auguſt from the apartments deſtined for his future gueſt in the palace of Berlin: a letter which has been often printed and is univerſally known.

After this letter, the King of Pruſſia aſked the conſent of the King of France, by his miniſter at that court, which was readily granted. Our author was preſented at Berlin with the order of merit, the key of Chamberlain, and a penſion of twenty thouſand livres. However he did not give up his houſe at Paris, and by the accounts of Mr. Delaleu, the Notary, we find that Mr. de Voltaire was at an expence of thirty thouſand livres a year there. He was attached to the King of Pruſſia by the moſt reſpectful regard, as well as by their conformity of taſte. He has a hundred times ſaid, that Monarch was as agreeable in company, as he was formidable at the head of an army: and that he had never more pleaſing evening parties at Paris, than thoſe to which that prince would have conſtantly admitted him. His regard for the King of Pruſſia roſe to a degree of enthuſiaſm. His apartments were under the king's, and he never quitted them but to go to ſupper. The king compoſed works in philoſophy, hiſtory, and poetry, in the upper apartments, while his favourite cultivated the ſame arts and the ſame talents in the lower. They communicated their works to one another. The Pruſſian Monarch wrote his memoirs of the houſe of Brandenburgh at Potzdam; and the French author having carried his materials with him, wrote his age of Louis XIV. at the ſame place. Thus did his days glide along in tranquility enlivened by ſuch agreeable employments.

It muſt be owned, that nothing could be more agreeable than this kind of life, or any thing do more honour to philoſophy and the belles-lettres. This happineſs would have been more laſting, and would not have given place to a ſtill greater happineſs, if it had not been

for a diſpute on a ſubject in
l mathematicks, which aroſe
:en Maupertuis, who likewiſe
at that time with the King
uſſia, and Kœnig, librarian
e Princeſs of Orange, at the
e. This diſpute was a con-
:ion of that which for a long
had divided the mathemati-
about the living and dead
:. It cannot be denied but
a little quackery gets into this
ſt, as well as into theology
medicine. It was a moſt tri-
queſtion at beſt, for let them
gle it as much as they will,
muſt always return to the
laws of motion. The tem-
of the diſputants were ſow-
and Maupertuis, who ruled
:ademy at Berlin, procured a
:mnation of Kœnig's opinion
ie year 1752, on the autho-
of a letter of the late Leib-
without being able to pro-
the original of that letter,
a however had been ſeen by
Wolf. He went ſtill farther,
wrote to the Princeſs of
ge, to beg her to diſmiſs
ig from his employment of
rian; and repreſented him to
:ing of Pruſſia, as a man who
been wanting in the reſpect
o his majeſty. Voltaire, who
paſſed two whole years at Cirey
Kœnig, during which he had
acted an intimacy, thought it
his duty openly to eſpouſe the
of his friend.

ne quarrel became violent,
:he ſtudy of philoſophy dege-
:ed into faction and cabal.
pertuis was at ſome pains to
it reported at court, that one
while General Manſtein hap-
d to be in the apartments of
de Voltaire, who was then
tranſlating into French, *The Memoirs of Ruſſia*, compoſed by that Officer; the king, in his uſual manner, ſent a copy of verſes to be examined, when Voltaire ſaid to Manſtein, *Let us leave off for the preſent, my friend; you ſee the king has ſent me his dirty linen to waſh, I will waſh your's another time.* A ſingle word is ſometimes ſufficient to ruin a man at court; Maupertuis imputed ſuch a word to Voltaire, and ſucceeded.

It was about this very time that Maupertuis publiſhed his very ſtrange Philoſophical Letters, in which he propoſed to build a latin city; to ſail in queſt of diſcoveries directly under the pole; to *perforate* the earth to the center; —to go to the Streights of Magellan, and diſſect the brains of a Patagonian, in order to inveſtigate the nature of the ſoul;—to cover the bodies of the ſick with pitch, to prevent the danger of perſpiration; and above all, not to pay the phyſician.

Mr. de Voltaire heightened theſe philoſophic ideas with all the rallery which ſo fine an opportunity preſented, and unfortunately the learned all over Europe were amuſed with the ridicule. Maupertuis was careful to join his own cauſe to the cauſe of the king; and this piece of ridicule was looked upon as a failure in reſpect to his majeſty. Our author in the moſt reſpectful manner returned the key of Chamberlain, and the croſs of his order to the king, with the following verſes.

" Je les reçus avec tendreſſe;
" Je vous les rend avec douleur.
" Comme un amant jaloux, dans ſa mau-
" vaiſe humeur,
" Rend le portrait de ſa Maitreſſe."

The king ſent back the key and ribbon. Our author then ſet out to pay a viſit to her highneſs the Ducheſs of Gotha, who continued to honour him with her friendſhip while ſhe lived. It was for her that he wrote *The Annals of the Empire*, about a year after; a work which was entirely new modelled in his *Eſſay upon the Hiſtory of the Genius and Manners of Nations*.

While he remained at Gotha, Maupertuis employed all his batteries againſt our traveller, which he was made ſenſible of, when he came to meet his niece, Madame Denis, at Francfort on the Mayne.

On the firſt of June, an honeſt German, who neither loved the French nor their verſes, came and in bad French demanded the works in *proſe* of the king his maſter. Our traveller replied, that the works in *proſe* were with the reſt of his property at Leipſic. The German informed him, that he was ordered to Francfort, and muſt not depart till theſe works arrived. Mr. de Voltaire gave him the key of Chamberlain, and the croſs of the order, and promiſed to reſtore what he had demanded; upon which the meſſenger wrote the following billet*.

"SIR,

"So ſoon the large package "from Leipſic ſhall be here, where "is the work of poeſhy of the "king, my maſter, you may de- "part wherever you think pro- "per.

"Francfort, 1ſt June, 1753."

The priſoner wrote at the bottom of the note, *Good for the work of proſey of the king, your maſter.*

But when the verſes arrived, it was pretended there were ſome bills of exchange expected, which did not arrive.—The travellers were detained fifteen days at the ſign of the Goat, on account of theſe pretended bills; and at laſt were not permitted to depart without paying a conſiderable ranſom. Theſe are details which never come to the ears of kings.

This adventure was very ſoon forgotten by both parties, and with great propriety. The king ſent back his verſes to his old admirer, and ſoon after a conſiderable number of new ones. It was a love quarrel;—the bickerings of a court ſoon die away; but a laudable ruling paſſion will long continue.

Soon after his departure from Berlin, he purchaſed the Seignory of *Ferney* in the *Pays de Gex*, about a league from Geneva. It was here, that he undertook the defence of the celebrated family of *Calas*; and it was not long before he had a ſecond opportunity of vindicating the innocence of another condemned family of the name of *Sirven*. It is ſomewhat remarkable, that in the year 1774, he had the third time a ſingular opportunity of employing that fame zeal, which he had the good fortune to diſplay in the fatal cataſtrophe of the families of Calas and Sirven. As this ſtory is not ſo generally known as the former we ſhall give it the reader in the author's own words.

* The Tranſlator, that the ſpirit of the original might not evaporate, has rendered it word for word.

was informed that there was
g French gentleman of mo-
erit, and ſingular good ſenſe,
King of Pruſſia's army, at
This young gentleman was
a volunteer, and had been
nned at Abbeville, with the
lier de la Barre, to ſuffer the
ment of parricides, for not
ng in time of rain before a
ion of Capuchins, who had
about fifty or ſixty paces
em.

this accuſation was added
having ſung a rakiſh ſong
undred years old, and re-
Piron's Ode to Priapus.
Ode of Piron's was a lewd
of a young man, and look-
n as ſuch a venial treſpaſs,
King of France, Louis XV,
that the author was poor,
m a penſion out of his pri-
ſe. Thus he who compoſed
ce was rewarded by a good
while they who repeated it,
ndemned to ſuffer the moſt
il puniſhment, by ſome in-
monſters of a village.

e judges of Abbeville con-
the proſecution, and the
e was as follows: That the
ier de la Barre, and his
friend, (of whom we have
peaking) ſhould be put to
ure ordinary and extraordi-
heir hands be cut off, their
torn out with pincers, and
odies burnt alive.

hree judges who gave this
e, two of them were abſo-
incompetent. One of them
ng the declared enemy of
ung people's parents; the
ecauſe having formerly got
admitted counſellor, he
ce purchaſed and exerciſed
the buſineſs of attorney in Ab-
beville: his principal employ-
ment was that of a dealer in bul-
locks and hogs;—he had been
condemned by the conſuls of Ab-
beville, and the court of Aides had
afterwards declared him incapable
of holding any municipal employ-
ment in the kingdom.

The third judge, intimidated by
the two others, had the weakneſs
to ſubſcribe to their ſentence, which
was followed by the moſt poignant
and fruitleſs remorſe.

To the ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment
of all Europe, that ſtill ſhudders
with horror at the deed, the Che-
valier de la Barre was executed;
his friend was outlawed, having
been in a foreign country before
the beginning of the proſecution.

This ſentence ſo execrable, and
at the ſame time ſo abſurd, which
is an eternal diſgrace to France,
was much more to be condemned
than that by which the innocent
Calas was broke upon the wheel;
for the judges of Calas were guilty
of no other fault than that of de-
ceiving themſelves, while the crime
of the Abbeville judges, was their
being monſters of cruelty with
their eyes open. They condemned
two youths to ſuffer as cruel a death
as Ravaillac and Damiens, for a
levity which only deſerved a week's
impriſonment. It may be ſaid that
ſince the maſſacre of St. Barthelo-
mew nothing ſo dreadful has hap-
pened. It is melancholy to relate
ſuch an inſtance of brutal ferocity
as is not to be met with among
the moſt ſavage people, but truth
obliges us to it.

Mr. de Voltaire having been
informed that the other young per-
ſon, a victim of the moſt deteſtable

fanaticiſm that ever polluted the earth, was in one of the King of Pruſſia's regiments; he acquainted that Monarch of it, who immediately had the generoſity to make him an officer. The King of Pruſſia enquired particularly about the young gentleman; he found that he had learnt the art of drawing and deſign without the help of a maſter; that he was prudent, ſenſible, and virtuous; and that the whole of his conduct gave the lie to his pretended judges of Abbeville. The king called him near his perſon, gave him a company, appointed him engineer, and honoured him with a penſion, and thus by his benevolence wiped away the crimes committed by folly and barbarity. He wrote in the moſt affecting terms to Mr. de Voltaire to acquaint him with what he had done for this truly valuable and unfortunate young ſoldier. We have all been witneſſes of this horrid affair, ſo diſhonourable for France, and ſo noble for a royal philoſopher. This great example will *inform* mankind, but will it *correct* them?

Memoirs of the Abbé Terrai.

THE famous Abbé Terrai is the ſon of a notary at Bouin in Forez. An uncle of his, who was a phyſician at court, patronized him; bought him a place in the parliament of Paris, and left him a conſiderable fortune. M. Terrai ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his talents and induſtry. His reports were comprehenſive, perſpicuous, ſatisfactory to the parties, apparently impartial, and conſidered as maſter pieces. The court appointed him a rapporteur, or a legal informer to the court of all the parliamentary tranſactions. In this place he ſerved his employers effectually, yet at the ſame time cauſed the remonſtrances of parliament to be liberally diſtributed both at Paris and abroad. Honeſt M. d'Invau, the then comptroller-general of the finances, was diſpleaſed with his conduct; but the chancellor took the Abbé's part; Mr. d'Invau was, in ſpite of the Duke of Choiſeul's endeavours, diſmiſſed, and ſucceeded in his place by M. Terrai himſelf. The new comptroller now began his adminiſtration with ſtopping the payment of the crown debts, and diverting the revenues of the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement, or ſinking fund, to other purpoſes; with impoſing the ſame taxes which under M. d'Invau's adminiſtration he had zealouſly oppoſed. His depredations on the public, induced the Duke de Choiſeul to attempt his removal; but M. Terrai prevailed by gaining over the men in power by increaſing their penſions, and by ſoothing the farmers-general; but chiefly by humouring the king's inclination for building, and indulging the rapaciouſneſs of the family of the royal miſtreſs; without any regard to the intereſts of the kingdom, to the juſtice or injuſtice of his expedients, or the fate of the ſubjects and ſervants of the crown. He ruined the Eaſt India Company, whom he had formerly ſerved as ſyndic; he forced her to pay her debts to government in ready money, and, in return, to accept payment of the king's debts to her in paper of very ſmall value. Thus he contrived not only to diſcharge the twenty millions

due

rom the king to the company, o ſaddle her with a debt of ɔo,ooo of livres to the king. rents in the hotel de ville, ally amounting to no leſs than ɔo,ooo, and till then, always ſted by all other miniſters, in the firſt ſix months of his niſtration, reduced one fifth. npoſed ſeveral new taxes to the nt of 45,ooo,ooo, and recalled ch of the demeſnes of the crown re then ſold or granted away. clergy had compounded for a called the Quinzieme, or fifh penny; he kept the comon money, and yet demanded ɔayment of the tax. He exd the Vingtieme, or twenpenny, to new objects, and l it to a tenth penny. He ſome goods and rights to a for 2,ooo,ooo; and after havreceived the payment, withthe goods; and the unfortuJew, in a fit of deſpair, killed elf. M. Terrai even ſeized ie monies depoſited in courts ıſtice, and for 80,ooo livres returned the Marquiſe de la e paper money, for which ould get no more than 20,ooo. univerſity of Paris having ſav.oo,ooo livres, and deſtined for a building, he ſeized the ey, undertook the building, never erected a ſingle ſtone. ıout any regard for the interı of the queen and the whole family, he diſmiſſed ſeveral urs de rentes, and on their ſentations of their diſtreſs, them that they might carry a et. A father of ſixteen childdiſmiſſed without any cauſe, whom the queen alſo had ineeded, once aſked him in a ɔn, 'am I then to ſtrangle them?' 'You would perhaps do them a ſervice,' anſwered Terrai. He raiſed the Droit du Marc d'Or from 450,ooo livres to three millions; and was for extending it to military officers; but this ſcheme was defeated by the miniſters of war. His meaſures contributed towards cauſing a dearth. A ſpecimen of the wretched bread of the poor country people was ſent to the king, who taſted it and found it deteſtable; but was ſoon again ſoothed by his miſtreſs. During theſe times of public diſtreſs, five new operas were to be performed at court, for which five thouſand dreſſes were made. He had an annual revenue of 1,200,ooo livres; yet when the queen herſelf was once collecting charities for ſome diſtreſſed perſon, he offered her a crown piece, and it was only by repeating her entreaties that ſhe at length prevailed on him to contribute two Louis d'ors. Such was the animoſity and hatred his own vaſſals bore him, that once when he gave an entertainment, they cut off the ſupply of proviſions.

After the king's death, Abbé Terrai retired without any penſion, but with all his wealth, to his own caſtle la Motte.

Anecdotes of Thomas Britton, *the famous Muſical Small Coal-Man.*

THIS extraordinary perſon bound himſelf, and ſerved ſeven years, to a ſmall-coal man in St. John's ſtreet. After which his maſter gave him a ſum of money, and Tom went back to his native place, Higham-Ferrers, in Northampton-

thamptonſhire. When he had ſpent his money he returned to London, and ſet up the ſmall-coal trade, notwithſtanding his maſter was ſtill living, and took a ſtable, which he turned into a houſe; of which more hereafter. Some time after he became an excellent chemiſt, and, perhaps, performed ſuch things in that profeſſion, as had never been done before, by the help of a moving elaboratory, that was contrived and built by himſelf, and much admired by the faculty. He was alſo famous for his ſkill in the theory and practice of muſic; and kept up for forty odd years in his own little cell, a muſical club, which was nothing leſs than a concert, and merits our attention the more, as it was the firſt meeting of the kind, and the undoubted parent of ſome of the moſt celebrated concerts in London. Its origin was from Sir Roger L'Eſtrange: and this attachment of Sir Roger, and other ingenious gentlemen, aroſe from the profound regard that Britton had, in general, to all kinds of literature. The humility of his deportment procured him great reſpect; he was called, though ſo low in ſtation, Mr. Britton: and men of the beſt wit, as well as ſome of the beſt quality, honoured his muſical ſociety with their company. When paſſing the ſtreets in his blue linen frock, and with his ſack of ſmall-coal on his back, he was frequently accoſted with, "There goes the ſmall-coal man who is a lover of learning, a performer of muſic, and a companion for gentleman."

Britton's houſe was next to the old Jeruſalem tavern, under the gateway (late pulled down and rebuilt.) On the ground floor was a repoſitory for ſmall-coal; over that was the concert room, which was very long and narrow; and had a cieling ſo low, that tall men could but juſt ſtand upright in it. The ſtairs to this room were on the outſide of the houſe, and could ſcarce be aſcended without crawling. The houſe itſelf was very old, low built, and, in every reſpect ſo mean, as to be a fit habitation for only a very poor man. Notwithſtanding all, this manſion, deſpicable as it may ſeem, attracted to it as polite an audience as ever the Opera did. And a lady of the firſt rank in this kingdom, now living, one of the firſt beauties of her time, may yet remember, that in the pleaſure which ſhe manifeſted at hearing Mr. Britton's concert, ſhe ſeemed to have forgot the difficulty with which ſhe aſcended the ſteps that led to it.

At theſe concerts, Dr. Pepuſch, and frequently Mr. Handel, played the harpſichord; Mr. Banniſter the firſt violin. Dubourg, then a child, played his firſt ſolo at Britton's concert, ſtanding upon a joint-ſtool, but ſo terribly awed at the ſight of ſo ſplendid an aſſembly, that he was near falling to the ground.

It has been ſaid, that Britton found inſtruments, and that the ſubſcription to his concert was ten ſhillings a year, and that they had coffee at a penny a diſh. If ſo, Britton had departed from his original inſtitution; for, at firſt, no coffee was drank there, nor would he receive any gratuity from any of his gueſts; on the contrary, he was offended whenever it was offered to him; which is aſſerted by a very

y ancient perſon now living,
:quent performer at his con-

ıe following ſtanza of a ſong,
n by Ward, in praiſe of Brit-
ſeems to confirm it:

IPON Thurſday repair
'o my palace, and there
ſobble up ſtair by ſtair;
ut I pray ye take care,
'ou break not your ſhins by a ſtumble.
ınd without e'er a ſouſe,
'aid to me or my ſpouſe,
it as ſtill as a mouſe
ıt the top of the houſe,
here you ſhall hear how we fumble.

) his own real ſkill in muſic, it
t to be doubted: it is certain
)uld tune a harpſichord; and
'equently played the viol di
)a in his own concert.
itton was in his perſon a ſhort
-ſet man, with a very honeſt
ıuous countenance. There are
pictures of him extant, both
ed by his friend Mr. Wolla-

It happened thus: Britton
been out one morning, and
ıg nearly emptied his ſack in
)rter time than he expected,
a mind to ſee his friend Mr.
aſton, but having always con-
:d himſelf in two capacities,
as one who ſubſiſted by a very
ı occupation, and as a compa-
for perſons in a ſtation of life
e him, he could not, con-
t with this diſtinction, dreſt
: then was, make a viſit; he
fore, in his way home, va-
his uſual round, and paſſing
gh Warwick-lane, determin-
cry ſmall-coal ſo near Mr.
aſton's door, as to ſtand a
ce to be invited in. Accor-
ly he had no ſooner turned
Warwick-court, and cried
-coal in his uſual tone, than Mr. Wollaſton, who had never heard him there before, flung up the ſaſh and beckoned him in. Mr. Wollaſton intimated a deſire to draw his picture, which he conſented to, and he was painted in his blue frock, and with his ſmall coal meaſure in his hand.

About the beginning of this century a paſſion for collecting old books and manuſcripts reigned among the nobility. The chief of thoſe who ſought after them were Edward earl of Oxford; the earls of Pembroke, Sunderland, and Winchelſea, and the duke of Devonſhire. Theſe perſons in the winter ſeaſon, on Saturdays, the parliament not ſitting on that day, were uſed to reſort to the city, and, dividing themſelves, took ſeveral routs, ſome to Little Britain, ſome to Moorfields, and others to different parts of the town, inhabited by bookſellers: there they would enquire in the ſeveral ſhops as they paſſed along for old books and manuſcripts; and ſome time before noon would aſſemble at the ſhop of one Chriſtopher Bateman, a bookſeller, at the corner of Ave-Maria-lane in Pater-noſter-row; and here they were frequently met by Mr. Bagford and other perſons engaged in the ſame purſuits, and a converſation always commenced on the ſubject of their enquiries. Bagford informed them where any thing curious was to be ſeen or purchaſed, and they in return obliged him with a ſight of what they from time to time collected. While they were engaged in this converſation, and as near as could be to the hour of twelve by St. Paul's clock, Briton, who by that time had finiſhed his round, arrived clad in his blue frock,

frock, and pitching his ſack of ſmall coal on the bulk of Mr. Bateman's ſhop window, would go in and join them; and after a converſation, which generally laſted about an hour, the noblemen abovementioned adjourned to the Mourning Buſh at Alderſgate, where they dined and ſpent the remainder of the day.

The ſingularity of his character, the courſe of his ſtudies, and the collections he made, induced ſuſpicions that Britton was not the man he ſeemed to be: and what Mr. Walpole ſays as to this particular is very true; ſome thought his muſical aſſembly only a cover for ſeditious meetings: others for magical purpoſes; and that Britton himſelf was taken for an atheiſt, a preſbyterian, a jeſuit; but theſe were ill grounded conjectures, for he was a plain, ſimple, honeſt man, perfectly inoffenſive, and highly eſteemed by all that knew him; and, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his occupation, was called Mr. Britton.

The circumſtances of this man's death are not leſs remarkable than thoſe of his life. There dwelt in Britton's time, near Clerkenwell-cloſe, a man named Robe, who frequently played at his concert, and who, being in the commiſſion of the peace for the county of Middleſex, was uſually called Juſtice Robe; at the ſame time one Samuel Honeyman, a blackſmith by trade, and who lived in Bear-ſtreet, near Leiceſter-ſquare, became very famous for a faculty which he poſſeſſed of ſpeaking as if his voice proceeded from ſome diſtant part of the houſe where he ſtood; in ſhort, he was one of thoſe men called Ventriloqui, i. e. thoſe that ſpeak as it were from their bellies, and are taken notice of by Reginald Scott in his Diſcovery of Witchcraft, p. 111, for which reaſon he was called the Talking Smith: the pranks played by this man, if collected would make a volume. During the time that Dr. Sacheverell was under cenſure, and had a great reſort of friends to his houſe near the church in Holborn, he had the confidence to get himſelf admitted, by pretending that he came from a couple who wiſhed to be married by the doctor. He ſtayed not long in the room, but made ſo good uſe of his time, that the doctor, who was a large man, and one of the ſtouteſt and moſt athletic then living, was almoſt terrified into fits. Dr. Derham of Upminſter, that ſagacious enquirer into the works of nature, had a great curioſity to ſee Honeyman, but the perſon he employed to bring about the meeting, and who communicated this anecdote, contrived always to diſappoint him, knowing full well that had it taken effect, it muſt have terminated in the diſgrace of the doctor, whoſe reputation as a divine and a philoſopher he thought a ſubject too ſerious to be ſported with.

This man, Robe was fooliſh and wicked enough to introduce, unknown, to Britton, for the ſole purpoſe of terrifying him, and he ſucceeded in it: Honeyman, without moving his lips, or ſeeming to ſpeak, announced, as from afar off, the death of poor Britton within a few hours, with an intimation that the only way to avert his doom was for him to fall on his knees immediately and ſay the Lord's Prayer: the poor man did as he was bid, went home and took

to

bed, and in a few days died; g his friend Mr. Robe to en- e fruits of his mirth.'

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itic Account of the Burning of ientoo Woman, at her own re- ?, at Azumabad.

being aſſerted by Mr. Guthrie, his Geographical Grammar, 6, and ſome other authors, he cuſtom of the Gentoo wo- burning themſelves with their ſed huſbands was diſuſed in , I deſire you would inſert llowing Extract of a Letter Mr. Joſeph Wilſon, at Azu- d, (lately called Canſbang) e kingdom of Bengal, by i it appears that cuſtom is ept up and practiſed. I give his own words.

h 1, 1777. Yours,
ombead. JOHN WILSON.

I WAS laſt September an vitneſs to a Gentoo woman ng with her huſband; and as d by all the time, and took of all that paſſed, you may id upon the following narra- to be ſtrictly true; I mean eremonies that were uſed by people, who had always got bread by their labour, and d were ſo very poor, that the as obliged to go from houſe uſe to beg fire-wood to burn with: the richer people are curious, and have their piles of a ſweet-ſcented wood call- andal, and much larger than people I am ſpeaking of can ly afford.

he Account of Jananca, *Wife of* ram Goſe, *who was burnt alive with her Huſband,* Sept. 2, 1776, *at the Head of the Bazaar at* Canſbang.

" AS ſoon as her huſband was given over by the Doctor, ſhe ſent for a Bramin, and declared her intentions to burn herſelf, ſon, and daughter, (which was the whole of the family together,) which ſome neighbours endeavoured as much as poſſible to diſſuade her from, but all to no purpoſe, and from that time refuſed eating any thing, except a few plantains and betel-nuts. She ſent for all her friends, who ſtaid with her all night, and with whom ſhe was very merry. In the morning the man died, and his ſon came to me to aſk leave to burn his father and mother in the Bazaar (or market-place), as it belongs to the plantation, and is cloſe to my houſe. I told him very well; but that I ſhould take care no force was uſed to make her burn againſt her will. He told me he was ſo far from forcing, that he had offered her two rupees a month for life; but yet could not help ſaying it would reflect an honour on his family for his mother to burn. The man was ſcarce cold before he and his wife were carried upon men's ſhoulders, ſhe ſitting by him; and having provided herſelf with ſome couries (ſmall ſhells which go current for money here), ſhe diſtributed them amongſt the populace, together with rice fried in butter and ſugar very plentifully, as ſhe paſſed from her houſe to the place of burning; where, when ſhe arrived, they had not begun to make the pile: ſo ſhe was ſet down, together with her dead huſband, and gave ſeveral orders to the people in making the pile,

pile, and was ſo far from being in the leaſt afraid, that ſhe rejoiced much. I went up to her, and aſked her if it was her own free will and conſent? She told me it was, and that ſhe was much obliged to me for giving her liberty to burn in that place, and deſired I would not offer to oppoſe it, as ſhe would certainly make away with herſelf, was ſhe prevented. She ſat there, talking with her friends and neighbours, till the pile was ready, which was above an hour, and then went a little diſtance off, where the deceaſed was alſo carried, and were both waſhed with Ganges water, and clean cloaths put on them. The ſon of the deceaſed then put a painted paper crown, or cap, on his father's head, of the ſame kind as is uſual for them to wear at their marriages; and a Bramin woman brought four lamps burning, and put one of them into the woman's hand, and placed the other three round her upon the ground: all the time ſhe held the lamp in her hand, the Bramin woman was repeating ſome prayers to her; which when finiſhed, ſhe put a garland of flowers round her head, and then gave the ſon of the deceaſed, who was ſtanding cloſe by, a ring made of graſs, which ſhe put upon one of his fingers, and an earthern plate full of boiled rice and plantains mixed up together, which he immediately offered to his deceaſed father, putting it three times to his mouth, and then in the ſame manner to his mother, who did not taſte it. The deceaſed was ſupported all this time, and ſet upon his breech cloſe by his wife, who never ſpoke after this, but made three ſalams to her huſband, by putting her hands upon the ſoles of his feet, and then upon her own head. The deceaſed was then carried away and laid upon the pile, and his wife immediately followed, with a pot under her arm, containing 21 cowries, 21 pieces of ſaffron, 21 pons for betel-nut, and the leaf made up ready for chewing; one little piece of iron, and one piece of ſandal-wood. When ſhe got to the pile, ſhe looked a little at her huſband, who was lying upon it, and then walked ſeven times round it; when ſhe ſtopped at his feet, and made the ſame obeiſance to him as before. She then mounted the pile without help, and laid herſelf down by her huſband's ſide, putting the pot ſhe carried with her cloſe to her head; which as ſoon as done, ſhe claſped her huſband in her arms; and the ſon, who was ſtanding ready with a wiſp of ſtraw lighted in his hand, put the blaze of it three times to his father and mother's mouths, and then ſet the pile on fire all round, whilſt the populace threw reeds and light wood upon them; and they were both burnt to aſhes in leſs than an hour. I believe ſhe ſoon died, for ſhe never moved, though there was no weight upon her but what ſhe might have eaſily overſet, had ſhe had any inclination. It was intirely a voluntary act, and ſhe was as much in her ſenſes as ever ſhe was in her life. I forgot to mention that ſhe had her forehead painted with red paint, which ſhe ſcraped off with her nails, and diſtributed amongſt her friends, and alſo gave them chewed betel out of her mouth, for which favours every one ſeemed very ſolicitous. The above, I

affure

you, is a true account of I ſaw.

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nt of the Inhabitants of Wallachia, *by Baron* Inigo Bora.

THEIR manner of living is extremely rough and ſavage. want religion, arts and ces. Their children are from firſt infancy waſhed every n the open air, in warm waand then ſwathed in coarſe or woollen cloth. The difce of the ſeaſons and the weamakes herein no difference. the fifth to the twelfth or enth year of their age they ft with the herds and flocks end them; however, the girls ught in the ſame time waſhbaking, ſpinning, making e-work, weaving, and ſo on. the fourteenth year they are ht up and employed in huſry. Kukuruz, or maiz, is chief object of agriculture. ever, they ſow likewiſe oats, y, and wheat. They diſtil the fruits of trees, which they in great plenty, a ſort of ly, called rakie, which they ery fond of. Their meat is iple as their dreſs. Biſcuit arſe grinded maiz, baked unıſhes, which they call malai, fleſh, milk, cheeſe, beans, other vegetables, are their ion food. Their dreſs is va; but generally it conſiſts of llowing articles. The men long white woollen trowſers, e Hungarians, but wider; of raw ſkin tied about the feet d of ſhoes; a ſhirt open on breaſt; a woollen jacket or tight around the waiſt, with long ſleeves, and a fur cap, or bonnet, for the head. The women have long ſhirts down to the ancles; a brown variegated ſtriped petticoat open on both ſides, and tied with a girdle; a waiſtcoat or garment of coarſe cloth, ſomewhat ſhorter than the ſhirts, and an annular bolſter ſtuffed with haiſ or ſtraw upon their head, which they cover with a woven cloth. The girls go bare-headed. Their ornaments conſiſt of ear-rings of white or yellow braſs, of coloured glaſs, beads, pearls, glaſs, feathers, and pieces of money faſtened to a ſtring and tied round the head and neck. This ornament makes a ringing, ſo that a fine dreſſed Raize, or Wallachian girl, may very often be heard ſooner than ſeen. They marry very young; and there are married couples, the man not above fourteen; the wife even not twelve years of age. Some manual arts ſeem to be peculiar to them. Scarce any where you will find a cartwright or a weaver; every Wallachian being a cartwright, and every woman a weaver. No woman is ſeen going about without ſome work in hand. What they bring to ſale they carry on their heads. If they have a child to nurſe, it is carried in the ſame manner. The ſpindle is ſticking in their girdle, and all the way they are ſpinning. All their neceſſaries are worked up by themſelves. Scarce any tradeſmen nor any beggars are ſeen among them. What can I ſay to you of their religion? They confeſs the non-united Greek religion, *Græci ritus non unitorum*. But in fact, they have ſcarce more religion than their domeſtic animals, except repeated faſtings, which almoſt take up half the

the year, and are ſo unmercifully ſevere, that they dare not eat any meat, eggs, or milk; they ſcarce have any idea of other religious duties. But in theſe inſtances they are ſo ſcrupulous, that they dare not break them, even if it be that they might every other tie of human law. A robber will not indulge himſelf contrary to this abſtinence, nor lie with his own or another man's wife, for fear that God might in this caſe withdraw his bleſſing from his trade. What a diſmal, what humiliating idea of the Supreme Being! The ignorance and ſuperſtition of the Boſnians cannot poſſibly be above the level of their popes. Some of them are ſo ignorant as to be unable to read; what can they teach the poor people? They plow and till their ground, they attend their herds like other peaſants, deal in every trade at leaſt, and get drunk at the expence of their ſcrupulous parishioners, who ſell them their ſins, and think to be happy and to be ſaved if they diſcharge their own and their deceaſed relations ſins at a good price.

The religious rites and ceremonies of this people favour rather of Paganiſm and Judaiſm, than of that religion which they profeſs. For example; no woman will attempt to kill any animal whatever it be. The bride is on her wedding day, and the day before, conſtantly hid under a veil. Whoever unveils her is entitled to a kiſs; and, if ſhe deſire it, obliged to make her a preſent. The women are in the churches ſeparated from the men. Their funerals are ſingular. The corpſe is with diſmal ſhrieks brought to the tomb, in which it is ſunk down as ſoon as the pope has done with his ritual. At this moment the friends and relations of the deceaſed raiſe horrid cries. They remind the deceaſed of his friends, parents, cattle, houſe and homeſtead, and aſk for what reaſon he left them. As no anſwer enſues, the grave is filled up, and a wooden croſs with a large ſtone placed at the head, to avoid the dead becoming a *vampyr*, or a ſtrolling nocturnal bloodſucker. Wine is thrown upon the grave, and frankincenſe burat around it, to drive away evil ſpirits and witches. This done they go home; bake bread of wheat meal, which to the explation of the deceaſed they eat, plentifully drinking to be the better comforted themſelves. The ſolemn ſhrieks, libations of wine and fumigations about the tomb continue during ſome days, nay even ſome weeks, repeated by the neareſt relations. The funeral of a bridegroom is ſtill more ſolemn. A pole, ſome fathoms long, is fixed to his tomb, and the bride hangs on it a garland, a quill, and a white handkerchief.

If they engage themſelves in an indiſſoluble friendſhip in life and death, they put the form of a croſs in the veſſel or the cup from which they eat or drink; ſwearing everlaſting fidelity. This ceremony is never to be ſlighted. It is generally a previous rite to robberies. The ſame ceremony is reſorted to as the moſt efficacious bond; for example, if robbers releaſe a man, by whom they apprehend to be indicted, they oblige him to ſilence by an oath by the croſs, the ſalt and the bread, which they call *giurar pe cruce, pe pita, pe ſare*. Their canon law is very different from

ours. Stealing and adultery nſidered as trifling crimes, olating or diſhonouring a girl eat ones. No murther can penſed with by their popes. diſpenſation is reſerved to alone. However, robberies iurthers are extremely com- among this people. The rea- obvious. They have no true either of God or of the ſoul; hould not they be wrong in deas of the ſocial and politi- ligations of man? Any phæ- on, or effect of unknown is conſidered by them as a e. They look upon a ſolar as a fray of the infernal with the ſun; for that rea- during an eclipſe, a great is heard through the land, hten away the dragon, which ight conquer and devour the nd plunge the world into darkneſs. The inſects in the ſpring creep forth nder a rock near Columbacz limits of the Turkiſh domi- and which greatly annoy erds, are, according to their n, vomited by the devil. oly knight, St. George, is have cut off his head in a under the rock. A Walla- vill never cut a ſpit of beech his meat on. The reaſon ch yields in the ſpring a red id the ſentimental compaſ- tree weeps theſe bloody according to the learned and id obſervations of the Wal- s, becauſe the Turkiſh blood- uſed to cut the ſpits for Chriſtians from beech. No capital puniſhment is ter abhorrence among the hians than that of the rope. le and wheel ſeem prefer- able to it. But why? A rope ties the neck and forces the ſoul out downwards. They call that a moſt diſguſtful impure defilement of the ſoul, and I call their ſingular nicety on that account true pſychological materialiſm.

Account of the Savage Tribes of America, extracted from Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory.

THE firſt appearance of the inhabitants of the New World, filled the diſcoverers with ſuch aſtoniſhment, that they were apt to imagine them a race of men different from thoſe of the other hemiſphere. Their complexion is of a reddiſh brown, nearly reſembling the colour of copper. The hair of their heads is always black, long, coarſe, and lank. They have no beard, and every part of their body is perfectly ſmooth. Their perſons are of a full ſize, extremely ſtraight, and well proportioned. Their features are regular, though often diſtorted by abſurd endeavours to improve the beauty of their natural form, or to render their aſpect more dreadful to their enemies. In the iſlands, where four-footed animals were both few and ſmall, and the earth yielded her productions almoſt ſpontaneouſly, the conſtitution of the natives, neither braced by the active exerciſes of the chace, nor invigorated by the labour of cultivation, was extremely feeble and languid. On the continent, where the foreſts abound with game of various kinds, and the chief occupation of many tribes was to purſue it, their frame acquired greater firmneſs. Still, however, the Americans

ricans were more remarkable for agility than ſtrength. They reſembled beaſts of prey, rather than animals formed for labour. They were not only averſe to toil, but incapable of it; and when rouzed by force from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they ſunk under taſks which the people of the other continent would have performed with eaſe. This feebleneſs of conſtitution was univerſal among the inhabitants of thoſe regions in America which we are ſurveying, and may be conſidered as characteriſtic of the ſpecies there.

The beardleſs countenance and ſmooth ſkin of the American ſeems to indicate a defect of vigour, occaſioned by ſome vice in his frame. He is deſtitute of one ſign of manhood and of ſtrength. This peculiarity, by which the inhabitants of the New World are diſtinguiſhed from the people of all other nations, cannot be attributed, as ſome travellers have ſuppoſed, to their mode of ſubſiſtence. For though the food of many Americans be ſo extremely inſipid, that they are altogether unacquainted with the uſe of ſalt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have ſubſiſted on aliments equally ſimple without this mark of degradation, or any apparent ſymptom of a diminution in their vigour.

As the external form of the Americans leads us to ſuſpect that there is ſome natural debility in their frame, the ſmallneſs of their appetite for food has been mentioned by many authors as a confirmation of this ſuſpicion. The quantity of food which men conſume varies according to the temperature of the climate in which they live, the degree of activity which they exert, and the natural vigour of their conſtitutions. Under the enervating heat of the torrid zone, and when men paſs their days in indolence and eaſe, they require leſs nouriſhment than the active inhabitants of temperate or cold countries. But neither the warmth of their climate, nor their extreme lazineſs, will account for the uncommon defect of appetite among the Americans. The Spaniards were aſtoniſhed with obſerving this, not only in the iſlands, but in ſeveral parts of the continent. The conſtitutional temperance of the natives far exceeded, in their opinion, the abſtinence of the moſt mortified hermits; while, on the other hand, the appetite of the Spaniards appeared to the Americans inſatiably voracious; and they affirmed, that one Spaniard devoured more food in a day than was ſufficient for ten Americans.

A proof of ſome feebleneſs in their frame ſtill more ſtriking, is the inſenſibility of the Americans to the charms of beauty, and the power of love. That paſſion which was deſtined to perpetuate life, to be the bond of ſocial union, and the ſource of tenderneſs and joy, is the moſt ardent in the human breaſt; and though the perils and hardſhips of the ſavage ſtate, though exceſſive fatigue, on ſome occaſions, and the difficulty at all times of procuring ſubſiſtence, may ſeem to be adverſe to this paſſion, and to have a tendency to abate its vigour, yet the rudeſt nations in every other part of the globe ſeem to feel its influence more powerfully than the inhabitants of the New World. The negro glows with all the warmth of deſire natural to his

limate; and the moſt uncul-
ed Aſiatics diſcover that ſenſi-
, which, from their ſituation,
ould expect them to have felt.
he Americans are, in an ama-
degree, ſtrangers to the force
s firſt inſtinct of nature. In
part of the New World the
es treat their women with
eſs and indifference. They
either the objects of that ten-
ttachment which takes place
ilized ſociety, nor of that ar-
leſire conſpicuous among rude
ns. Even in climates where
paſſion uſually acquires its
ſt vigour, the ſavage of Ame-
iews his female with diſdain,
animal of a leſs noble ſpecies.
at no pains to win her favour
e aſſiduity of courtſhip, and
eſs ſolicitous to preſerve it by
gence and gentleneſs. Miſ-
ies themſelves, notwithſtand-
ie auſterity of monaſtic ideas,
t refrain from expreſſing their
ſhment at the diſpaſſionate
eſs of the American young
in their intercourſe with the
ſex. Nor is this reſerve to
cribed to any opinion which
ntertain with reſpect to the
of female chaſtity. That is
a too refined for a ſavage,
ggeſted by a delicacy of ſen-
: and affection to which he is
ger.

Notwithſtanding the feeble
of the Americans, almoſt none
n are deformed, or mutilated,
ective in any of their ſenſes.
vellers have been ſtruck with
ircumſtance, and have cele-
the uniform ſymmetry and
ion of their external figure.
authors ſearch for the cauſe
appearance in their phyſi-
dition. As the parents are not exhauſted or over-fatigued with hard labour, they ſuppoſe that their children are born vigorous and ſound. They imagine, that in the liberty of ſavage life, the human body, naked and unconfined from its earlieſt age, preſerves its natural form; and that all its limbs and members acquire a juſter proportion, than when fettered with artificial reſtraints, which ſtint its growth, and diſtort its ſhape. Something, without doubt, may be aſcribed to the operation of theſe cauſes; but the true reaſons of this apparent advantage, which is common to all ſavage nations, lie deeper, and are cloſely interwoven with the nature and genius of that ſtate. The infancy of man is ſo long and ſo helpleſs, that it is extremely difficult to rear children among rude nations. Their means of ſubſiſtence are not only ſcanty, but precarious. Such as live by hunting muſt range over extenſive countries, and ſhift often from place to place. The care of children, as well as every other laborious taſk, is devolved upon the women. The diſtreſſes and hardſhips of the ſavage life, which are often ſuch as can hardly be ſupported by perſons in full vigour, muſt be fatal to thoſe of more tender age. Afraid of undertaking a taſk ſo laborious, and of ſuch long duration, the women, in ſome parts of America, extinguiſh the firſt ſparks of that life which they are unable to cheriſh, and by the uſe of certain herbs procure frequent abortions. Senſible that only ſtout and well-formed children have force of conſtitution to ſtruggle through ſuch an hard infancy, other nations abandon or deſtroy ſuch of

their progeny as appear feeble or defective, as unworthy of attention. Even when they endeavour to rear all their children without diſtinction, ſo great a proportion of the whole number periſhes under the rigorous treatment which muſt be their lot in the ſavage ſtate, that few of thoſe who laboured under any original frailty attain the age of manhood. Thus, in poliſhed ſocieties, where the means of ſubſiſtence are ſecured with certainty, and acquired with eaſe; where the talents of the mind are often of more importance than the powers of the body; children are preſerved notwithſtanding their defects or deformity, and grow up to be uſeful citizens. In rude nations, ſuch perſons are either cut off as ſoon as they are born, or becoming a burden to themſelves and to the community, cannot long protract their lives. But in thoſe provinces of the New World where, by the eſtabliſhment of the Europeans, more regular proviſion has been made for the ſubſiſtence of its inhabitants, and they are reſtrained from laying violent hands on their children, the Americans are ſo far from being eminent for any ſuperior perfection in their form, that one ſhould rather ſuſpect ſome peculiar imbecility in the race, from the extraordinary number of individuals who are deformed, dwarfiſh, mutilated, blind, or deaf.

However feeble the conſtitution of the Americans may be, it is remarkable, that there is leſs variety in the human form throughout the New World, than in the ancient continent. When Columbus and the other diſcoverers firſt viſited the different countries of America which lie within the torrid zone, they naturally expected to find people of the ſame complexion with thoſe in the correſponding regions of the other hemiſphere. To their amazement, however, they diſcovered that America contained no negroes; and the cauſe of this ſingular appearance became as much the object of curioſity, as the fact itſelf was of wonder. In what part or membrane of the body that humour reſides which tinges the complexion of the negro with a deep black, it is the buſineſs of anatomiſts to inquire and deſcribe. The powerful operation of heat appears manifeſtly to be the cauſe which produces this ſtriking variety in the human ſpecies. All Europe, almoſt the whole of Aſia, and the temperate parts of Africa, are occupied by men of a fair complexion. All the torrid zone in Africa, ſome of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and a few countries in Aſia, are filled with people of a deep black colour. If we trace the nations of our continent, making our progreſs from cold and temperate countries towards thoſe parts which are expoſed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we ſhall find, that the extreme whiteneſs of their ſkin ſoon begins to diminiſh; that its colour deepens gradually as we advance; and after paſſing through all ſucceſſive gradations of ſhade, terminates in an uniform unvarying black. But in America, where the agency of heat is checked and abated by various cauſes, which I have already explained, the climate ſeems to be deſtitute of that force which produces ſuch wonderful effects on the human frame. The colour of the natives of the torrid

l zone, in America, can hard- ſaid to be of a deeper hue that of the people in the more erate parts of their continent. rate obſervers, who had an rtunity of viewing the Ameri- in very different climates, and untries far removed from each , have been ſtruck with the ing ſimilarity of their figure ſpect.

In order to form a complete idea reſpect to the conſtitution of habitants of this and the other ſphere, we ſhould attend not to the make and vigour of bodies, but conſider what de- of health they enjoy, and to period of longevity they uſu- rrive. In the ſimplicity of vage ſtate, when man is not fied with labour, or enervated ury, or diſquieted with care, e apt to imagine that his life low on almoſt untroubled by e or ſuffering, until his days minated, in extreme old age, e gradual decays of nature. nd, accordingly, among the icans, as well as among other people, perſons, whoſe de- and ſhrivelled form ſeems to te an extraordinary length of But as moſt of them are un- inted with the art of number- and all of them as forgetful at is paſt, as they are impro- : for what is to come, it is ſible to aſcertain their age any degree of preciſion. It lent, that the period of their ity muſt vary conſiderably, ling to the diverſity of cli- , and their different modes ſiſtence. They ſeem, how- to be every where exempt many of the diſtempers which poliſhed nations. None of the maladies, which are the immediate offspring of luxury, or ſloth, ever viſited them; and they have no names in their languages by which to diſtinguiſh this numerous train of adventitious evils.

But, whatever be the ſituation in which man is placed, he is born to ſuffer; and his diſeaſes, in the ſavage ſtate, though fewer in number, are, like thoſe of the animals whom he nearly reſembles in his mode of life, more violent, and more fatal. If luxury engenders and nouriſhes diſtempers of one ſpecies, the rigour and diſtreſſes of ſavage life bring on thoſe of another. As men, in this ſtate, are wonderfully improvident, and their means of ſubſiſtence precarious, they often paſs from extreme want to exuberant plenty, according to the viciſſitudes of fortune in the chace, or to the variety in the productions of the ſeaſons. Their inconſiderate gluttony in the one ſituation, and their ſevere abſtinence in the other, are equally pernicious. For, though the human conſtitution may be accuſtomed by habit, like that of animals of prey, to tolerate long famine, and then to gorge voraciouſly, it is not a little affected by ſuch ſudden and violent tranſitions. The ſtrength and vigour of ſavages are, at ſome ſeaſons, impaired by what they ſuffer from ſcarcity of food; at others, they are afflicted with diſorders ariſing from indigeſtion and a ſuperfluity of groſs aliment. Theſe laſt are ſo common, that they may be conſidered as the unavoidable conſequence of their mode of ſubſiſting, and cut off conſiderable numbers in the prime of life. They are likewiſe extremely ſubject to conſumptions, to pleuretic, aſthmatic, and

paralytic diſorders, brought on by the immoderate hardſhips and fatigue which they endure in hunting and in war; or owing to the inclemency of the ſeaſons to which they are continually expoſed. In the ſavage ſtate, hardſhips and fatigue violently aſſault the conſtitution. In poliſhed ſocieties, intemperance undermines it. It is not eaſy to determine which of them operates with moſt fatal effect, or tends moſt to abridge human life. The influence of the former is certainly moſt extenſive. The pernicious conſequences of luxury reach only a few members in any community, the diſtreſſes of ſavage life are felt by all. As far as I can judge, after very minute inquiry, the general period of human life is ſhorter among ſavages, than in well-regulated and induſtrious ſocieties.

One dreadful malady, the ſevereſt ſcourge, with which, in this life, offended Heaven chaſtens the indulgence of criminal deſire, ſeems to have been peculiar to the Americans. By communicating it to their conquerors, they have not only amply avenged their own wrongs, but by adding this calamity to thoſe which formerly embittered human life, they have, perhaps, more than counterbalanced all the benefits which Europe has derived from the diſcovery of the New World. This diſtemper, from the country in which it firſt raged, or from the people by whom it was ſuppoſed to have been ſpread over Europe, has been ſometimes called the Neapolitan, and ſometimes the French diſeaſe. At its firſt appearance, the infection was ſo malignant, its ſymptoms ſo violent, its operation ſo rapid and fatal, as to baffle all the efforts of medical ſkill. Aſtoniſhment and terror accompanied this unknown affliction in its progreſs, and men began to dread the extinction of the human race by ſuch a cruel viſitation. Experience, and the ingenuity of phyſicians gradually diſcovered remedies of ſuch virtue as to cure or mitigate the evil. During the courſe of two centuries and a half, its virulence ſeems to have abated conſiderably. At length, in the ſame manner with the leproſy, which raged in Europe for ſome centuries, it may waſte its force and diſappear; and in ſome happier age, this weſtern infection, like that from the Eaſt, may be known only by deſcription.

After conſidering what appears to be peculiar in the bodily conſtitution of the Americans, our attention is naturally turned towards the powers and qualities of their minds. As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant ſtate, to vigour and maturity of underſtanding, ſomething ſimilar to this may be obſerved in the progreſs of the ſpecies. With reſpect to it, too, there is a period of infancy, during which ſeveral powers of the mind are not unfolded, and all are feeble and defective in their operation. In the early ages of ſociety, while the condition of man is ſimple and rude, his reaſon is but little exerciſed, and his deſires move within a very narrow ſphere. Hence ariſe two remarkable characteriſtics of the human mind, in this ſtate. Its intellectual powers are extremely limited; its emotions and efforts are few and languid. Both theſe diſtinctions are conſpicuous among the rudeſt and

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not to be capable of forming
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on. While they highly prize
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ter to preſent enjoyment, they
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. When, on the approach of
evening, a Caribbee feels
elf diſpoſed to go to reſt, no
leration will tempt him to
iis hammoc. But, in the
ing, when he is ſallying out
: buſineſs or paſtime of the
he will part with it for the
ſlighteſt toy that catches his fancy.
At the cloſe of winter, while the
impreſſion of what he has ſuffered
from the rigour of the climate is
freſh in the mind of the North
American, he ſets himſelf with vi-
gour to prepare materials for
erecting a comfortable hut to pro-
tect him againſt the inclemency of
the ſucceeding ſeaſon; but as ſoon
as the weather becomes mild, he
forgets what is paſt, abandons his
work, and never thinks of it more,
until the return of cold compels
him, when too late, to reſume it.

—After viewing the bodily con-
ſtitution of the Americans, and
contemplating the powers of their
minds, we are led, in the natural
order of inquiry, to conſider them
as united together in ſociety. Hi-
therto our reſearches have been
confined to the operations of under-
ſtanding reſpecting themſelves, as
individuals, now they will extend
to the degree of their ſenſibility
and affection towards their ſpecies.

The domeſtic ſtate is the firſt
and moſt ſimple form of human
aſſociation. The union of the
ſexes, among different animals, is
of longer or ſhorter duration in
proportion to the eaſe or difficulty
of rearing their offspring. Among
thoſe tribes where the ſeaſon of in-
fancy is ſhort, and the young ſoon
acquire vigour or agility, no per-
manent union is formed. Nature
commits the care of training up
the offspring to the mother alone,
and her tenderneſs, without any
other aſſiſtance, is equal to the
taſk. But where the ſtate of in-
fancy is long and helpleſs, and the
joint aſſiduity of both parents is
requiſite in tending their feeble
brood, there a more intimate con-
nection takes place, and continues

until the purpoſe of nature be accompliſhed, and the new race grow up to full maturity. As the infancy of man is more feeble and helpleſs than that of any other animal, and he is dependent, during a much longer period, on the care and foreſight of his parents, the union between huſband and wife came early to be conſidered, not only as a ſolemn, but as a permanent contract. A general ſtate of promiſcuous intercourſe between the ſexes never exiſted but in the imagination of poets. In the infancy of ſociety, when men, deſtitute of arts and induſtry, lead a hard precarious life, the rearing of their progeny demands the attention and efforts of both parents; and if their union had not been formed and continued with this view, the race could not have been preſerved. Accordingly, in America, even among the rudeſt tribes, a regular union between huſband and wife was univerſal, and the rights of marriage were underſtood and recognized. In thoſe diſtricts where ſubſiſtence was ſcanty, and the difficulty of maintaining a family was great, the man confined himſelf to one wife. In warmer or more fertile provinces, the facility of procuring food concurred with the influence of climate, in inducing the inhabitants to increaſe the number of their wives. In ſome countries the marriage union ſubſiſted during life; in others, the impatience of the Americans under reſtraint of any ſpecies, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompted them to diſſolve it on very ſlight pretexts, and often without aſſigning any cauſe.

But whether they conſidered the obligation of this contract as perpetual, or only temporary, the condition of women was equally humiliating and miſerable. Whether man has been improved by the progreſs of arts and civilization in ſociety, is a queſtion, which, in the wantonneſs of diſputation, has been agitated among philoſophers. That women are indebted to the refinements of poliſhed manners for a happy change in their ſtate, is a point which can admit of no doubt. To deſpiſe and to degrade the female ſex, is the characteriſtic of the ſavage ſtate in every part of the globe. Man, proud of excelling in ſtrength and in courage, the chief marks of pre-eminence among rude people, treats woman, as an inferior, with diſdain. The Americans, perhaps from that coldneſs and inſenſibility which has been conſidered as peculiar to their conſtitution, add neglect and harſhneſs to contempt. The moſt intelligent travellers have been ſtruck with this inattention of the Americans to their women. It is not, as I have already obſerved, by a ſtudied diſplay of tenderneſs and attachment, that the American endeavours to gain the heart of the woman whom he wiſhes to marry. Marriage itſelf, inſtead of being an union of affection and intereſt between equals, becomes, among them, the unnatural conjunction of a maſter with his ſlave. It is the obſervation of an author, whoſe opinions are deſervedly of great weight, that wherever wives are purchaſed, their condition is extremely depreſſed. They become the property and the ſlaves of thoſe who buy them. In whatever part of the globe this cuſtom prevails, the obſervation holds. In countries where refinement has made

ſome progreſs, women, ex-
d from ſociety, and ſhut up
ueſtered apartments, are kept
the vigilant guard of their
rs. In ruder nations, they
egraded to the meaneſt func-

Among many people of
ica the marriage-contract is
rly a purchaſe. The man
his wife of her parents.
gh unacquainted with the uſe
oney, or with ſuch commer-
ranſactions as take place in
improved ſociety, he knows
o give an equivalent for any
t which he deſires to poſſeſs.
me places the ſuitor devotes
rvice for a certain time to the
its of the maid whom he
s; in others, he hunts for
occaſionally, or aſſiſts in cul-
ng their fields, and forming
canoes; in others, he offers
nts of ſuch things as are deem-
oſt valuable on account of their
lneſs or rarity. In return for
, he receives his wife; and
circumſtance, added to the
ſtimation of women among
es, leads him to conſider her
female ſervant whom he has
red, and whom he has a title
at as an inferior. In all un-
ed nations, it is true, the
ions in domeſtic œconomy,
h fall naturally to the ſhare of
en, are ſo many, that they
ubjected to hard labour, and
bear more than their full por-
of the common burden. But
merica their condition is ſo
iarly grievous, and their de-
on ſo complete, that ſervitude
ame too mild to deſcribe their
ched ſtate. A wife, among
tribes, is no better than a
of burden, deſtined to every
of labour and fatigue. While
the men loiter out the day in ſloth,
or ſpend it in amuſement, the wo-
men are condemned to inceſſant
toil. Taſks are impoſed upon
them without pity, and ſervices
are received without complacence
or gratitude. Every circumſtance
reminds women of this mortifying
inferiority. They muſt approach
their lords with reverence; they
muſt regard them as more exalted
beings, and are not permitted to
eat in their preſence. There are
diſtricts in America where this domi-
nion is ſo grievous, and ſo ſen-
ſibly felt, that ſome women, in a
wild emotion of maternal tender-
neſs, have deſtroyed their female
children in their infancy, in order
to deliver them from that intoler-
able bondage to which they knew
they were doomed. Thus the firſt
inſtitution of ſocial life is perverted.
That ſtate of domeſtic union to-
wards which nature leads the hu-
man ſpecies, in order to ſoften the
heart to gentleneſs and humanity,
is rendered ſo unequal, as to eſta-
bliſh a cruel diſtinction between
the ſexes, which forms the one to
be harſh and unfeeling, and hum-
bles the other to ſervility and ſub-
jection.

It is owing, perhaps, in ſome
meaſure, to this ſtate of depreſſion,
that women in rude nations are far
from being prolific. The vigour
of their conſtitution is exhauſted by
exceſſive fatigue, and the wants
and diſtreſſes of ſavage life are ſo
numerous, as to force them to take
various precautions in order to
prevent too rapid an increaſe of
their progeny. Among wander-
ing tribes, or ſuch as depend chiefly
upon hunting for ſubſiſtence, the
mother cannot attempt to rear a
ſecond child, until the firſt has at-
tained

tained ſuch a degree of vigour as to be in ſome meaſure independent of her care. From this motive, it is the univerſal practice of the American women to nurſe their children during ſeveral years; and as they ſeldom marry early, the period of their fertility is over, before they can finiſh the long but neceſſary attendance upon two or three ſucceſſive children. Among ſome of the leaſt poliſhed tribes, whoſe induſtry and foreſight does not extend ſo far as to make any regular proviſion for their own ſubſiſtence, it is a maxim not to burden themſelves with rearing more than two children; and no ſuch numerous families, as are frequent in civilized ſocieties, are to be found among men in this ſtate. When twins are born, one of them commonly is abandoned, becauſe the mother is not equal to the taſk of educating both. When a mother dies while ſhe is nurſing a child, all hope of preſerving its life fails, and it is buried together with her in the ſame grave. As the parents are frequently expoſed to want by their own improvident indolence, the difficulty of ſuſtaining their children becomes ſo great, that it is not uncommon to abandon or deſtroy them. Thus their experience of the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity, amidſt the hardſhips of ſavage life, often ſtifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and ſuppreſſes the ſtrong emotions of parental tenderneſs.

But, though neceſſity compels the inhabitants of America thus to ſet bounds to the increaſe of their families, they are not deficient in affection and attachment to their offſpring. They feel the power of this inſtinct in its full force, and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpleſs, no people exceed them in tenderneſs and care. But in rude nations, the dependence of children upon their parents is of ſhorter continuance than in poliſhed ſocieties. When men muſt be trained to the various functions of civil life by previous diſcipline and education, when the knowledge of abſtruſe ſciences muſt be taught, and dexterity in intricate arts muſt be acquired, before a young man is prepared to begin his career of action, the attentive feelings of a parent are not confined to the years of infancy, but extend to the eſtabliſhment of his child in the world. Even then, his ſolicitude does not terminate. His protection may ſtill be requiſite, and his wiſdom and experience ſtill prove uſeful guides. Thus a permanent connection is formed; parental tenderneſs is exerciſed, and filial reſpect returned, throughout the whole courſe of life. But in the ſimplicity of the ſavage ſtate, the affection of parents, like the inſtinctive fondneſs of animals, ceaſes almoſt entirely as ſoon as their offſpring attain maturity. Little inſtruction fits them for that mode of life to which they are deſtined. The parents, as if their duty were accompliſhed, when they have conducted their children through the helpleſs years of infancy, leave them afterwards at entire liberty. They ſeldom adviſe or admoniſh, they never chide or chaſtiſe them. They ſuffer them to be abſolute maſters of their own actions. In an American hut, a father, a mother, and their poſterity, live together like perſons aſſembled by accident, without ſeeming to feel

the

obligation of the duties mutu-
riſing from this connection.
ial love is not cheriſhed by
ontinuance of attention or
offices, the recollection of
its received in early infancy
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of their own liberty, and
ient of reſtraint, the youth of
ica are accuſtomed to act as
y were totally independent.
parents are not objects of
r regard than other perſons.
treat them always with neg-
and often with ſuch harſh-
nd inſolence, as to fill thoſe
ave been witneſſes of their
ct with horror. Thus the
which ſeem to be natural to
n his ſavage ſtate, as they re-
from his circumſtances and
tion in that period of his pro-
affect the two capital rela-
in domeſtic life. They ren-
e union between huſband and
unequal. They ſhorten the
on, and weaken the force, of
onnection between parents
hildren.

om the domeſtic ſtate of
Americans, the tranſition is
al to the conſideration of their
government and political in-
ons. In every inquiry con-
ng the operations of men
united together in ſociety,
rſt object of attention ſhould
eir mode of ſubſiſtence. Ac-
ngly as that varies, their laws
olicy muſt be different. The
itions ſuited to the ideas and
ncies of tribes, which ſubſiſt
y by fiſhing or hunting, and
have hardly formed a con-
on of any ſpecies of property,
be much more ſimple than
which muſt take place when
rth is cultivated with regular
induſtry, and a right of property,
not only in its productions, but in
the ſoil itſelf, is completely aſcer-
tained.

All the people of America, now
under review, belong to the former
claſs. But though they may all be
comprehended under the general
denomination of ſavage, the ad-
vances which they had made in the
art of procuring to themſelves a cer-
tain and plentiful ſubſiſtence, were
very unequal. On the vaſt plains
of South-America, man appears
in one of the rudeſt ſtates in which
he has been ever obſerved, or, per-
haps, can exiſt. Several tribes de-
pend entirely upon the bounty of
nature for ſubſiſtence. They diſ-
cover no ſolicitude, they employ
little foreſight, they ſcarcely exert
any induſtry, to ſecure what is ne-
ceſſary for their ſupport. The
Topayers of Braſil, the *Guaneres* of
Tierra-Firmè, the *Caiguas*, the
Moxos, and ſeveral other people of
Paraguay, are unacquainted with
every ſpecies of cultivation. They
neither ſow nor plant. Even the
culture of the manioc, of which
caſſada bread is made, is an art too
intricate for their ingenuity, or
too fatiguing to their indolence.
The roots which the earth produces
ſpontaneouſly, the fruits, the ber-
ries, and ſeeds, which they gather
in the woods, together with li-
zards and other reptiles, which the
heat engenders in a fat ſoil, moiſt-
ened by frequent rains, ſupply
them with food during ſome part
of the year. At other times they
ſubſiſt by fiſhing; and nature ſeems
to have indulged the lazineſs of
the people, by the liberality with
which ſhe miniſters, in this way,
to their wants. The vaſt rivers of
South-America abound with an
infinite

infinite variety of the moſt delicate fiſh. The lakes and marſhes, formed by the annual overflowing of the waters, are filled with all the different ſpecies, where they remain ſhut up, as in natural reſervoirs, for the uſe of the inhabitants. They ſwarm in ſuch ſhoals, that in ſome places they are catched without art or induſtry. In others, the natives have diſcovered a method of infecting the water with the juice of certain plants, by which the fiſh are ſo intoxicated, that they float on the ſurface, and are taken with the hand. Some tribes have ingenuity enough to preſerve them without ſalt, by drying or ſmoking them upon hurdles over a ſlow fire. The prolific quality of the rivers in South-America induces many of the natives to reſort to their banks, and to depend almoſt entirely for nouriſhment on what their waters ſupply with ſuch profuſion. In this part of the globe, hunting ſeems not to have been the firſt employment of men, or the firſt effort of their invention and labour to obtain food. They were fiſhers before they became hunters; and as the occupations of the former do not call for equal exertions of activity, or talents, with thoſe of the latter, people in that ſtate appear to poſſeſs neither the ſame degree of enterpriſe, nor of ingenuity. The petty nations, adjacent to the Maragnon and Orinoco, are manifeſtly the moſt inactive and leaſt intelligent of all the Americans.

None but tribes contiguous to great rivers can ſuſtain themſelves in this manner. The greater part of the American nations, diſperſed over the foreſts with which their country is covered, do not procure ſubſiſtence with the ſame facility. For although theſe foreſts, eſpecially in the ſouthern continent of America, are ſtored plentifully with game, conſiderable efforts of activity and ingenuity are requiſite in purſuit of it. Neceſſity incited them to the one, and taught them the other. Hunting became their principal occupation; and as it called forth ſtrenuous exertions of courage, of force, and of invention, it was deemed a function no leſs honourable than neceſſary. This was peculiar to the men. They were trained to it from their earlieſt youth. A bold and dextrous hunter ranked next in fame to the diſtinguiſhed warrior, and an alliance with the former is often courted in preference to one with the latter. Hardly any device, which the ingenuity of man has diſcovered for enſnaring or deſtroying wild animals, was unknown to the Americans. While engaged in this favourite exerciſe, they ſhake off the indolence peculiar to their nature, the latent powers and vigour of their minds are rouſed, and they become active, perſevering, and indefatigable. Their ſagacity in finding their prey, and their addreſs in killing it, are equal. Their reaſon and their ſenſes, being conſtantly directed towards this one object, the former diſplays ſuch fertility of invention, and the latter acquire ſuch a degree of acuteneſs, as appear almoſt incredible. They diſcern the footſteps of a wild beaſt, which eſcape every other eye, and can follow them with certainty through the pathleſs foreſt. If they attack their game openly, their arrow ſeldom errs from the mark; if they endeavour to circumvent it by art,

is almoſt impoſſible to avoid
oils. Among ſeveral tribes,
oung men were not permitted
rry, until they had given
roofs of their ſkill in hunting
it beyond doubt that they
capable of providing for a
. Their ingenuity, always
ſtretch, and ſharpened by
tion, as well as neceſſity, has
out many inventions, which
y facilitate ſucceſs in the

The moſt ſingular of theſe
diſcovery of a poiſon in which
lip the arrows employed in
ig. The ſlighteſt wound
thoſe envenomed ſhafts is
l. If they only pierce the
the blood fixes and congeals
moment, and the ſtrongeſt
l falls motionleſs to the
d. Nor does this poiſon,
thſtanding its violence and
ty, infect the fleſh of the ani-
which it kills. That may be
with perfect ſafety, and re-
its native reliſh and qualities.
ne nations along the Marag-
and Orinoco are acquainted
this compoſition, the chief
dient in which is the juice ex-
d from the root of the *curare*,
cies of withe. In other parts
nerica, they employ the juice
manchenille for the ſame pur-
and it operates with a no
fatal activity. To people
ſſed of thoſe ſecrets, the bow
nore deſtructive weapon than
muſket, and, in their ſkilful
s, does great execution among
irds and beaſts which abound
e foreſts of America.

it the life of a hunter gradually
man to a ſtate more advanced.
chaſe, even where prey is
dant, and the dexterity of the
er much improved, affords but
an uncertain maintenance, and at
ſome ſeaſons it muſt be ſuſpended
altogether. If a ſavage truſts to
his bow alone for food, he and
his family will be often reduced to
extreme diſtreſs. Hardly any re-
gion of the earth furniſhes man
ſpontaneouſly with what his wants
require. In the mildeſt climates,
and moſt fertile ſoils, his own in-
duſtry and foreſight muſt be exerted,
in ſome degree, to ſecure a regular
ſupply of food. Their experience
of this ſurmounts the abhorrence of
labour natural to ſavage nations,
and compels them to have recourſe
to culture, as ſubſidiary to hunt-
ing. In particular ſituations, ſome
ſmall tribes may ſubſiſt by fiſhing,
independent of any production of
the earth, raiſed by their own in-
duſtry. But throughout all Ame-
rica, we ſcarcely meet with any
nation of hunters, which does not
practiſe ſome ſpecies of cultivation.

Their agriculture, however, is
neither extenſive nor laborious. As
game and fiſh are their principal
food, all they aim at by cultiva-
tion, is to ſupply any occaſional de-
fect of theſe. In the ſouthern con-
tinent of America, the natives con-
fined their induſtry to rearing a
few plants, which, in a rich ſoil
and warm climate, were eaſily
trained to maturity. The chief of
theſe is *Maize*, well known in Eu-
rope by the name of Turkey or In-
dian wheat, a grain extremely
prolific, of ſimple culture, agree-
able to the taſte, and affording a
ſtrong hearty nouriſhment. The
ſecond is the *manioc*, which grows
to the ſize of a large ſhrub, or
ſmall tree, and produces roots
ſomewhat reſembling parſnips.
After carefully ſqueezing out the
juice, theſe roots are grated down

to

to a fine powder, and formed into thin cakes, called *Caſſada* bread, which, though inſipid to the taſte, proves no contemptible food. As the juice of the manioc is a deadly poiſon, ſome authors have celebrated the ingenuity of the Americans, in converting a noxious plant into wholeſome nouriſhment. But it ſhould rather be conſidered as one of the deſperate expedients for procuring ſubſiſtence, to which neceſſity reduces rude nations; or, perhaps, men were led to the uſe of it by a progreſs, in which there is nothing marvellous. One ſpecies of manioc is altogether free of any poiſonous quality, and may be eaten without any preparation but that of roaſting it in the embers. This, it is probable, was firſt uſed by the Americans as food; and neceſſity having gradually taught them the art of ſeparating its pernicious juice from the other ſpecies, they have by experience found it to be the moſt prolific as well as the moſt nouriſhing plant of the two. The third is the *plantain*, which though it riſes to the height of a tree, is of ſuch quick growth, that in leſs than a year it rewards the induſtry of the cultivator with its fruit. This, when roaſted, ſupplies the place of bread, and is both palatable and nouriſhing. The fourth is the *potatoe*, whoſe culture and qualities are too well known to need any deſcription. The fifth is *pimento*, a ſmall tree, yielding a ſtrong aromatic ſpice. The Americans, who, like other inhabitants of warm climates, delight in whatever is hot and of poignant flavour, deem this ſeaſoning a neceſſary of life, and mingle it copiouſly with every kind of food they take.

Such are the various productions, which were the chief object of culture among the hunting tribes on the continent of America, and with a moderate exertion of active and provident induſtry, theſe might have yielded a full ſupply to the wants of a numerous people. But men, accuſtomed to the free and vagrant life of hunters, are incapable of regular application to labour; and conſider agriculture as a ſecondary and inferior occupation. Accordingly, the proviſion for ſubſiſtence, ariſing from cultivation, was ſo limited and ſcanty among the Americans, that, upon any accidental failure of their uſual ſucceſs in hunting, they were often reduced to extreme diſtreſs.

In the iſlands, the mode of ſubſiſting was conſiderably different. None of the large animals which abound on the continent were known there. Only four ſpecies of quadrupeds, beſides a kind of ſmall dumb dog, exiſted in the iſlands, the biggeſt of which did not exceed the ſize of a rabbit. To hunt ſuch diminutive prey, was an occupation which required no effort either of activity or courage. The chief employment of a hunter in the iſles was to kill birds, which on the continent are deemed ignoble game, and left chiefly to the purſuit of boys. This want of animals, as well as their peculiar ſituation, led the iſlanders to depend principally upon fiſhing for their ſubſiſtence. Their rivers, and the ſea with which they are ſurrounded, ſupplied them with this ſpecies of food. At ſome particular ſeaſons, turtle, crabs, and other ſhell-fiſh, abounded in ſuch numbers, that they could ſupport themſelves with a facility in which their

indolence delighted. At
times, they ate lizards, and
s reptiles of odious forms.
hing, the inhabitants of the
s added ſome degree of agri-
e. Maize, manioc, and
plants, were cultivated in
me manner as on the conti-

But all the fruits of their in-
, together with what their
nd climate produced ſponta-
y, afforded them but a ſcanty
enance. Though their de-
s for food were very ſparing,
hardly raiſed what was ſuffi-
for their own conſumption.
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t, ſuch a ſmall addition of
umerary mouths ſoon ex-
d their ſcanty ſtores, and
ht on a famine.

o circumſtances, common to
e ſavage nations of America,
rred with thoſe which I have
ly mentioned, not only in
ring their agriculture imper-
but in circumſcribing their
r in all their operations.
had no tame animals; and
were unacquainted with the
f metals.

Agriculture, even when the
th of man is ſeconded by that
animals which he has ſub-
l to the yoke, and his power
ented by the uſe of the vari-
inſtruments with which the
very of metals has furniſhed
is ſtill a work of great labour;
t is with the ſweat of his brow
ne renders the earth fertile.
not wonderful, then, that
e deſtitute of both theſe ad-
ges ſhould have made ſo little
eſs in cultivation, that they
be conſidered as depending
ubſiſtence on fiſhing and hunt-
ing, rather than on the fruits of
their own labour.

Account of a Society in the Friendly Iſlands named Arreoy; *extracted from* Forſter's *Voyage.*

WE walked along this creek in the afternoon, as far as the intermittent ſhowers would permit. The ſhore was lined with innumerable canoes, whilſt every houſe and ſhed was crouded with people, many of whom were preparing large and luxurious dinners, from heaps of proviſions which were every where accumulated. We were told that a peculiar ſociety or order of perſons of both ſexes, named Arreoy, exiſted in theſe iſlands; and that they aſſembled at times from all parts, and travelled through all the iſlands, feaſting and carouſing to exceſs. During the time we lay at Huahine, we had obſerved no leſs than ſeventy canoes, with more than ſeven hundred of theſe arreoys on board, croſſing over to Raietea in one morning. We were told that they had ſpent a few days on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, and were arrived on its weſtern ſhore only a day or two before us. We took notice that they were all perſons of ſome conſequence, and of the race of chiefs. Some of the men were punctured in large broad blotches; and Mahine aſſured us, theſe were the moſt eminent members of the ſociety, and that the more they were covered with punctures, the higher was their rank. They were in general ſtout and well made, and all profeſſed themſelves warriors. Mahine had a very high veneration

for this ſociety, and told us he himſelf was a member. They are united by the ties of reciprocal friendſhip, and exerciſe hoſpitality towards each other in its greateſt latitude. As ſoon as an arreoy viſits another, though he were unknown to him, he is ſure to have his wants ſupplied, and his deſires gratified; he is introduced to other members of the order, and they vie with each other in loading him with careſſes and preſents. It was to this principle that Mahine aſcribed all the pleaſures which he had enjoyed at Taheitee. The firſt people who ſaw him on board were arreoys according to his account, and in that quality made him a preſent of their garments, ſince he had no other than European cloaths. It appears, that one or more perſons of each little family of chiefs enter into this community, of which the invariable and fundamental character is, that none of its members are permitted to have any children. From the accounts of the moſt intelligent among the natives, we have great room to ſuppoſe, that the original inſtitution required their living in perpetual celibacy. As this law was too repugnant to the impulſes of nature, which muſt be uncommonly ſtrong in their climate, they ſoon tranſgreſſed it; but preſerved the intention of the preſcribed abſtinence, by ſuffocating their unfortunate offspring immediately after birth.

The arreoys enjoy ſeveral privileges, and are greatly reſpected throughout the Society Iſlands and Taheitee; nay, they claim a great ſhare of honour from the very circumſtance of being childleſs. Tupaya, when he heard that the king of England had a numerous offſpring, declared he thought himſelf much greater, becauſe he belonged to the arreoys. In moſt other countries the name of a parent gives honour and reſpect; but when an arreoy, at Taheitee, emphatically beſtows it, it is meant as a term of contempt and reproach. The arreoys keep great meetings at ſtated times, travelling from one iſland to another. They feaſt on the choiceſt vegetables, and on plenty of pork, dog's fleſh, fiſh, and poultry, which is liberally furniſhed by the towtows, or lower claſs, for their entertainment. The pepper-root drink is prepared and ſwallowed in ſurpriſing quantities on theſe occaſions. Wherever they go, the train of ſenſual pleaſure waits upon them. They are amuſed with muſic and dances, which are ſaid to be particularly laſcivious at night, when no other ſpectators beſides themſelves are admitted.

In a country ſo far emerged from barbariſm as Taheitee, it cannot be ſuppoſed that a ſociety would have maintained itſelf to the preſent time, which appears ſo injurious to the reſt of the nation, unleſs its advantages were ſo conſiderable, as to require its continuance. Two reaſons ſeem to favour the exiſtence of arreoys, and both are in ſome meaſure connected together. The firſt appears to be the neceſſity of entertaining a body of warriors, to defend their fellow-citizens from the invaſions and depredations of enemies. This is confirmed by the circumſtance, that all the arreoys are warriors; but as love might be ſuppoſed to enervate

hem, they were reſtrained to celibacy, which they have found it too difficult to ob-

The ſecond reaſon for the ation of the arreoys, ſeems to prevent the too rapid propa- of the race of chiefs. An igent man, who perhaps was the lawgiver of Taheitee, foreſee, that the common would at length groan un- ne yoke of this numerous and nultiplying breed of petty- s. To oblige a part of them ſingle life, was the ſhorteſt of obtaining this end; but glaring advantages were to d out, to make them ſubmit it reluctance to ſuch a re- . From hence we may de- at high eſteem with which ole nation honours the order eoy; and likewiſe account eir authority, and for their ay in eating, which has been ivilege of warriors in every y, before they became the of tyranny. When the ar- ad once ſo far departed from vs of their firſt inſtitution, as it the commerce with the is eaſy to conceive, that, nſible degrees, they have al- holly loſt the original chaſte er ſpirit of the order. They preſent, without doubt, the xurious ſet of people in the though I have not found ſt reaſon to charge them refinement in voluptuouſ- hich is at once improbable, onſiſtent with the tenderneſs whole people. We have ld a wanton tale of promiſ- mbraces, where every wo- common to every man: but ve enquired for a confirma- this ſtory from the natives, we were ſoon convinced that it muſt, like many others, be conſidered as the groundleſs invention of a traveller's gay fancy.

Some arreoys are married to a woman, in the ſame manner as Mahine was to the daughter of Toperree; but others keep a temporary miſtreſs. Many may perhaps revel in the arms of ſeveral proſtitutes, which are to be met with in all the iſlands. This diſſolute pleaſure is however much more frequent in every civilized country of Europe; but I apprehend it would not authoriſe an aſſertion, that in Europe there exiſts a ſociety of men and women, who practiſe a particular refinement of ſenſuality. When we conſider the whole character of the Taheitians; when we recollect their gentleneſs, their generoſity, their affectionate friendſhip, their tenderneſs, their pity, we cannot reconcile theſe qualities to the murder of their own offspring. We ſhudder at the ſtern inhumanity of the father, but much more ſo at the obdurate heart of the mother, where the voice of nature, and of powerful inſtinct, ſhould cry aloud for mercy and protection. The paths of virtue are but too eaſily forſaken; ſtill we are at a loſs to conceive, how a people ſo much left to nature, could arrive at ſuch a deteſtable pitch of depravity: but cuſtom,

That monſter cuſtom, who all ſenſe doth eat
Of habits evil——— SHAKESPEARE.

gradually blunts every feeling, and overcomes the ſtings of remorſe. We had no ſooner learnt that ſuch an unnatural and barbarous practice ſtigmatized the ſociety of arreoy, than we reprehended our

young friend Mahine for valuing himſelf on being a member of ſuch a deteſtable body. We endeavoured to point out the immorality and cruelty of this practice, and made uſe of every argument which our reflections could furniſh, or our words expreſs. We eaſily ſucceeded in convincing him, and obtained a promiſe that he would not kill his children, but ſeparate from the ſociety as ſoon as he ſhould receive the glorious name of father. To our great ſatisfaction he aſſured us, that the inſtances of arreoys having children were extremely rare. It ſeems that they chooſe their wives and miſtreſſes among the proſtitutes; and from this circumſtance, as well as from their great voluptuouſneſs, they have ſeldom reaſon to dread the intruſion of an unfortunate infant. The anſwers of O-Maï, whom I conſulted on this ſubject after my return to England, gave me ſtill greater pleaſure, as they ſoftened the tranſgreſſion at leaſt of one part, and entirely freed the bulk of the nation from that ſhare of guilt, which the ſimple acquieſcence in ſuch a heinous crime might throw upon them. He aſſured me, that the invariable laws of the community of arreoy required the extinction of their offſpring; that the pre-eminence and advantages which a man enjoyed as arreoy were ſo valuable, as to urge him on againſt his own feelings; that the mother was never willing to conſent to the horrid murder, but that her huſband and other arreoys perſuaded her to yield up the child; and that when entreaties were not ſufficient, force was ſometimes employed. But above all, he added, that this act was always performed in ſecret, and ſo that none of the people, not even the towtows or attendants of the houſe, were preſent; becauſe, if it were ſeen, the murderers muſt be put to death. This being the caſe, we may comfort ourſelves with the reflection, that criminal individuals are not more numerous in the Society Iſlands, than among other people; and that the votaries of vice have no reaſon to triumph, in ſuppoſing a whole nation accuſtomed to commit unnatural murders, without a ſenſe of wrong.

The arreoys were no leſs hoſpitable than luxurious, and it was not for want of invitation that we did not partake of their refreſhments. We rambled in the country till ſunſet, and then returned to the ſhip, which Mahine, the woman, and the other Indian paſſengers had now left. The next morning a great number of natives came to the ſhip in their canoes, among whom were many women, who remained with the ſailors. At Huahine the commerce of this kind had been very inconſiderable, and chiefly confined to women who were only on a viſit to that iſland; it was therefore reſumed here with the greateſt eagerneſs by our crew. We paſſed the day on an excurſion to the northward, where we ſhot ſeveral wild ducks, and met with a hoſpitable reception in different cottages.

The next was a fine day, delightfully tempered by a ſtrong eaſterly gale. We received the viſits of Orea and all his family, of Boba, the viceroy of the iſland of O-Tahà, and of Teïna, the fair dancing-woman, whoſe picture Mr. Hodges had formerly attempted to draw. Boba was a tall, hand-

ome young man, a native of ora, related to Poonee, the of that iſland, and conqueror ietea and Taha. Mahine has ently told us, that he is ed to be the ſucceſſor of one, whoſe only daughter herua, ſaid to be a young iful princeſs, twelve years old, to marry. Boba was at pre- n arreoy, and kept the lively a as his miſtreſs, who was child in conſequence. We ed into converſation with her ne cuſtom of killing the off- g of an arreoy. The ſhort gue which paſſed between us ouched in the moſt ſimple ex- ons, becauſe we had not ſuf- t knowledge of the language courſe of abſtract ideas. For ame reaſon all our rhetoric xhauſted in a few moments, ad no other effect, than to the following conceſſion from a-mai: "that our eatua (dei- n England might perhaps be ded by the practice of the ar- ; but that her's was not diſ- ed with it. She promiſed, ver, if we would come from and to fetch her child, ſhe t perhaps keep it alive, pro- l we gave her a hatchet, a and ſome red feathers."

former volume we have given Readers an account of the man- s and cuſtoms of the natives of aheita. As ſome facts in that count appear to have been miſ- reſented, we think it neceſ- y to add the following extract m Captain Cook's laſt Voyage.

GREAT injuſtice has been done the women of Otaheite, the Society Iſles, by thoſe who have repreſented them, without exception, as ready to grant the laſt favour to any man who will come up to their price. But this is by no means the caſe; the favours of married women, and alſo the unmarried of the better ſort, are as difficult to be obtained here as in any other country whatever. Neither can the charge be underſtood indiſcriminately of the unmarried of the lower claſs, for many of theſe admit of no ſuch familiarities. That there are proſtitutes here, as well as in other countries, is very true, perhaps more in proportion, and ſuch were thoſe who came on board the ſhips to our people, and frequented the poſt we had on ſhore. By ſeeing theſe mix indiſcriminately with thoſe of a different turn, even of the firſt rank, one is, at firſt, inclined to think that they are all diſpoſed the ſame way, and that the only difference is in the price. But the truth is, the woman who becomes a proſtitute, does not ſeem, in their opinion, to have committed a crime of ſo deep a dye as to exclude her from the eſteem and ſociety of the community in general. On the whole, a ſtranger who viſits England might, with equal juſtice, draw the characters of the women there, from thoſe which he might meet with on board the ſhips in one of the naval ports, or in the purlieus of Covent-Garden and Drury-Lane. I muſt, however, allow that they are all completely verſed in the art of coquetry, and that very few of them fix any bounds to their converſation. It is, therefore, no wonder that they have obtained the character of libertines.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of a Woman in the Shire of Ross, living without Food or Drink.

From the Philosophical Transactions.

JANET Mac Leod, unmarried, aged thirty-three years and some months, daughter of Donald Mac Leod, tenant in Crolick, in the parish of Kincardine, and shire of Ross; in the fifteenth year of her age had a pretty sharp epileptic fit: she had till then been in perfect health, and continued so till about four years thereafter, when she had a second fit, which lasted a whole day and night; and a few days afterwards, she was seized with a fever of several weeks continuance, from which she had a slow and very tedious recovery of several months.

During this period she lost the natural power of her eye-lids, was under the necessity of keeping them open with the fingers of one hand, when she had any thing to do with the other, went out, or wanted to look about her; in every other respect she was in health and tolerable spirits, only here it may be fit to remark, that she never had the least appearance of the *menses*, but periodically spit up blood in pretty large quantities, and at the same time it flowed from the nose. This vicarious discharge, according to her mother's report, happened regularly every month for several years.

About five years ago, a little before which time the abovementioned periodical discharge had disappeared, she had a short third epileptic fit, which was immediately succeeded by a fever of about a week's continuance, and of which she recovered so slowly that she had not been out of doors till six weeks after the crisis; when, without the knowledge of her parents or any of the family (who were all busied in the harvest-field) she stole out of the house, and bound the corn of a ridge before they observed her. On that same evening she took to her bed, complaining much of her heart and head; and since, she has never risen out of it except when lifted, has seldom spoken a word, and has had so little craving for food, that at first it was by downright compulsion her parents could get her to take as much as would support a sucking infant: afterwards she gradually fell off from taking even that small quantity; insomuch that, at Whitsuntide 1763, she totally refused food and drink, and her jaw became so fast locked, that it was with the greatest difficulty her father was able with a knife or other methods to open her teeth so as to admit a little thin gruel

or whey, and of which ſo generally run out at the cor- of her mouth, that they could e ſenſible that any of it had ſwallowed.

ich about this time, that is, four years ago, they got a : of the water from a noted :inal ſpring in Brea-mar, of ı they endeavoured to get her allow a part, by pouring ſome f a ſpoon between her lips aws all the while faſt-locked) it all run out. With this, ver, they rubbed her throat aws, and continued the trial ike her ſwallow, rubbing her t with the water that run out :r mouth for three mornings her. On the third morning g this operation, ſhe cried, me more water; when all remained of the bottle was ı her, which ſhe ſwallowed eaſe. Theſe were the only s ſhe ſpoke for almoſt a year, he continued to mutter ſome (which her parents under-) for twelve or fourteen days, which ſhe ſpoke none, and :ed, as formerly, all ſorts of ſhment and drink, till ſome in the month of July 1765, a ſiſter of hers thought, by ſigns that ſhe made, that ſhe ed her jaws opened; which father, not without violence, lone, by putting the handle iorn-ſpoon between her teeth. ſaid then intelligibly, Give drink; and drank with eaſe, all at one draught, about an iſh pint of water. Her father aſked her, why ſhe would not ſome ſigns, although ſhe not ſpeak, when ſhe wanted ink? She anſwered, why d ſhe when ſhe had no de- fire. At this period they kept the jaws aſunder with a bit of wood, imagining ſhe got her ſpeech by her jaws being opened, and continued them thus wedged for about twenty days, though in the firſt four or five days ſhe had wholly loſt the power of utterance. At laſt they removed the wedge, as it gave her uneaſineſs, and made her lips ſore. At this time ſhe was ſenſible of every thing done or ſaid about her; and when her eye-lids were opened for her, ſhe knew every body; and when the neighbours in their viſits would be bemoaning her condition, they could obſerve a tear ſtand in her eye.

In ſome of the attempts to open her jaws, two of the under fore-teeth were forced out; of which opening they often endeavoured to avail themſelves, by putting ſome thin nouriſhing drink into her mouth; but without effect, for it always returned by the corners; and, about a twelvemonth ago, they thought of thruſting a little dough of oatmeal through this gap of the teeth, which ſhe would retain a few ſeconds, and then return with ſomething like a ſtraining to vomit, without one particle going down: nor has the family been ſenſible, though obſerving, of any appearance like that of ſwallowing, for now four years, excepting the ſmall draught of Brea-mar water and the Engliſh pint of common water; and for the laſt three years ſhe has not had any evacuation by ſtool or urine, except that, once or twice a week, ſhe has paſſed a few drops of urine, as the parents expreſs it, about as much as would wet the ſurface of a half-penny; and even ſmall as this quantity is, it gives her ſome

uneaſineſs till ſhe voids it: for they know all her motions, and when they ſee her thus uneaſy, they carry her to the door of the houſe, where ſhe makes theſe few drops. Nor have they, in all theſe three years, ever diſcovered the ſmalleſt wetting in her bed; in proof of which, notwithſtanding her being ſo long bed-ridden, there has never been the leaſt excoriation, though ſhe never attempts to turn herſelf, or makes any motion with hand, head, or foot, but lies like a log of wood. Her pulſe to-day, which with ſome difficulty I felt (her mother at this time having raiſed her, and ſupported her in her bed) is diſtinct and regular, ſlow, and to the extremeſt degree ſmall. Her countenance is clear and pretty freſh, her features not diſfigured nor ſunk; her ſkin feels natural both as to touch and warmth; and to my aſtoniſhment, when I came to examine her body, for I expected to feel a ſkeleton, I found her breaſts round, and prominent, like thoſe of a healthy young woman; her legs, arms, and thighs, not at all emaciated; the *abdomen* ſomewhat tumid, and the muſcles tenſe; her knees bent, and her ham-ſtrings tight as a bow-ſtring; her heels almoſt cloſe to the *nates*. When they ſtruggle with her, to put a little water within her lips, they obſerve ſometimes a dewy ſoftneſs on her ſkin; ſhe ſleeps much, and very quiet; but when awake keeps a conſtant whimpering like a new-born weakly infant, and ſometimes makes an effort to cough. At preſent no degree of ſtrength can force open her jaws. I put the point of my little finger into the gap in her teeth, and found the tongue, as far as I could reach, ſoft and moiſt; as I did with my other fingers the mouth and cheeks quite to the back teeth. She never can remain a moment on her back, but always falls to one ſide or to the other; and when her mother ſat behind her in the bed, and ſupported her while I was examining her body, her head hung down, with her chin cloſe to her breaſt, nor could I with any force move it backwards, the anterior muſcles of the neck being rigid, like a perſon in the *emproſthotonos*, and in this poſture ſhe conſtantly lies.

The above caſe was taken in writing this day, at the diſeaſed woman's bed-ſide, from the mouths of her father and mother, who are known to be people of great veracity, and are under no temptation to deceive; for they neither aſk, expect, or get any thing: their daughter's ſituation is a very great mortification to them, and univerſally known and regretted by all their neighbours. I had along with me, as interpreters *, Mr. Robertſon, a very diſcreet young gentleman, eldeſt ſon to the miniſter of the pariſh, and David Roſs, at the Craig of Strath-Carron, their neighbour and one of the elders of the pariſh, who verified from his own knowledge all that is above related. The preſent ſituation and appearances of the patient were carefully examined this 21ſt of October, 1767, by Dr. Alexander Mackenzie, phyſician at New Tarbat; who likewiſe, in the month of October, 1772, being informed that the patient was

* The family ſpoke only Erſe.

reco-

ering and ate and drank, vi-
her, and found her condition
as follows: about a year
ding this laſt date, her parents
ay returning from their coun-
labours, (having left their
ter as for ſome years before
to her bed) were greatly ſur-
d to find her ſitting on her
, on the ſide of the houſe op-
to her bed-place, ſpinning
her mother's diſtaff. I aſked,
ier ſhe ever ate or drank?
ier ſhe had any of the natu-
vacuations? whether ſhe ever
or attempted to ſpeak? And
nſwered, that ſhe ſometimes
oled a bit of oat or barley
in the palm of her hand, as
feed a chicken; that ſhe put
crumbs of this into the gap
er teeth, rolled them about
me time in her mouth, and
ſucked out of the palm of her
a little water, whey, or milk;
his once or twice a day, and
that by compulſion: that the
were in proportion to the
z; that ſhe never attempt-
ſpeak; that her jaws were
faſt-locked, her ham-ſtrings
as before, and her eyes ſhut.
y opening her eye-lids I found
ye-balls turned up under the
of the *os frontis*, her counte-
ghaſtly, her complexion pale,
kin ſhrivelled and dry, and
hole perſon rather emaciated;
alſe with the utmoſt difficulty
felt. She ſeemed ſenſible
raſtable in every thing, ex-
in taking food; for, at my
ſt, ſhe went through her dif-
exerciſes, ſpinning on the
, and crawling a out on her
by the wall of the houſe,
the help of her hands: but
ſhe was deſired to eat, ſhe
ſhewed the greateſt reluctance, and
indeed cried before ſhe yielded;
and this was no more than, as I
have ſaid, to take a few crumbs as
to feed a bird, and to ſuck half a
ſpoonful of milk from the palm of
her hand. On the whole, her
exiſtence was little leſs wonderful
now than when I firſt ſaw her,
when ſhe had not ſwallowed the
ſmalleſt particle of food for years
together. I attributed her thin-
neſs and wan complexion, that is,
the great change of her looks from
what I had firſt ſeen when fixed to
her bed, to her exhauſting too
much of the *ſaliva* by ſpinning flax
on the diſtaff, and therefore re-
commended her being totally con-
fined to ſpinning wool: this ſhe
does with equal dexterity as ſhe
did the flax. The above was her
ſituation in October, 1772; and
within theſe eight days I have
been told by a neighbour of her
father's, that ſhe ſtill continues in
the ſame way, without any addi-
tion to her ſupport, and without
any additional ailment.

New Tarbat, April 3, 1775. ALEX. MACKENZIE.

At Croick, *the fifteenth Day of June*, 1775.

TO authenticate the hiſtory ſet forth in the preceding pages, Donald Mac Leod, eſq. of Granics, ſheriff depute of Roſs-ſhire, George Munro, eſq. of Cuteain, Simon Roſs, eſq. of Gladfield, Captain George Sutherland of Elphin, all juſtices of the peace; Meſſieurs William Smith, preacher of the goſpel, John Barclay writer in Tain, Hugh Roſs ſtudent of divinity, and Alexander Mac Leod, did come to this place, accompa-

nied by the above Dr. Alexander Mackenzie, phyſician at New Tarbat, and after explaining the purport and meaning of the above hiſtory to Donald Mac Leod, father to Janet Mac Leod above-mentioned, and to David Roſs, elder, in the pariſh of Kincardine, who lives in the cloſe neighbourhood of this place, and was one of the doctor's original interpreters; they, to our full ſatisfaction, after a minute examination, authenticate all the facts ſet forth in the above account: and, for our further ſatisfaction, we had Janet Mac Leod brought out before us to the open air, when the doctor diſcovered a very great improvement in her looks and health ſince the period of his having ſeen her laſt, as now ſhe walked tolerably upright, with a little hold by the wall. And notwithſtanding her age, which, upon inquiry, we found to be exactly as ſet forth in the above account, her countenance and looks would have denoted her not to be above twenty years of age at moſt. At preſent, the quantity of food ſhe uſes is not above what would be neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of an infant of two years of age. And we do report, from our knowledge of the above men, and the circumſtances of the caſe, that full faith and credit is to be given to every article of the above hiſtory.

WILLIAM SMITH,
JOHN BARCLAY, N. P.
HUGH ROSS,
ALEXANDER MAC LEOD,
DONALD MAC LEOD, Sh. Dep.
GEORGE MUNRO, J. P.
SIMON ROSS, J. P.
GEORGE SUTHERLAND, J. P.

Account of Perſons who could not diſtinguiſh Colours.

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

SIR, London, Jan. 15, 1777.

Read Feb. 13, 1777. WHEN I had the pleaſure of waiting on you laſt winter, I had hopes before now of giving you a more perfect account of the peculiarity of viſion which I then mentioned to you, in a perſon of my acquaintance in the North: however, if I give you now the beſt I am able, I perſuade myſelf you will pardon the delay.

I promiſed to procure you a written account from the perſon himſelf, but this I was unfortunately diſappointed in, by his dying ſuddenly of a pleuriſy a ſhort time after my return to the country.

You will recollect I told you that this perſon lived at Maryport in Cumberland, near which place, *viz.* at Allonby, I myſelf live, and having known him about ten years have had frequent opportunities of converſing with him. His name was Harris, by trade a Shoe-maker. I had often heard from others that he could diſcern the form and magnitude of all objects very diſtinctly, but could not diſtinguiſh colours. This report having excited my curioſity, I converſed with him frequently on the ſubject. The account he gave was this: That he had reaſon to believe other perſons ſaw ſomething in objects which he could not ſee; that their language ſeemed to mark qualities with confidence and preciſion, which he could only gueſs at with heſitation, and frequently with error. His firſt ſuſpicion of this

this aroſe when he was about four years old. Having by accident found in the ſtreet a child's ſtocking, he carried it to a neighbouring houſe to inquire for the owner: he obſerved the people called it a *red* ſtocking, though he did not underſtand why they gave it that denomination, as he himſelf thought it completely deſcribed by being called a *ſtocking*. The circumſtance, however, remained in his memory, and together with ſubſequent obſervations led him to the knowledge of his defect. As the idea of colours is among the firſt that enters the mind, it may perhaps ſeem extraordinary that he did not obſerve his want of it ſtill earlier. This, however, may in ſome meaſure be accounted for from the circumſtance of his family being Quakers, among whom a general uniformity of colours is known to prevail.

He obſerved alſo that, when young, other children could diſcern cherries on a tree by ſome pretended difference of colour, though he could only diſtinguiſh them from the leaves by their difference of ſize and ſhape. He obſerved alſo, that by means of this difference of colour they could ſee the cherries at a greater diſtance than he could, though he could ſee other objects at as great a diſtance as they; that is, where the ſight was not aſſiſted by the colour. Large objects he could ſee as well as other perſons; and even the ſmaller ones if they were not enveloped in other things, as in the caſe of cherries among the leaves.

I believe he could never do more than gueſs the name of any colour; yet he could diſtinguiſh white from black, or black from any light or bright colour. Dove or ſtraw-colour he called white, and different colours he frequently called by the ſame name: yet he could diſcern a difference between them when placed together. In general, colours of an equal degree of brightneſs, however they might otherwiſe differ, he frequently confounded together. Yet a ſtriped ribbon he could diſtinguiſh from a plain one; but he could not tell what the colours were with any tolerable exactneſs. Dark colours in general he often miſtook for black, but never imagined white to be a dark colour, nor a dark to be a white colour.

He was an intelligent man, and very deſirous of underſtanding the nature of light and colours, for which end he had attended a courſe of lectures in natural philoſophy.

He had two brothers in the ſame circumſtances as to ſight; and two other brothers and ſiſters who, as well as their parents, had nothing of this defect.

One of the firſt mentioned brothers, who is now living, is maſter of a trading veſſel belonging to Mary-port. I met with him in December 1776, at Dublin, and took the opportunity of converſing with him. I wiſhed to try his capacity to diſtinguiſh the colours in a priſm, but not having one by me, I aſked him, whether he had ever ſeen a rain-bow? He replied, he had often, and could diſtinguiſh the different colours; meaning only, that it was compoſed of different colours, for he could not tell what they were.

I then procured and ſhewed him a piece of ribbon: he immediately, without any difficulty, pronounced it a ſtriped and not a plain ribbon.

He

He then attempted to name the different ſtripes: the ſeveral ſtripes of white he uniformly, and without heſitation, called white: the four black ſtripes he was deceived in, for three of them he thought brown, though they were exactly of the ſame ſhade with the other, which he properly called black. He ſpoke, however, with diffidence as to all thoſe ſtripes; and it muſt be owned, the black was not very diſtinct: the light green he called yellow; but he was not very poſitive: he ſaid, "I think this is what you call yellow." The middle ſtripe, which had a ſlight tinge of red, he called a ſort of blue. But he was moſt of all deceived by the orange colour; of this he ſpoke very confidently, ſaying, "This is the colour of graſs; this is green." I alſo ſhewed him a great variety of ribbons, the colour of which he ſometimes named rightly, and ſometimes as differently as poſſible from the true colours.

I aſked him, whether he imagined it poſſible for all the various colours he ſaw, to be mere difference of light and ſhade; whether he thought they could be various degrees between white and black; and that all colours could be compoſed of theſe two mixtures only? With ſome heſitation he replied, no, he did imagine there was ſome other difference.

I could not conveniently procure from this perſon an account in writing; but I have given his own words, having ſet them down in writing immediately. Beſides, as this converſation happened only the 10th of laſt month, it is ſtill freſh in my memory. I have endeavoured to give a faithful account of this matter, and not to render it more wonderful than it really is.

It is proper to add, that the experiment of the ſtriped ribbon was made in the day-time, and in a good light.

I am SIR, &c.

An Account of a Journey into Africa *from the Cape of* Good-Hope, *and a Deſcription of a new Species of* Cuckow. *By Dr.* Andreas Sparrman, *of the Royal Academy of* Stockholm, *in a Letter to Dr.* John Reinhold Forſter, *F. R. S.*

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

Sept. 16, 1776.

DEAR SIR, Gottenburgh.

Read Dec. 19, 1776. BEING returned to my native country after an abſence of five years from it, I will endeavour to give you a ſhort account of my expedition into Africa, which I undertook ſoon after parting with you at the Cape of Good-Hope. The voyage round the world, of which I ſhared the perils and pleaſures with you, had only made me more eager to continue my rambles in queſt of new diſcoveries. I ſet out therefore from the neighbourhood of the Cape-town in the beginning of Auguſt 1775, with no other company than the ſon of the Dutch Lieutenant Emelman, who had formerly accompanied my learned friend Dr. Thunberg on a ſimilar journey, and ſome Hottentots who took care of my oxen.

The firſt misfortune I met with was the loſs of the thermometer which you had left me, and which broke before I had reached the hot-

bath.

bath. This was only a prelude to greater diſtreſſes. The drought was ſo violent this year, that the like had not been experienced in the colony within the memory of man, and it obliged the inhabitants to leave their country-ſeats. A great part of their cattle periſhed for want of graſs and water, and I have frequently ſuffered the moſt raging thirſt in the hot deſarts which I traverſed; but I was too well ſeaſoned during the voyage to dread the hardſhips of a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, the fatigues of travelling, or the power of the climate. The moſt ſenſible misfortune which the dry ſeaſon brought along with it, was the deſolation of the vegetable kingdom. Far from being ſo fortunate as Dr. Thunberg, who has added above a thouſand ſpecies to the *Flora Capenſis*, I found every thing burnt up, and only in the thickeſt foreſts met with ſome perennial plants which were new to me, and which, upon a reviſal of that gentleman's herbal, I believe are likewiſe unknown to him. Of theſe I propoſe to ſend you ſpecimens as ſoon as I can find time to bring my collection into ſome kind of order. On the other hand, I have been fortunate with animals, and eſpecially in the claſs of quadrupeds. I ſhall not ſpeak of lions and other beaſts of prey, which I have frequently ſeen in broad daylight, and heard roaring about me at night, though they never ventured to attack our cattle. But it was chiefly among the antelopes and animals of that ſort that I hunted. Mr. Cruſtman and myſelf, with nine hottentots, a waggon drawn by ſeveral pairs of oxen, and ſeveral hunting horſes, happily traverſed a deſart of fifty miles, where we had greater ſport than any German prince could ever boaſt of. On that route I penetrated farther into the country than any of my predeceſſors, having gone one hundred miles beyond the laſt Chriſtian's or Dutchman's hut, into the diſtrict of the Yellow or (as they are vulgarly called) Chineſe Hottentots.

The great buffaloes which inhabit the wilds of Africa, do not appear to me to differ in any reſpect from the North American *Biſon*, although I have ſeen great numbers of them. I have likewiſe found a ſpecies of pole-cat on that continent which Linnæus calls *Viverra Putorius*, contrary to M. De Buffon's opinion, who ſeems to confine this animal and its ſpecies to America. By the ſea-ſide I was fortunate enough to catch a *Manatee* alive, notwithſtanding the difficulty which muſt attend the capture of ſuch an unwieldy animal. There I likewiſe ſaw ſome iſlands, on which I was told an Engliſh ſhip had been loſt. Theſe I ſuſpected at firſt to be the *Doddingtons*; but afterwards had reaſon to doubt it, thoſe iſlands being ſuppoſed to lie in a more ſoutherly latitude.

I have had opportunities of making many curious and valuable Obſervations relative to the different tribes of Hottentots, their œconomy, hunting-matches, and other cuſtoms; an account of which, together with ſome remarks on the natural hiſtory of the elephant, the rhinoceros, and other animals, I intend to prepare for the preſs. I am poſſeſſed of an accurate map of that part of Africa which I have viſited, containing all the hills, together with the ſmalleſt rivulets, as far as the Bay de la Goa, which, I think,

I think, will be a great addition to the work. I only regret that I was not able to draw the objects of natural hiſtory, and have an hundred times wiſhed that your ſon had been with me for this purpoſe.

As I had been upwards of nine months on this journey, at my return to the Cape I found that my acquaintance had given up all hopes of ſeeing me again, having had no tidings of me for ſo long a ſpace of time. Notwithſtanding the many dangers to which I had been expoſed on this expedition, I aſſure you I was greatly tempted to ſtay another year, in hopes of being more ſucceſsful in botanical diſcoveries. However, the proſpect of ſecuring the ſpoils which I had collected, prevailed on me to relinquiſh that ſcheme. Indeed I little thought at that time that the greateſt danger awaited my collection in Sweden. A few days ago a great part of it has been damaged here by fire, which has been particularly fatal to my ſtuffed birds, having deſtroyed ſome which were not yet deſcribed.

As I am well acquainted with the pleaſure which every new diſcovery in the hiſtory of nature gives you, I take this early opportunity of expreſſing the readineſs with which I wiſh to contribute to your ſatisfaction, and have ſubjoined to this letter an account of a curious bird, a ſpecies of Cuckow, which I have ſaved out of the fire. I only beg that you will conſider it as an earneſt of more important communications, as ſoon the hurry of my affairs will permit me to bring my papers into order. In the mean time if you ſhould think that account, and the annexed drawing, worthy the attention of the Royal Society, I ſhould be greatly flattered if you would do me the honour to lay it before that learned body.

With the greateſt eſteem I remain, &c.

The Hiſtory of the Honey-Guide, *or* Cuculus Indicator.

THIS curious ſpecies of Cuckow is found at a conſiderable diſtance from the Cape of Good-Hope, in the interior parts of Africa, being entirely unknown at that ſettlement. The firſt place where I heard of it was in a wood, called the *Groot Vaader's Boſch*, the Grand Father's Wood, ſituated in a deſart near the river which the Hottentots call *T'kaut'kai*. The Dutch ſettlers there-abouts have given this bird the name of *Honig-wyzer*, or Honey-guide, from its quality of diſcovering wild-honey to travellers. Its colour has nothing ſtriking or beautiful, as will appear from the deſcription and drawing annexed; and its ſize is conſiderably ſmaller than that of our Cuckow in Europe: but in return, the inſtinct which prompts it to ſeek its food in a ſingular manner, is truly admirable. Not only the Dutch and Hottentots, but likewiſe a ſpecies of quadruped, which the Dutch name a *Ratel* *, are frequently conducted to wild bee-hives by this bird, which as it were pilots them to the very ſpot. The honey being its favourite food, its own intereſt prompts it to be inſtrumental in robbing the hive, as ſome ſcraps are commonly left for its ſupport.

* Probably a new ſpecies of badger.

morning and evening are its of feeding, and it is then calling in a ſhrill tone *cherr*, which the honey-hunters illy attend to as the ſummons e chace. From time to time anſwer with a ſoft whiſtle, the bird hearing, always nues its note. As ſoon as are in ſight of each other, the gradually flutters towards the where the hive is ſituated, nually repeating its former of *cherr, cherr:* nay, if it d happen to have gained a derable way before the men may eaſily be hindered in purſuit by buſhes, rivers, and ke) it returns to them again, edoubles its note, as if to re- h them with their inactivity. ſt the bird is obſerved to ho- or a few moments over a cer- ſpot, and then ſilently retir- to a neighbouring buſh or reſting-place, the hunters are of finding the bees neſt in that ical ſpot, whether it be in a or in the crevice of a rock, s is moſt commonly the caſe) e earth. Whilſt the hunters buſy in taking the honey, the is ſeen looking on attentively hat is going forward, and ng for its ſhare of the ſpoil. bee-hunters never fail to leave ll portion for their conductor, commonly take care not to ſo much as would ſatisfy its er. The bird's appetite being whetted by this parſimony, it liged to commit a ſecond trea- by diſcovering another bees- in hopes of a better ſalary. further obſerved, that the r the bird approaches the n hive, the more frequently it repeats its call, and ſeems more impatient.

I have had frequent opportunities of ſeeing this bird, and have been witneſs of the deſtruction of ſeveral republicks of bees, by means of its treachery. I had however but two opportunities of ſhooting it, which I did to the great indignation of my Hottentots. From thoſe ſpecimens (both of which are ſuppoſed to be females) I have made the ſubſequent deſcription. The inhabitants in general accuſe the ſame bird of ſometimes conducting its followers where wild beaſts and venomous ſerpents have their places of abode: this however I never had an opportunity of aſcertaining myſelf; but am apt to believe ſuch caſes to be accidental, when dangerous animals happen to be in the neighbourhood of a bees-neſt.

Whilſt I ſtaid in the interior parts of Africa, a neſt was ſhewn to me, which ſome peaſants aſſured me was the neſt of a Honey-guide. It was woven of ſlender filaments or fibres of bark, in the form of a bottle. The neck and opening hung downwards, and a ſtring in an arched ſhape was ſuſpended acroſs the opening, faſtened by the two ends, perhaps for the bird to perch upon.

Deſcriptio Cuculi Indicatoris.

ROSTRUM craſſiuſculum, verſus baſin fuſcum, apice luteum.

Angulus oris uſque infra oculos extenſus.

Nares poſtremæ ad baſin roſtri, ſupremæ vicinæ ut carinulâ dorſali ſaltem ſeparerentur, oblongæ,

oblongæ, margine prominulo.

Pili aliquot ad baſin roſtri, præcipuè in mandibulâ inferiore.

Lingua plana, ſubſagittata.

Oculorum irides ferrugineo-griſeæ.

Palpebræ nudæ, nigræ.

Pedes nigri, ſcanſorii. *Tibiæ* breves; *Ungues* tenues, nigri.

Pilus læte griſeus e pennis brevibus latiuſculis.

Cula, *Jugulum*, *Pectus*, ſordidè alba, cum aliquo virore vix notabili in pectore.

Dorſum et *Uropygium* ferrugineo-griſea.

Abdomen, *Criſſumque* alba.

Femora tecta pennis albis, macula longitudinali nigra notatis.

Alarum tectrices ſuperiores omnes griſeo-fuſcæ, exceptis ſummis aliquot quæ flavis apicibus formant *maculam flavam* in humeris, exiguam, et a plumis ſcapularibus ſæpe tectam.

Tectrices infra alam albidæ, harum ſupremæ ex albido nigroque maculatæ.

Remiges omnes ſupra fuſci, primarii octo, ſecundarii ſex, ſubtus cinereo-fuſci.

Alulæ griſeo-fuſcæ.

Cauda cuneiformis, rectricibus duodecim: harum duæ intermediæ longiores anguſtiores, ſupra et infra æruginoſo-fuſcæ; proximæ duæ fuliginoſæ, margine interiore albicantes; duæ utrinque his proximæ, albæ, apice fuſcæ, et exterius ad baſin macula nigra notatæ; extima utrinque reliquis brevior, alba, apice fuſca, macula nigra vix ulla ad baſin.

Alæ complicatæ caudæ partem quartam attingunt.

Longitudo ab apice roſtri ad extremum caudæ circiter ſeptem uncias pedis Anglicani explet.

Roſtrum a baſi ſuperiore ad apicem ſemunciale.

An Account of the late Earthquake; by Dr. Percival *of* Manchester.

ON Sunday, the 14th of September, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, a ſevere ſhock of an earthquake was felt here, which extended itſelf through a circuit of more than 300 miles. The morning was unclouded and ſerene, the wind was eaſterly, but ſuddenly veered into the oppoſite quarter, about the time of the earthquake; and the air was temperately warm, without any ſulphureous, or other offenſive vapours.

The Summer has been cold and wet; but towards the end of Auguſt, the weather changed, and has continued dry and pleaſant, with few intermiſſions to the preſent time September 26, 1777. The Aurora Borealis has not often appeared, and ſtorms of thunder and lightening have been uncommonly rare. Two months ago, a water ſpout is ſaid to have fallen near Huddersfield, a town in Yorkſhire, between twenty and thirty miles diſtant from Manchester.

During the ſpace of three weeks before the earthquake, vegetation was obſerved to be uncommonly vigorous. On the Saturday preceding it, an electrical machine collected more fire than it had ever been known to do before.

Different churches in this town ſeem to have been very differently affected by the ſhock. St. John's Church

h was moſt, St. Paul's leaſt
ed. The former is built of
upon a dry rocky founda-
and the galleries are ſup-
l with pillars of caſt iron.
latter is a brick building;
clayey wet foundation, and
nmon ſewer runs under it.
leaden ſpouts alſo, which
y rain from the roof, *appear*
ſs into the ground. I ſay
· to paſs, becauſe at the bot-
hey are covered with wood,
ıe clergyman of the church
ot yet aſcertained the fact.
e bell of St. Mary's Church,
eard to ring during the ſhock.
ectrical rod paſſes through the
:, which may perhaps account
is peculiarity.
e ſhock was trifling at my
·y houſe at Hart-Hill, which
nany high trees about it;
as it was ſeverely felt at a
:man's houſe in the neigh-
ood, not ſo circumſtanced.
noiſe was antecedent to the
ſion, and gave the alarm to
perſons, who were inſenſible
: ſhock. It was particularly
n ſeveral houſes which have
cal conductors.
v travellers, either on horſe
or in carriages, perceived the
quake. The paſſage boat upon
)uke of Bridgewater's canal
opped in its courſe, as if it
ruck upon a cable, or other
le. Many perſons ſeemed to
:ctrified by the ſhock; and
:ring rheumatic pains ſuc-
l it.
ady received a ſudden ſtroke
:r head, during the earth-
. She was ſtanding in a
on the outſide wall of which,
te to her head, a leaden ſpout
terminated, ſo as to form an imperfect conductor.

I am informed by a gentleman, whoſe cattle graze in a large paſture near his houſe, that he obſerved them to be exceedingly agitated before the earthquake; and that previous to it, they all ran to their uſual place of ſhelter in ſtorms.

Theſe facts cannot be explained by any ſuppoſition of fermentations or exploſions in the bowels of the earth, unleſs they be conſidered as agents in the production and accumulation of the electrical fluid: and many of them ſeem to confirm the theory of Dr. Stuckeley and Signior Beccaria, concerning earthquakes. But in whatever manner ſuch awful and tumendous events may be accounted for, the pious philoſopher, when he contemplates them, extends his views beyond all ſecondary cauſes; and directing them to the great Author of the univerſe, regards the laws of nature only as the exertions of his divine energy.

*** My friend Dr. Prieſtley, to whom I have communicated the preceding obſervations, and who is much better acquainted with electricity than I am, ſeems to be fully ſatisfied that the late earthquake is not to be aſcribed to any ſubterranean cauſe. And he is perſuaded that he ſhall be able to produce ſimilar phænomena, by means of a moſt powerful and magnificent electrical machine, now in the poſſeſſion of Lord Shelburne, from which he has ſeen ſparks taken in the open air, at the diſtance of twenty inches.

THO. PERCIVAL.

An

An Account of the Tenia, *or long Tape-Worm, and of the Method of treating it, as practiſed at* Morat *in* Switzerland.

THE Tenia, or long Tape-worm, on account of its extraordinary ſize and the capacity of reproduction, not only excites the moſt alarming ſymptoms in thoſe whom it infeſts, but is alſo extremely difficult to expel. A method for effecting this purpoſe was a few years ago practiſed on the continent with ſo great ſucceſs, by Madame Nouffer, that the king of France was induced to make the acquiſition of it for the benefit of the public. Her method of cure conſiſted in the occaſional uſe of a ſoup, a clyſter, ſpecific, and a purging bolus, which are thus deſcribed.

No. 1. The Soup.

Take a pint and a half of water, two or three ounces of good freſh butter, and two ounces of bread cut in thin ſlices, add to this ſalt enough to ſeaſon it, and then boil it over the fire to the conſiſtence of pannada.

No. 2. The Clyſter.

Take a ſmall quantity of the leaves of mallows, and boil them in a ſufficient quantity of water, mixing with it a little ſalt, and when ſtrained off, add two ounces of olive oil.

No. 3. The Specific.

Take two or three drams of the root of the male fern, gathered in autumn, and reduced to a very fine powder, in four or ſix ounces of water diſtilled from fern, or the flowers of the line tree. It will be right for the patient to drink two or three times of the ſame water, rincing his glaſs with it, ſo that none of the powder may remain either in the glaſs or his mouth.

No. 4. The purgative Bolus.

Take of the panacea of mercury fourteen times ſublimed, and ſelect reſin of ſcammony each ten grains; of freſh and good gamboge ſix or ſeven grains; reduce each of theſe ſubſtances ſeparately into powder, and then mix them with ſome conſerve into a bolus.

With reſpect to the uſe of thoſe remedies, we meet with the following information.

Madame Nouffer requires of her patients no particular preparation till the day before they are to take the remedy. That day they are to avoid all aliment after dinner, till about ſeven or eight o'clock at night, when they are to take the ſoup No. 1; about a quarter of an hour after this, ſhe gives them a biſcuit and a glaſs of white wine, either pure or mixed with water; ſhe even gives water alone to thoſe who have not been accuſtomed to wine. If the patient has not been to ſtool that day, or is naturally coſtive, (which is not uſual however with patients in this way) Madame Nouffer directs the uſe of the clyſter No. 2. after which the patient is to go to bed.

Early the next morning, about eight or nine hours after the ſupper of the preceding evening, the patient takes the ſpecific No. 3. in bed, and to avoid the nauſea which this medicine ſometimes occaſions, it will be right for him to chew lemon or ſomething elſe that is agreeable to him, or he may waſh his mouth with any thing he likes, but he muſt be careful not to ſwallow any thing. He may likewiſe ſmell to vinegar, to check the ſickneſs; but if, notwithſtanding all his efforts, the nauſea continues,

and he is obliged to throw
ſpecific, it will be right for
› take a freſh doſe of it, as
is the ſickneſs is gone off,
en he ſhould try to go to ſleep.
two hours after this, he muſt
, and take the purging bo-
. 4. at one or two different
waſhing it down with one
› diſhes of weak green tea,
alking afterwards about his
er.—When the bolus begins
ate, the patient is deſired to
diſh of the ſame tea occa-
, until the worm is expel-
hen, and not before, Ma-
Nouffer gives him broth or
and he is directed to dine as
l after taking phyſic. After
he may either lie down or
taking care to conduct him-
ſcreetly, to eat but little
, and to avoid every thing
not eaſy of digeſtion.

cure is then compleat, but
ot always effected with the
quickneſs in every ſubject.
no has not kept down the
bolus, or who is not ſuffi-
purged by it, ought to take,
ours after it, from two to
drachms of Epſom ſalt diſ-
in boiling water. The doſe
ſalt may be varied accord-
the temperament and other
ſtances of the patient.

he worm ſhould not come
n a bundle, but in the form
thread (which particularly
is when the worm is involved
h tenacious mucus), the pa-
muſt continue to ſit upon the
ool without attempting to
t away, drinking at the ſame
rm weak tea: ſometimes this
s not ſufficient, and the pa-
obliged to take another
f purging ſalt, but without

varying his poſition till the worm is wholly expelled.

It is unuſual for patients who have kept down both the ſpecific and purging doſe, not to diſcharge the worm before dinner time. This however ſometimes happens when the dead worm remains in large bundles in the inteſtines, ſo that the fæces becoming more limpid towards the end of the purging, paſs by it without drawing it with them. The patient may in this caſe eat his dinner; and it has been obſerved that the food, joined to the uſe of a clyſter, has brought about the expulſion of the worm.

Sometimes the worm is brought away by the action of the ſpecific alone, before the patient has taken the purging bolus; when this happens, Madame Nouffer only gives two thirds of it, or ſubſtitutes the ſalt in its ſtead.

Patients muſt not be alarmed by any ſenſation of heat or uneaſineſs they may feel during the action of the remedy, either before or after a copious evacuation, or juſt as they are about to void the worm. Theſe ſenſations are tranſitory, and go off of their own accord, or by the aſſiſtance of the vapour of vinegar drawn in at the noſe.

They who have vomited both the ſpecific and bolus, or who have kept down only a part of them, ſometimes do not void the worm that day. Madame Nouffer therefore directs them to take again that night the ſoup No. 1. the wine and biſcuit, and, if circumſtances require it, the clyſter No. 2. if the worm does not come away during the night, ſhe gives them early the next morning another doſe of the ſpecific, and two hours

afterwards, ſix drachms or an ounce of purging ſalt, repeating the whole proceſs of the preceding day, excepting the bolus, which ſhe ſuppreſſes.

She obſerves, that very hot weather diminiſhes in ſome degree the action of her remedy, ſhe therefore prefers the month of September for adminiſtering it; but as ſhe has not been always able to chuſe the ſeaſon, and has been ſometimes obliged to undertake the care of patients in the hotteſt days of ſummer, ſhe then gave her ſpecific very early in the morning; and with this precaution ſhe ſaw no difference in its effects.

A deſcription of the Highlands of Scotland, *and Remarks on the Second Sight of the Inhabitants. By Dr.* Beattie.

THE Highlands of Scotland are a picturesque, but in general a melancholy country. Long tracts of mountainous deſert, covered with dark heath, and often obſcured by miſty weather; narrow valleys, thinly inhabited, and bounded by precipices, reſounding with the fall of torrents; a ſoil ſo rugged and a climate ſo dreary, as in many parts to admit neither the amuſements of paſturage, nor the labours of agriculture; the mournful daſhing of waves along the friths and lakes that interſect the country; the portentous noiſes which every change of the wind, and every increaſe and diminution of the waters is apt to raiſe in a lonely region full of echoes and rocks and caverns; the groteſque and ghaſtly appearance of ſuch a landſcape by the light of the moon: objects like theſe diffuſe a gloom over the fancy, which may be compatible enough with occaſional and ſocial merriment, but cannot fail to tincture the thoughts of a native in the hour of ſilence and ſolitude. If theſe people notwithſtanding their reformation in religion, and more frequent intercourſe with ſtrangers, do ſtill retain many of their old ſuperſtitions, we need not doubt but in former times they muſt have been much more inſlaved to the horrors of imagination, when beſet with the bugbears of Popery, and the darkneſs of Paganiſm. Moſt of their ſuperſtitions are of a melancholy caſt. That *ſecond ſight* wherewith ſome of them are ſtill ſuppoſed to be haunted, is conſidered by themſelves as a misfortune, on account of the many dreadful images it is ſaid to obtrude upon the fancy. I have been told that the inhabitants of ſome of the Alpine regions do likewiſe lay claim to a ſort of ſecond ſight. Nor is it wonderful, that perſons of lively imagination, immured in deep ſolitude, and ſurrounded with the ſtupendous ſcenery of clouds, precipices and torrents, ſhould dream, even when they think themſelves awake, of thoſe few ſtriking ideas with which their lonely lives are diverſified; of corpſes, funeral proceſſions and other ſubjects of terror; or of marriages, and the arrival of ſtrangers, and ſuch like matters of more agreeable curioſity.

Let it be obſerved alſo that the ancient Highlanders of Scotland had hardly any other way of ſupporting themſelves, than by hunting, fiſhing, or war; profeſſions that are continually expoſed to fatal accidents.—And hence, no doubt

additional horrors would of-
iaunt their ſolitude, and a
r gloom overſhadow the ima-
ion even of the hardieſt na-

lo not find ſufficient evidence
ıe reality of *ſecond ſight*, or
ıſt of what is commonly un-
od by that term. A treatiſe
ıe ſubject was publiſhed in
/ear 1762, in which many
were told of perſons whom
uthor believed to have been
red, or haunted, with theſe
inations; but moſt of the tales
trifling and ridiculous; and
vhole work betrayed, on the
of the compiler, ſuch extreme
lity, as could not fail to pre-
: many readers againſt his
n.

ıat any of theſe viſionaries
iable to be ſwayed in their
rations by ſiniſter views, I
not ſay; though a gentleman
ıaracter aſſured me, that one
:m offered to ſell him this un-
ıntable talent for half a crown.
this I think may be ſaid with
dence, that none but ignorant
le pretend to be gifted in this

And in them it may be no-
; more, perhaps, than ſhort
f ſudden ſleep or drowzineſs,
ded with lively dreams, and
ıg from ſome bodily diſorder,
effect of idleneſs, low ſpirits,
gloomy imagination. For it
mitted even by the moſt cre-
ıs Highlanders, that as know-
: and induſtry are propagated
ıeir country, the ſecond ſight
ıpears in proportion: and no-
' ever laid claim to this fa-
', who was much employed in
ntercourſe of ſocial life. Nor
at all extraordinary, that one
d have the appearance of be-
ing awake, and ſhould even think one's ſelf ſo, during theſe fits of dozing; or that they ſhould come on ſuddenly, and while one is engaged in ſome buſineſs. The ſame thing happens to perſons much fatigued, or long kept awake, who frequently fall aſleep for a moment, or for a longer ſpace, while they are ſtanding, or walking, or riding on horſeback. Add but a lively dream to this ſlumber, and (which is the frequent effect of diſeaſe) take away the conſciouſneſs of having been aſleep, and a ſuperſtitious man, who is always hearing and believing tales of ſecond ſight, may eaſily miſtake his dream for a waking viſion; which, however, is ſoon forgotten, when no ſubſequent occurrence recalls it to his memory; but which, if it ſhall be thought to reſemble any future event, exalts the *poor dreamer* into a Highland prophet. This conceit makes him more recluſe and more melancholy than ever; and ſo feeds his diſeaſe, and multiplies his viſions; which, if they are not diſſipated by buſineſs or ſociety, may continue to haunt him as long as he lives, and which, in their progreſs, through the neighbourhood, receive ſome new tincture of the marvellous, from every mouth that promotes their circulation. As to the prophetical nature of this ſecond ſight, it cannot be admitted at all. That the Deity ſhould work a miracle, in order to give intimation of the frivolous things that theſe tales are made up of, the arrival of a ſtranger, the nailing of a coffin, or the colour of a ſuit of clothes; and that theſe intimations ſhould be given for no end, and to thoſe perſons only who are idle and ſolitary, who

ſpeak Erie, or who live among mountains and deſerts, is like nothing in nature or providence that we are acquainted with; and muſt therefore, unleſs it were confirmed by ſatisfactory proof (which is not the caſe) be rejected as abſurd and incredible.

The viſions, ſuch as they are, may reaſonably enough be aſcribed to a diſtempered fancy. And that in them, as well as in our ordinary dreams, certain appearances ſhould, on ſome rare occaſions, reſemble certain events, is to be expected from the laws of chance; and ſeems to have in it nothing more marvellous or ſupernatural than that the parrot, who deals out his ſcurrilities at random, ſhould ſometimes happen to ſalute the paſſenger by his right appellation.

Of the Mines in Mexico and Peru.

From Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of America.

OF all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of ſearching for the precious metals is one of the moſt inviting to men, who are either unaccuſtomed to the regular aſſiduity with which the culture of the earth, and the operations of commerce muſt be carried on, or ſo enterpriſing and rapacious, as not to be ſatisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as ſoon as the ſeveral countries in America were ſubjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almoſt the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to ſettle, by the proſpect of their affording gold and ſilver, were totally neglected. Thoſe in which they met with a diſappointment of the ſanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the iſlands, the firſt fruits of their diſcoveries, and the firſt object of their attention, ſunk ſo much in their eſtimation, when the mines which they had opened there were exhauſted, that they were deſerted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more induſtrious poſſeſſors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver found among the natives, who ſearched for them with little induſtry, and leſs ſkill, promiſed an unexhauſted ſtore, as the recompence of more intelligent and perſevering efforts.

During ſeveral years, the ardour of their reſearches was kept up by hope, rather than ſucceſs. At length, the rich ſilver mines of Potoſi, in Peru, were accidentally diſcovered in the year 1545, by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in purſuit of a Llama which had ſtrayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time, ſucceſſive diſcoveries have been made in both colonies, and ſilver mines are now ſo numerous, that the working of them, and of ſome few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firma, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a ſyſtem no leſs complicated than intereſting. To deſcribe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from

n the bowels of the earth, and explain the ſeveral proceſſes by ch the metals are ſeparated from ſubſtances with which they are gled, either by the action of or the attractive powers of cury, is the province of the na- l philoſopher or chymiſt, ra- than of the hiſtorian.

'he exuberant profuſion with :h the mountains of the New rld poured forth their treaſures, niſhed mankind, accuſtomed erto to receive a penurious ſup- of the precious metals, from more ſcanty ſtores contained in mines of the ancient hemi- re. According to principles omputation, which appear to xtremely moderate, the quan- of gold and ſilver that has been larly entered in the ports of n, is equal in value to four ons ſterling annually, reckon- from the year 1492, in which rica was diſcovered to the nt time. This in two hun- and eighty-three years, amounts even hundred and thirty-two ons. Immenſe as this ſum he Spaniſh writers contend, as much more ought to be ad- o it, in conſideration of the ure which has been extracted the mines, without paying to the king. By this account, a has drawn from the New ld a ſupply of wealth, amount- it leaſt to two thouſand mil- of pounds ſterling.

ne mines, which have yielded amazing quantity of treaſure, ot worked at the expence of crown, or of the public. In to encourage private adven- , the perſon who diſcovers a vein, is entitled to the pro- of it. Upon laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is meaſured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the cuſtomary duty to the king, for what it ſhall produce. Invited by the facility with which ſuch grants are obtained, and encouraged by ſome ſtriking examples of ſucceſs in this line of adventure; not only the ſanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with aſtoniſhing ardour. With vaſt objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her ſecret ſtores, and give them up to their wiſhes, they deem every other occupation inſipid and unintereſting. The charms of this purſuit, like the rage for deep play, are ſo bewitching, and take ſuch full poſſeſſion of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence, the cautious become enterprizing, and the covetous profuſe. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru, by the cant name of *ſearchers*. Theſe are commonly perſons of deſperate fortunes, who, availing themſelves of ſome ſkill in mineralogy, accompanied with the inſinuating manner, and confident pretenſions peculiar to projectors, addreſs the wealthy and the credulous. By plauſible deſcriptions of the appearances which they have diſcovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing, when requiſite, ſpecimens of promiſing ore; by affirming, with an impoſing aſſurance, that ſucceſs is

certain, and that the expence muſt be trifling; they ſeldom fail to perſuade. An aſſociation is formed; a ſmall ſum is advanced by each co-partner; the mine is opened; the *ſearcher* is entruſted with the ſole direction of every operation; unforeſeen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but amidſt a ſucceſſion of diſappointments and delays, hope is never extinguiſhed, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is obſerved, that if any perſon once enters this ſeducing path, it is almoſt impoſſible to return; his ideas alter, he ſeems to be poſſeſſed with another ſpirit, viſions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and ſpeaks, and dreams of nothing elſe.

Such is the ſpirit that muſt be formed, wherever the active exertions of any ſociety are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and ſilver. No ſpirit is more adverſe to ſuch improvement in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in the Spaniſh colonies had been founded upon principles of ſound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legiſlature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in reſtraining its ſubjects from ſuch pernicious induſtry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of mining (ſays a good judge of the political conduct of nations) inſtead of replacing the capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profit of ſtock, commonly abſorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which, of all others, a prudent law-giver, who deſired to increaſe the capital of his nation, would leaſt chuſe to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater ſhare of that capital than would go to them of its own accord. Such, in reality, is the abſurd confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that wherever there is the leaſt probability of ſucceſs, too great a ſhare of it is apt to go to them of its own accord." But in the Spaniſh colonies, government is ſtudious to cheriſh a ſpirit which it ſhould have laboured to depreſs, and by the ſanction of its approbation augments that inconſiderate credulity, which has turned the active induſtry of Mexico and Peru into ſuch an improper channel. To this may be imputed the ſlender progreſs which they have made during two centuries and a half, either in uſeful manufactures, or in thoſe lucrative branches of cultivation, which furniſh the colonies of other nations with their ſtaple commodities. In compariſon with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is ſo much deſpiſed, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of the language in America, and the Spaniards ſettled there denominate a country, *rich*, not from the fertility of its ſoil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its paſtures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In queſt of theſe, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and reſort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built ſome of the largeſt towns which they poſſeſs in the New World. As the activity and enterpriſe of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now ſo difficult

difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various cauſes, the gain of working mines is much decreaſed; the faſcination continues, and almoſt every perſon, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is ſtill engaged in ſome adventure of this kind.

Obſervations on the Formation of Ice-iſlands; and on the Exiſtence of a Southern Continent. Extracted from Cook's *Voyage.*

I HAD now made the circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traverſed it in ſuch a manner as to leave not the leaſt room for the poſſibility of there being a continent, unleſs near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. By twice viſiting the tropical ſea, I had not only ſettled the ſituation of ſome old diſcoveries, but made there many new ones, and left, I conceive, very little more to be done even in that part. Thus I flatter myſelf, that the intention of the voyage has, in every reſpect, been fully anſwered; the ſouthern hemiſphere ſufficiently explored; and a final end put to the ſearching after a ſouthern continent, which has, at times, ingroſſed the attention of ſome of the maritime powers, for near two centuries paſt, and been a favourite theory amongſt the geographers of all ages.

That there may be a continent, or large tract of land, near the pole, I will not deny; on the contrary, I am of opinion there is; and it is probable that we have ſeen a part of it. The exceſſive cold, the many iſlands and vaſt floats of ice, all tend to prove that there muſt be land to the ſouth; and for my perſuaſion that this ſouthern land muſt lie, or extend, fartheſt to the north, oppoſite to the ſouthern atlantic and Indian oceans. I have already aſſigned ſome reaſons; to which I may add the greater degree of cold experienced by us in theſe ſeas, than in the ſouthern pacific ocean under the ſame parallels of latitude.

In this laſt ocean, the mercury in the thermometer ſeldom fell ſo low as the freezing point, till we were in 60° and upwards; whereas in the others, it fell as low in the latitude of 54°. This was certainly owing to there being a greater quantity of ice, and to its extending farther to the north, in theſe two ſeas than in the ſouth pacific; and if ice be firſt formed at, or near land, of which I have no doubt, it will follow that the land alſo extends farther north.

The formation or coagulation of ice-iſlands has not, to my knowledge, been thoroughly inveſtigated. Some have ſuppoſed them to be formed by the freezing of the water at the mouths of large rivers, or great cataracts, where they accumulate till they are broken off by their own weight. My obſervations will not allow me to acquieſce in this opinion; becauſe we never found any of the ice which we took up incorporated with earth, or any of its produce, as I think it muſt have been, had it been coagulated in land waters. It is a doubt with me, whether there be any rivers in theſe countries. It is certain, that we ſaw not a river, or ſtream of water, on all the coaſt of Georgia, nor on any of the ſouthern lands. Nor did

we ever ſee a ſtream of water run from any of the ice-iſlands. How are we then to ſuppoſe that there are large rivers? The vallies are covered, many fathoms deep, with everlaſting ſnow; and, at the ſea, they terminate in icy cliffs of vaſt height. It is here where the ice-iſlands are formed; not from ſtreams of water, but from conſolidated ſnow and ſleet, which is, almoſt continually, falling or drifting down from the mountains, eſpecially in the winter, when the froſt muſt be intenſe. During that ſeaſon, the ice cliffs muſt ſo accumulate as to fill up all the bays, be they ever ſo large. This is a fact which cannot be doubted, as we have ſeen it ſo in ſummer. Theſe cliffs accumulate by continual falls of ſnow, and what drifts from the mountains, till they are no longer able to ſupport their own weight; and then large pieces break off, which we call ice iſlands. Such as have a flat even ſurface, muſt be of the ice formed in the bays, and before the flat vallies; the others, which have a tapering unequal ſurface, muſt be formed on, or under, the ſide of a coaſt compoſed of pointed rocks and precipices, or ſome ſuch uneven ſurface. For we cannot ſuppoſe that ſnow alone, as it falls, can form, on a plain ſurface, ſuch as the ſea, ſuch a variety of high peaks and hills, as we ſaw on many of the ice iſles. It is certainly more reaſonable to believe that they are formed on a coaſt whoſe ſurface is ſomething ſimilar to theirs. I have obſerved that all the ice iſlands of any extent, and before they begin to break to pieces, are terminated by perpendicular cliffs of clear ice or frozen ſnow, always on one or more ſides, but moſt generally all round. Many, and thoſe of the largeſt ſize, which had a hilly and ſpiral ſurface, ſhewed a perpendicular cliff or ſide from the ſummit of the higheſt peak down to its baſe. This to me was a convincing proof, that theſe, as well as the flat iſles, muſt have broken off from ſubſtances like themſelves; that is, from ſome large tract of ice.

When I conſider the vaſt quantity of ice we ſaw, and the vicinity of the places to the pole where it is formed, and where the degrees of longitude are very ſmall, I am led to believe that theſe ice cliffs extend a good way into the ſea, in ſome parts, eſpecially in ſuch as are ſheltered from the violence of the winds. It may even be doubted if ever the wind is violent in the very high latitudes. And that the ſea will freeze over, or the ſnow that falls upon it, which amounts to the ſame thing, we have inſtances in the northern hemiſphere. The Baltic, the Gulph of Saint Laurence, the Straits of Belle-Iſle, and many other equally large ſeas, are frequently frozen over in winter. Nor is this at all extraordinary; for we have found the degree of cold at the ſurface of the ſea, even in ſummer, to be two degrees below the freezing point; conſequently nothing kept it from freezing but the ſalts it contains, and the agitation of its ſurface. Whenever this laſt ceaſeth in winter, when the froſt is ſet in, and there comes a fall of ſnow, it will freeze on the ſurface as it falls, and in a few days, or perhaps in one night, form ſuch a ſheet of ice as will not be eaſily broken up.

Thus

Thus a foundation will be laid for it to accumulate to any thickneſs by falls of ſnow, without its being at all neceſſary for the ſea water to freeze. It may be, by this means, theſe vaſt floats of low ice we find in the ſpring of the year are formed, and which, after they break up, are carried by the currents to the north. For, from all the obſervations I have been able to make, the currents every where, in the high latitudes, ſet to the north, or to the N. E. or N. W.; but we have very ſeldom found them conſiderable.

If this imperfect account of the formation of theſe extraordinary floating iſlands of ice, which is written wholly from my own obſervations, does not convey ſome uſeful hints to an abler pen, it will, however, convey ſome idea of the lands where they are formed. Lands doomed by nature to perpetual frigidneſs; never to feel the warmth of the ſun's rays; whoſe horrible and ſavage aſpect I have not words to deſcribe. Such are the lands we have diſcovered; what then may we expect thoſe to be, which lie ſtill farther to the ſouth? For we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that we have ſeen the beſt, as lying moſt to the north. If any one ſhould have reſolution and perſeverance to clear up this point by proceeding farther than I have done, I ſhall not envy him the honour of the diſcovery; but I will be bold to ſay, that the world will not be benefited by it.

I had, at this time, ſome thoughts of reviſiting the place where the French diſcovery is ſaid to lie. But then I conſidered that, if they had really made this diſcovery, the end would be as fully anſwered as if I had done it myſelf. We know it can only be an iſland; and if we judge from the degree of cold we found in that latitude, it cannot be a fertile one. Beſides, this would have kept me two months longer at ſea, and in a tempeſtuous latitude, which we were not in a condition to ſtruggle with. Our ſails and rigging were ſo much worn, that ſomething was giving way every hour; and we had nothing left, either to repair or to replace them. Our proviſions were in a ſtate of decay, and conſequently afforded little nouriſhment, and we had been a long time without refreſhments. My people, indeed, were yet healthy, and would have chearfully gone wherever I had thought proper to lead them; but I dreaded the ſcurvy laying hold of them, at a time when we had nothing left to remove it. I muſt ſay farther, that it would have been cruel in me to have continued the fatigues and hardſhips they were continually expoſed to, longer than was abſolutely neceſſary. Their behaviour, throughout the whole voyage, merited every indulgence which it was in my power to give them. Animated by the conduct of the officers, they ſhewed themſelves capable of ſurmounting every difficulty and danger which came in their way, and never once looked either upon the one or the other, as being at all heightened, by our ſeparation from our conſort the Adventure.

All theſe conſiderations induced me to lay aſide looking for the French diſcoveries, and to ſteer for the Cape of Good Hope; with a reſolution, however, of looking for the Iſles of Denia and Marſe-

veen,

veen, which are laid down in Dr. Halley's variation chart in the latitude of 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ S., and about 4° of longitude to the eaſt of the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope. With this view I ſteered N. E. with a hard gale at N. W. and thick weather; and on the 25th, at noon, we ſaw the laſt ice-iſland, being at this time in the latitude of 52° 52′ S. longitude 26° 31′ E.

Account of ſeveral Water Spouts obſerved in the South Seas by Mr. Forſter.

IN the afternoon, about four o'clock, we were nearly oppoſite Cape Stephens, and had little or no wind. We obſerved thick clouds to the S. W. about that time, and ſaw that it rained on all the ſouthern parts of that cape. On a ſudden a whitiſh ſpot appeared on the ſea in that quarter, and a column aroſe out of it, looking like a glaſs tube; another ſeemed to come down from the clouds to meet this, and they made a coalition, forming what is commonly called a water-ſpout. A little while after we took notice of three other columns, which were formed in the ſame manner as the firſt. The neareſt of all theſe was about three miles diſtant, and its apparent diameter, as far as we could gueſs, might be about ſeventy fathom at the baſe. We found our thermometer at 56½ when this phænomenon firſt took its riſe. The nature of water-ſpouts and their cauſes being hitherto very little known, we were extremely attentive to mark every little circumſtance attendant on this appearance. Their baſe, where the water of the ſea was violently agitated, and roſe in a ſpiral form in vapours, was a broad ſpot, which looked bright and yellowiſh when illuminated by the ſun. The column was of a cylindrical form, rather encreaſing in width towards the upper extremity. Theſe columns moved forward on the ſurface of the ſea, and the clouds not following them with equal rapidity, they aſſumed a bent or incurvated ſhape, and frequently appeared croſſing each other, evidently proceeding in different directions; from whence we concluded, that it being calm, each of theſe water-ſpouts cauſed a wind of its own. At laſt they broke one after another, being probably too much diſtended by the difference between their motion and that of the clouds. In proportion as the clouds came nearer to us, the ſea appeared more and more covered with ſhort broken waves, and the wind continually veered all round the compaſs, without fixing in any point. We ſoon ſaw a ſpot on the ſea, within two hundred fathom of us, in a violent agitation. The water, in a ſpace of fifty or ſixty fathoms, moved towards the centre, and their riſing into vapour, by the force of the whirling motion, aſcended in a ſpiral form towards the clouds. Some hailſtones fell on board about this time, and the clouds looked exceedingly black and louring above us. Directly over the whirlpool, if I may ſo call the agitated ſpot on the ſea, a cloud gradually tapered into a long ſlender tube, which ſeemed to deſcend to meet the riſing ſpiral, and ſoon united with it into a ſtrait column of a cylindrical form. We could diſtinctly obſerve the water hurled upwards with the greateſt violence in

iral, and it appeared that it hollow ſpace in the centre; we concluded the water only l a hollow tube, inſtead of l column. We were ſtrongly med in this belief by the co- which was exactly like any glaſs-tube. After ſome the laſt water-ſpout was in- ed and broke like the others, his difference, that its diſ- on was attended with a flaſh htning, but no exploſion was . Our ſituation during all me was very dangerous and ing; a phænomenon which d ſo much terrific majeſty in d connected as it were the ith the clouds, made our oldeſt ers uneaſy and at a loſs how have; for moſt of them, h they had viewed water- at a diſtance, yet had never ſo beſet with them as we were; ll without exception had heard- ful accounts of their perni- effects, when they happened ak over a ſhip. We prepared d for the worſt, by cluing up ſails; but it was the gene- opinion that our maſts and muſt have gone to wreck if d been drawn into the vortex. s hinted that firing a gun had only ſucceeded in breaking -ſpouts, by the ſtrong vibra- it cauſes in the air; and ac- gly a four pounder was or- l to be got ready, but our peo- being, as uſual, very dilatory t it, the danger was paſt be- we could try this experiment. far electricity may be con- d as the cauſe of this phæno- n, we could not determine any preciſion; ſo much how- ſeems certain, that it has ſome ection with it, from the flaſh of lightning, which was plainly obſerved at the burſting of the laſt column. The whole time, from their firſt appearance to the diſſolution of the laſt, was about three quarters of an hour. It was five o'clock when the latter happened, and the thermometer then ſtood at 54° or 2½ degrees lower, than when they began to make their appearance. The depth of water we had under us was thirty-ſix fathom. The place we were in was analogous to moſt places where water-ſpouts have been obſerved, inaſmuch as it was in a narrow ſea or ſtrait. Dr. Shaw and Thevenot ſaw them in the Mediterranean and Perſian Gulph; and they are common in the Weſt Indies, the Straits of Malacca, and the Chineſe ſea. Upon the whole, we were not fortunate enough to make any remarkable diſcoveries in regard to this phænomenon; all our obſervations only tend to confirm the facts already noticed by others, and which are ſo largely commented upon by the learned Dr. Benjamin Franklin, F. R. S. His ingenious hypotheſis, that whirlwinds and water-ſpouts have a common origin, has not been invalidated by our obſervations. We refer our philoſophical readers to his papers, as containing the moſt complete and ſatisfactory account of water-ſpouts.

Singular Caſe of a Boy ſtruck with Horror at an Execution in France.

JAMES DEREAU, apprentice to an engraver, aged fourteen years, born at Fontainebleau, lived in the ſtreet d'Enfer in Paris, near the *Pont Rouge*, with his maſter the Sieur

[illegible] apartment, two chambers of which [illegible] the Grève.

The young man was one of those criminals, with one Lemaire, [illegible] on May 6, the day of the execution of Damiens, in which, and some of their friends, were the principal actors.

At the moment of the criminal's leaving the Conciergerie, Lemaire, appalled by his compassion, felt an extraordinary emotion: this agitation was progressively increased when this unfortunate wretch was thrown into the fire. Lemaire was instantly seized with a violent headache, and a great suffocation and uneasiness. In the night he was disturbed by frightful dreams; the object that had struck him remained strongly impressed on his brain. Next day his disorder and uneasiness increased; on the 9th he was brought to the Hospital of Charity: he continued in the same situation for above a month. He had also a fever, all his motions were convulsive, his looks were expressive of fright; the least noise, the approach of those who took care of him, seemed to inspire him with horror. He uttered incessantly, by day and night, deep and bitter cries; he forcibly kept his eyes shut; he refused all food and medicines; he was extremely weak and emaciated: at length he had a cramp, which lasted forty-eight hours. This alarming attack yielded to the application of blisters; but at the same time his belly swelled. This new symptom was [illegible] fully combated by bark glisters, and from that time the violence of the disorder abated. The boy began to open his eyes, and ventured to look at the objects [illegible] him; his ideas were less incoherent; his disposition, naturally gentle and weak, made him tractable. He had not attempted formerly to hurt them: they were opened, and soon healed. He left the hospital April 1, having recovered his flesh and all his senses. Nothing remains but a little oppression and difficulty of expressing himself, and a voice almost lost; instead of which he affirms that his pronunciation was clear, and his voice natural. This remarkable disorder is not the only one occasioned by the wretched ces Rues: a woman, ill before, it is true, was so affected by the particulars of his villainy, that she thought herself suspected of being his accomplice; and this impression deprived this poor creature of her senses, so that she threw herself out at window from a third story, but did not lose her life by the fall.

Account of the Mildew, considered as the principal Cause of Epidemic Diseases among the Cattle; with Directions concerning the Manner of treating these Diseases.

M. J. S. Segar, the author of a treatise upon this subject, observes that the mildew, which he considers as a kind of rust, is of such a sharp and corrosive nature that it raises blisters on the feet of the shepherds, who go bare-foot, and even consumes the hoofs of the cattle. He suspects that it has more or less the quality of arsenic, though he does not pretend to affirm this positively. Its pernicious influence, according to him, is rendered still more powerful by a variety of circumstances, such as sending the cattle

into the fields too early in
ring, their drinking water
with ice, or but lately thaw-
eir being kept in ſtables that
o cloſe and filthy, and are
ficiently aired. The mildew,
cing the diſeaſe, is that which
nd burns the graſs and leaves.
ls uſually in the morning,
ularly after a thunder-ſtorm.
iſonous quality, (which does
ontinue above twenty-four
) never operates, but when it
een ſwallowed immediately
its falling. The diſorder, it
ons, attacks the ſtomach, is
panied with pimples on the
e, with loſs of appetite, with
eſiccation of the aliments in
omach, with a cough and a
ulty of reſpiration. As a pre-
ive, the author preſcribes
ng in ſpring and in wi[illegible]
medicine he adviſes is com-
of thirty grains of ſulphur of
ony and ſixty grains of reſin
ap. He is againſt vomiting,
very thing that is of a heating
e.

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nt of a poiſonous Fiſh found in South Seas, by Capt. Cook.

THIS fiſh was of the genus by -Linnæus named *tetraodon*. embled in ſhape the ſun-fiſh, ad a large, long, ugly head. ng the ſtay of the Reſolution e iſland of New Caledonia, the in's clerk had purchaſed it one of the natives, who had d it with a ſpear. Captain having no ſuſpicion of its of a poiſonous nature, or- it to be dreſſed for ſupper, ortunately the operations of ing and deſcribing it took up ſo much time, that the liver and roe only were ſerved up that even-ing, and the remainder preſerved for the next day. As the liver was large and oily, though without any particular bad taſte, the captain and the two Mr. Forſters only taſted it. About three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Forſter awaking found himſelf extremely giddy, and his hands and feet entirely, as it were, benumbed. He got up, and was ſcarcely able to ſtand; and Captain Cook and the younger Mr. Forſter, upon being awakened, found themſelves in the ſame ſitua-tion. The ſymptoms were ſome-what alarming. Their limbs were benumbed, and without ſenſation, ſo that they could not diſtinguiſh between light and heavy bodies; the blood had left their cheeks, their lips became livid, and a great degree of languor and oppreſſion had taken place. Emetics were adminiſtered to them by the ſur-geon, Mr. Patton, and afterwards ſudorifics. Theſe medicines gave them great relief, and in a few days they were all reſtored to health without any bad conſequences re-maining. Some dogs which had ſeized upon the remains of the liver were taken extremely ill, and a pig which had eaten the entrails of the fiſh died ſoon after, being ſwelled to an unuſual ſize. The day after the fiſh was purchaſed, ſome of the natives came on board. At ſight of the fiſh, which was hung under the half-deck, they made ſigns that it occaſioned pains in the ſtomach, drowſineſs and death; and when it was offered them they refuſed it with the ſtrongeſt marks of aver-ſion.—The fiſh was preſerved by Mr. Forſter in ſpirits of wine, and brought over to England.

On the Food or Nutriment of Plants, extracted from the Notes of Doctor Hunter's *Edition of* Evelyn's Sylva.

IT is of the utmoſt conſequence to determine what is the food of plants. Upon that queſtion philoſophers have widely differed. From a number of experiments, accurately conducted, I am led to believe that all vegetables, from the hyſſop upon the wall to the cedar of Lebanon, receive their principal nouriſhment from oily particles incorporated with water, by means of an alkaline ſalt or abſorbent earth. Till oil is made miſcible, it is unable to enter the radical veſſels of vegetables; and, on that account, providence has bountifully ſupplied all natural ſoils with chalky or other abſorbent particles. I ſay natural ſoils, for thoſe which have been aſſiſted by art are full of materials for that purpoſe; ſuch as lime, marl, ſoap-aſhes, and the volatile alkaline ſalt of putrid dunghills. It may be aſked, whence do natural ſoils receive their oily particles? I anſwer, the air ſupplies them. During the ſummer months, the atmoſphere is full of putrid exhalations ariſing from the ſteam of dunghills, the perſpiration of animals and ſmoak. Every ſhower brings down theſe oleaginous particles for the nouriſhment of plants.

The ingenious Mr. Tull, and others, have contended for earth's being the food of plants. If ſo, all ſoils equally tilled would prove equally prolific. The increaſed fertility of a well-pulveriſed ſoil, induced him to imagine that the plow could ſo minutely divide the particles of earth, as to fit them for entering into the roots of plants. An open ſoil, if not too light in its own nature, will always produce plentiful crops. It readily receives the air, rains, and dews into its boſom, and at the ſame time gives the roots of plants a free paſſage in queſt of food. This is the true reaſon why land well tilled is ſo remarkably fruitful.——Water is thought, by ſome, to be the food of vegetables, when in reality it is only the vehicle of nouriſhment. Water is an heterogeneous fluid, and is no where to be found pure. It always contains a ſolution of animal or vegetable ſubſtances. Theſe conſtitute the nouriſhment of plants, and the element in which they are minutely ſuſpended, acts only as a vehicle, in guiding them through the fine veſſels of the vegetable body. The hyacinth, and other bulbous roots, are known to perfect their flowers in pure water. Hence ſuperficial obſervers have drawn an argument in favour of water being the food of vegetables. But the truth is, the roots, ſtem, and flowers of ſuch plants are nouriſhed by the mucilaginous juices of the bulb, diluted by the ſurrounding water. This mucilage is juſt ſufficient to perfect the flower—and no more. Such a bulb neither forms ſeeds, nor ſends forth offſets. At the end of the ſeaſon, it appears weak, ſhrivelled, and exhauſted, and is rendered unfit to produce flowers the ſucceeding year. A root of the ſame kind, that has been fed by the oily and mucilaginous juices of the earth, eſſentially differs in every particular. It has a plump appearance, is full of mucilage—with off-ſets upon its ſides. All rich ſoils, in a ſtate of nature, contain oil; and in

ſe lands which have been un-
ıe plow for ſome years, it is
in proportion to the quantity
trid dung that has been laid
them, making an allowance
e crops they have ſuſtained.—
t this matter in a clearer light,
attend to the effects of ma-
of an oily nature, and we
ſoon be ſatisfied that oil, how-
modified, is one of the chief
s concerned in vegetation.
-duſt, when laid upon land,
ſpeedy and certain manure,
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land, or where the ſoil has
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of manure is much eſteemed
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xcellent tilth. At preſent,
uſeful article of huſbandry is
ı diminiſhed in goodneſs, ow-
to the improved methods of
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and preſſure are employed in
uble degree.—Farmers that
in the neighbourhood of large
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water. It is obſerved that pi-
s dung is a rich and haſty ma-
. Theſe animals feed chiefly
grains and oily ſeeds; it muſt
fore be expected that their
ſhould contain a large pro-
on of oil. The dung of ſtable-
horſes is alſo a ſtrong manure,
ſhould not be uſed until it has
rgone the *putrid ferment*, in
order to mix and aſſimilate its oily, watery, and ſaline parts. Beans, oats, and hay, contain much oil. The dung of horſes, that are kept upon green herbage, is of a weaker kind, containing much leſs oil. Swines dung is of a ſaponaceous and oily nature, and perhaps is the richeſt of the animal manures. When made into a compoſt and applied with judgment, it is excellent for arable lands. The dung of ruminant animals, as cows and ſheep, is preferable to that of horſes at graſs, owing to the quantity of animal juices mixed with their food in chewing. And here I beg leave to remark in general, that the fatter the animal, *cæteris paribus*, the richer the dung. Human ordure is full of oil and a volatile alkaline ſalt. By itſelf, it is too ſtrong a manure for any land; it ſhould therefore be made into a compoſt before it is uſed. The dung of carnivorous animals is plentifully ſtored with oil. Animals that feed upon ſeeds and grains come next, and after them follow thoſe which ſubſiſt upon graſs only. To ſuit theſe different manures to their proper ſoils, requires the greateſt judgment of the farmer, as what may be proper for one ſoil, may be highly detrimental to another.

In order to ſtrengthen my argument in favour of oil being the principal food of plants, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that all vegetables, whoſe ſeeds are of an oily nature, are found to be remarkable impoveriſhers of the ſoil, as hemp, rape, and flax; for which reaſon, the beſt manures for lands worn out by theſe crops, are ſuch as have a good deal of oil in their compoſition; but then they muſt be laid on with lime, chalk, marl, or ſoap-

ſoap-aſhes, ſo as to render the oily particles miſcible with water.—The book of nature may be diſplayed, to ſhew that oily particles conſtitute the nouriſhment of plants in their embryo ſtate; and, by a fair inference, we may ſuppoſe that ſomething of the ſame nature is continued to them as they advance in growth. The oily ſeeds, as rape, hemp, line, and turnip, conſiſt of two lobes, which, when ſpread upon the ſurface, form the ſeminal leaves. In them the whole oil of the ſeed is contained. The moiſture of the atmoſphere penetrates the cuticle of the leaves, and, mixing with the oil, conſtitutes an emulſion for the nouriſhment of the plant. The ſweetneſs of this balmy fluid invites the fly, againſt which no ſufficient remedy has, as yet, been diſcovered. The oleaginous liquor being conſumed, the ſeminal leaves decay, having performed the office of a mother to her tender infant. To perſons unacquainted with the analogy between plants and animals, this reflection will appear ſtrange. Nothing, however, is more demonſtrable.—The leguminous and farinaceous plants keep their placenta, or ſeminal leaves, within the earth; in which ſituation they ſupply the tender germ with oily nutriment, until its roots are grown ſufficiently ſtrong to penetrate the ſoil.

It is uſual to talk of the ſalts of the earth; but chymiſtry has not been able to diſcover any ſalts in land which has not been manured, though oil may be readily obtained from every ſoil, the very ſandy ones excepted. Marl, though a rich manure, has no ſalts. It is thought to contain a ſmall portion of oleaginous matter, and an abſorbent earth, of a nature ſimilar to limeſtone, with a large quantity of clay intermixed. Lime mixed with clay comes neareſt to the nature of marl of any factitious body that we know of, and may be uſed as ſuch, where it can be had without much expence. By increaſing the quantity of clay, it will make an excellent compoſt for a light ſandy ſoil; but to make the ground fertile, woollen rags, rotten dung, or any oily manure, ſhould be incorporated with it ſome time before it is laid on.—It is a received opinion, that lime enriches the land it is laid upon, by means of ſupplying a ſalt fit for the nouriſhment of plants; but by all the experiments that have been made upon lime, it is found to contain no kind of ſalt. Its operation therefore ſhould be conſidered in a different light; by the fermentation that it induces, the earth is opened and divided, and, by its abſorbent and alkaline quality, it unites the oily and watery parts of the ſoil. It alſo ſeems to have the property of collecting the acid of the air, which it readily forms into a neutral ſalt, of great uſe in vegetation. From viewing lime in this light, it is probable that it tends to rob the ſoil of its oily particles, and in time will render it barren, unleſs we take care to ſupport it with rotten dung, or other manures of an oily nature. As light ſandy ſoils contain but a ſmall portion of oleaginous particles, we ſhould be extremely cautious not to overdo them with lime; unleſs we can at the ſame time aſſiſt them liberally with rotten dung, woollen rags, ſhavings of horn, and other manures of an animal kind. Its great excellence,

ence, however, upon a ſandy is by mechanically binding oſe particles, and thereby nting the liquid parts of the re from eſcaping out of the of the radical fibres of the s. Upon clay the effect of is different; for by means of ntle fermentation that it pro-, the unſubdued ſoil is opened ivided; the manures laid on y come into contact with part of it; and the fibres of plants have full liberty to l themſelves. It is generally hat lime anſwers better upon than clay. This obſervation ndoubtedly hold good as long farmer continues to lime his ands in a ſcanty manner. Let treble the quantity, and he hen be convinced that lime is for clay than ſand. It may tly anſwered, that the profits ot admit of the expence. I . But then it muſt be under- that it is the application, ot the nature of the lime, that l be called in queſtion. Clay, imed, will fall in water, and nt with acids. Its very na- s changed. Under ſuch agree- circumſtances, the air, rains, ews are freely admitted, and il is enabled to retain the ſhment that each of them s. In conſequence of a fer- tion raiſed in the ſoil, the air is ſet at liberty, which, wonderful manner, promotes ation. It is the nature of to attract oils and diſſolve ve- le bodies. Upon theſe prin- we may account for the won- effects of lime in the im- ment of black moor-land. -earth conſiſts of diſſolved, alf-diſſolved, vegetable ſub-

ſtances. It is full of oil. Lime aſſimilates the one and diſſolves the other. Such lands, not originally worth fourpence per acre, may be made, by paring, burning, and liming, to produce plentiful crops of turnips, which may be followed with oats, barley, or graſs-ſeeds, according to the inclination of the owner. Theſe obſervations, however, are rather foreign to the preſent argument, to which I ſhall now return.

To the univerſal principle, oil, we muſt add another of great efficacy, though very little underſtood; I mean the nitrous acid of the air. That the air does contain the rudiments of nitre, is demonſtrable from the manner of making ſaltpetre in the different parts of the world. The air contains no ſuch ſalt as perfect nitre; it is a factitious ſalt, and is made by the nitrous acid falling upon a proper matrix. The makers of nitre form that matrix of the rubbiſh of old houſes, fat earth, and any fixed alkaline ſalt. The univerſal acid, as it is called, is attracted by theſe materials, and forms true nitre, which is rendered pure by means of cryſtallization, and in that form it is brought to us. In very hot countries the natural earth forms a matrix for nitre, which makes the operation very ſhort. It is obſerved that nitre is moſt plentifully formed in winter, when the wind is northerly: hence we may underſtand the true reaſon why farmers and nurſerymen lay up their lands in high ridges during the winter months. The good effects of that operation are wholly attributed to the mechanical action of the froſt upon the ground. Light ſoils, as well as the tough ones,

may be expoſed in high ridges, but with ſome limitation, in order to imitate the mud walls in Germany, which are found, by experience, to collect conſiderable quantities of nitre during the winter. After ſaying ſo much in praiſe of nitre, it will be expected that I ſhould produce ſome proofs of its efficacy, when uſed as manure. I muſt confeſs that experiments do not give us any ſuch proofs. Perhaps too large a quantity has been uſed; or rather, it could not be reſtored to the earth with its particles ſo minutely divided, as when it remained united with the ſoil, by means of the chymiſtry of nature. I ſhall therefore conſider this nitrous acid, or, as philoſophers call it, the *acidum vagum*, in the light of a vivifying principle, with whoſe operation we are not yet fully acquainted.—A curious obſerver will remark, that there ſubſiſts a ſtrong analogy between plants and animals. Oil and water ſeem to make up the nouriſhment of both. Earth enters very little into the compoſition of either. It is known that animals take in a great many earthly particles at the mouth, but they are ſoon diſcharged by urine and ſtool. Vegetables take in the ſmalleſt portion imaginable of earth; and the reaſon is, they have no way to diſcharge it. It is highly probable, that the radical fibres of plants take up their nouriſhment from the earth, in the ſame manner that the lacteal veſſels abſorb the nutriment from the inteſtines; and as the oily and watery parts of our food are perfectly united into a milky liquor, by means of the ſpittle, pancreatic juice, and bile, before they enter the lacteals, we have all the reaſon imaginable to keep up the analogy, and ſuppoſe that the oleaginous and watery parts of the ſoil are alſo incorporated, previous to their being taken up by the abſorbing veſſels of the plant. To form a perfect judgment of this, we muſt reflect that every ſoil, in a ſtate of nature, has in itſelf a quantity of abſorbent earth, ſufficient to incorporate its inherent oil and water; but when we load it with fat manures, it becomes eſſentially neceſſary to beſtow upon it, at the ſame time, ſomething to aſſimilate the parts. Lime, ſoap-aſhes, kelp, marl, and all the alkaline ſubſtances, perform that office. In order to render this operation viſible to the ſenſes: Diſſolve one drachm of Ruſſia potaſh in four ounces of water; then add one ſpoonful of oil. Shake the mixture, and it will inſtantly become an uniform maſs of a whitiſh colour, adapted to all the purpoſes of vegetation. This eaſy and familiar experiment is a juſt repreſentation of what happens after the operation of Burn-baking, and conſequently may be conſidered as a confirmation of the hypotheſis advanced.—Let us attend to the proceſs. The ſward being reduced to aſhes, a fixed alkaline ſalt is produced. The moiſture of the atmoſphere ſoon reduces that ſalt into a fluid ſtate, which, mixing with the ſoil, brings about an union of the oily and watery parts, in the manner demonſtrated by the experiment. When the under ſtratum conſiſts of a rich vegetable mould, the effects of Burn-baking will be laſting. But when the ſoil happens to be thin and poor, the firſt crop frequently ſuffers before it arrives at maturity. The farmer therefore,

who is at the expence of par-
nd burning a thin ſoil, ſhould
w upon it a portion of rotten
, or ſhambles manure, before
ıſhes are ſpread, in order to
y the deficiency of oily parti-

In conſequence of this pru-
management, the crop will be
ɔrted during its growth, and
ınd will be preſerved in health
vigour.——Hitherto I have
lered plants as nouriſhed by
roots. I ſhall now take a
of them as nouriſhed by their
ɜ. An attention to this part
ɜ vegetable ſyſtem is eſſential-
ɔeſſary. Vegetables that have
ɔculent leaf, ſuch as vetches,
, beans, and buck-wheat,
a great part of their nouriſh-
from the air, and on that
nt impoveriſh the ſoil leſs than
t, oats, barley, or rye, the
ı of which are of a firmer
ɔe. Rape and hemp are oil-
ıg plants, and, conſequently,
veriſhers of the ſoil; but the
ɔr leſs ſo than the latter, ow-
ɔ the greater ſucculency of its

The leaves of all kinds of
are ſucculent for a time, du-
which period the plants take
from the earth; but as ſoon
e ear begins to be formed,
loſe their ſoftneſs, and di-
ı in their attractive power.
radical fibres are then more
ɔuſly employed in extracting
ly particles of the earth, for
ɔuriſhment of the ſeed.

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e Climate of America; *from Dr.* Robertſon's *Hiſtory.*

'HAT moſt diſtinguiſhes America from other parts of rth, is the peculiar tempera- f its climate, and the differ- ent laws to which it is ſubject with reſpect to the diſtribution of heat and cold. We cannot determine preciſely the portion of heat felt in any part of the globe, merely by meaſuring its diſtance from the equator. The climate of a country is affected, in ſome degree, by its elevation above the ſea, by the extent of continent, by the nature of the ſoil, the height of adjacent mountains, and many other circumſtances. The influence of theſe, however, is, from various cauſes, leſs conſiderable in the greater part of the ancient continent; and from knowing the poſition of any country there, we can pronounce with more certainty what will be the warmth of its climate, and the nature of its productions.

The maxims which are founde upon obſervation of our hemiſph will not apply to the other. There, cold predominates. The rigour of the frigid zone extends over half of that which ſhould be temperate by its poſition. Countries where the grape and the fig ſhould ripen, are buried under ſnow one half of the year; and lands ſituated in the ſame parallel with the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual froſts, which almoſt deſtroy the power of vegetation. As we advance to thoſe parts of America which lie in the ſame parallel with provinces of Aſia and Africa, bleſſed with an uniform enjoyment of ſuch genial warmth as is moſt friendly to life and vegetation, the dominion of cold continues to be felt, and winter, though during a ſhort period, often reigns with extreme ſeverity. If we proceed along the American continent into the torrid zone, we ſhall find the cold

prevalent in the New World extending itſelf alſo to this region of the globe, and mitigating the exceſs of its fervour. While the negro on the coaſt of Africa is ſcorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually ſhaded under a canopy of grey clouds, which intercepts the fierce beams of the ſun, without obſtructing his friendly influence. Along the eaſtern coaſt of America, the climate, though more ſimilar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheleſs conſiderably milder than in thoſe countries of Aſia and Africa which lie in the ſame latitude. If from the ſouthern tropic we continue our progreſs to the extremity of the American continent, we meet with frozen ſeas, and countries horrid, barren, and ſcarcely habitable for cold, ſooner than in the north.

Various cauſes combine in rendering the climate of America ſo extremely different from that of the ancient continent. Though the utmoſt extent of America towards the north be not yet diſcovered, we know that it advances nearer to the pole than either Europe or Aſia. The latter have large ſeas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is leſs intenſely cold than that which blows over land in the ſame high latitudes. But in America the land ſtretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and ſpreads out immenſely to the weſt. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with ſnow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind, in paſſing over ſuch an extent of high and frozen land, becomes ſo impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenneſs, which it retains in its progreſs through warmer climates, and is not entirely mitigated until it reach the Gulph of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America, a north-weſterly wind and exceſſive cold are ſynonymous terms. Even in the moſt ſultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a tranſition from heat to cold, no leſs violent than ſudden. To this powerful cauſe we may aſcribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent inroads into the ſouthern provinces in that part of the globe.

Other cauſes, no leſs remarkable, diminiſh the active power of heat in thoſe parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from eaſt to weſt. As this wind holds its courſe acroſs the ancient continent, it arrives at the countries which ſtretch along the weſtern ſhore of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it hath collected from the ſultry plains of Aſia, and the burning ſands in the African deſarts. The coaſt of Africa is, accordingly, the region of the earth which feels the moſt fervent heat, and is expoſed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this ſame wind which brings ſuch an acceſſion of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverſes the Atlantic Ocean before it reaches the American ſhore. It is cooled in its paſſage over this vaſt body of water,

:, and is felt as a refreſhing along the coaſts of Braſil, and na, rendering theſe countries, gh among the warmeſt in Ame- temperate, when compared thoſe which lie oppoſite to in Africa. As this wind ad- es in its courſe acroſs Ameri- t meets with immenſe plains, ed with impenetrable foreſts, cupied by large rivers, marſhes, ſtagnating waters, where it ecover no conſiderable degree at. At length it arrives at, Andes, which run from north ith through the whole conti-

In paſſing over their ele- and frozen ſummits, it is ſo ughly cooled, that the greater of the countries beyond them y feel the ardour to which ſeem expoſed by their ſitua-

In the other provinces of tica, from Tierra Firmè weſt- to the Mexican empire, the of the climate is tempered, in places, by the elevation of and above the ſea, in others, heir extraordinary humidity, n all, by the enormous moun- ſcattered over this tract. The ls of America in the Torrid are either ſmall or moun- us, and are fanned alter- y by refreſhing ſea and land es.

he cauſes of the extraordinary towards the ſouthern limits of ica, and in the ſeas beyond annot be aſcertained in a man- qually ſatisfying. It was long ſed that a vaſt continent, di- iſhed by the name of *Terra alis Incognita*, lay between the ern extremity of America and Antarctic pole. The ſame iples which account for the ordinary degree of cold in the northern regions of America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn, and the adjacent countries. The im- menſe extent of the ſouthern conti- nent, and the large rivers which it poured into the ocean, were men- tioned and admitted by philoſo- phers as cauſes ſufficient to occaſion the unuſual ſenſation of cold, and the ſtill more uncommon appear- ances of frozen ſeas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which ſuch influence was aſcribed, having been ſearch- ed for in vain, and the ſpace which it was ſuppoſed to occupy having been found to be an open ſea, new conjectures muſt be formed with reſpect to the cauſes of a tempera- ture of climate, ſo extremely dif- ferent from that which we expe- rience in countries removed at the ſame diſtance from the oppoſite pole.

Acoſta is the firſt philoſopher, as far as I know, who endeavoured to account for the different degrees of heat in the old and new conti- nents, by the agency of the winds which blow in each. Hiſt. Mo- ral. &c. lib. ii. & iii. M. de Buf- fon adopts this theory, and has not only improved it by new ob- ſervations, but has employed his amazing powers of deſcriptive elo- quence in embelliſhing and placing it in the moſt ſtriking light. Some remarks may be added, which tend to illuſtrate more fully a doctrine of much importance in every in- quiry concerning the temperature of various climates.

When a cold wind blows over land, it muſt in its paſſage rob the ſurface of ſome of its heat. By means of this, the coldneſs of the wind is abated. But if it conti-

nue to blow in the ſame direction, it will come, by degrees, to paſs over a ſurface already cooled, and will ſuffer no longer any abatement of its own keenefs. Thus, as it advances over a large tract of land, it brings on all the ſeverity of intenſe froſt.

Let the ſame wind blow over an extenſive and deep ſea; the ſuperficial water muſt be immediately cooled to a certain degree, and the wind proportionally warmed. But the ſuperficial and colder water becoming ſpecifically heavier than the warmer water below it, deſcends; what is warmer ſupplies its place, which, as it comes to be cooled in its turn, continues to warm the air which paſſes over it, or to diminiſh its cold. This change of the ſuperficial water, and ſucceſſive aſcent of that which is warmer, and conſequent ſucceſſive abatement of coldneſs in the air, is aided by the agitation cauſed in the ſea by the mechanical action of the wind, and alſo by the motion of the tides. This will go on, and the rigour of the wind will continue to diminiſh until the whole water is ſo far cooled, that the water on the ſurface is no longer removed from the action of the wind, faſt enough to hinder it from being arreſted by froſt. Whenever the ſurface freezes, the wind is no longer warmed by the water from below, and it goes on with undiminiſhed cold.

From thoſe principles may be explained the ſeverity of winter froſts in extenſive continents; their mildneſs in ſmall iſlands; and the ſuperior rigour of winter in thoſe parts of North America with which we are beſt acquainted. In the north-weſt parts of Europe, the ſeverity of winter is mitigated by the weſt winds, which uſually blow in the months of November, December, and part of January.

On the other hand, when a warm wind blows over-land, it heats the ſurface, which muſt therefore ceaſe to abate the fervour of the wind. But the ſame wind blowing over water, agitates it, brings up the colder water from below, and thus is continually loſing ſomewhat of its own heat.

But the great power of the ſea to mitigate the heat of the wind or air paſſing over it, proceeds from the following circumſtance, that on account of the tranſparency of the ſea, its ſurface cannot be heated to a great degree by the ſun's rays; whereas the ground, ſubjected to their influence, very ſoon acquires great heat. When, therefore, the wind blows over a torrid continent, it is ſoon raiſed to a heat almoſt intolerable; but during its paſſage over an extenſive ocean, it is gradually cooled; ſo that on its arrival at the fartheſt ſhore, it is again fit for reſpiration.

Thoſe principles will account for the ſultry heats of large continents in the torrid zone; for the mild climate of iſlands in the ſame latitude; and for the ſuperior warmth in ſummer which large continents, ſituated in temperate or colder zones of the earth, enjoy, when compared with that of iſlands. The heat of a climate depends not only upon the immediate effect of the ſun's rays, but on their continued operation, on the effect which they have formerly produced, and which remains for ſome time in the ground. This is the reaſon why the day is warmeſt about two in the afternoon, the ſummer warmeſt about

the middle of July, and the
r coldeſt about the middle of
ry.

e foreſts which cover Ame-
nd hinder the ſun-beams from
g the ground, are a great
of the temperate climate of
quatorial parts. The ground,
eing heated, cannot heat the
and the leaves, which receive
rays intercepted from the
id, have not a maſs of mat-
fficient to abſorb heat enough
is purpoſe. Beſides, it is a
n fact, that the vegetative
r of a plant occaſions a per-
ion from the leaves in propor-
o the heat to which they are
ed; and, from the nature of
ration, this perſpiration pro-
a cold in the leaf proportional
: perſpiration. Thus the ef-
f the leaf in heating the air
ntact with it, is prodigiouſly
ished. For thoſe obſerva-
which throw much additional
on this curious ſubject, I am
ted to my ingenious friend,
Robiſon, profeſſor of natural
ſophy in the univerſity of
burgh.

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e Uſe of fermenting Cataplaſms Mortifications. From Medical nſactions.

BOUT the beginning of July 1770, I was called to ſiſtance of a gentlewoman of town, aged 67 years; ſhe of a thin relaxed habit of and her natural ſtrength decayed: at this time a fication was beginning in the of her great toe, which did ıcceed any other diſorder or nt.—The bark, red wine, opiates, volatile and cordial medicines, were therefore freely adminiſtered. Cataplaſms, with the bark, opiates, and aromatics, were frequently applied externally; vinous and ſpirituous ſtupes were likewiſe uſed; but before the end of September all the toes on the affected foot were periſhed; and the mortification kept advancing ſlowly, with a livid appearance ſpreading as high as the ancle: which gave me very little hopes of her recovery, eſpecially as ſhe grew tired of all medicines.—But as I had ſucceſsfully preſerved dead fleſh for many months by keeping it in fixable, or new generated air, (according to the diſcovery of Dr. Macbride) I determined to try the effect it would have by an external application in this caſe, expecting the putrid effluvia of the gangrened parts (on which there is great reaſon to believe the ſpreading of all gangrenes depend) might be corrected, or in ſome part deſtroyed, by the fixable air. A cataplaſm was therefore directed of ſuch ingredients as I thought beſt adapted to ferment by the addition of ſome yeaſt, as wheat flower, honey, and water; theſe were mixed into a thin paſte, and ſet by the fire till they began to ferment, and were then applied, nearly cold, once a day for ten days, when to my great ſatisfaction the mortification was ſtopped, and the putrid ſtench abated; the cataplaſms were continued till the dead toes became looſe, and were removed, when common digeſtives and defenſative plaſters were ſubſtituted in their place; the ſore began to diſcharge good matter, put up new fleſh, and had a favourable appearance. But accidentally

one night about the end of November ſhe got her dreſſings off, and lay with the ſtump expoſed to the cold air; in the morning I found the ſtump black and dry. I dreſſed it with warm ſoft digeſtives, and covered them with the *Theriaca Londinenſis*: but could not get any diſcharge from it, the mortification having again taken place; and reached in a few days the thick part, or middle of the foot. The ſmell becoming again intolerable, the fermenting cataplaſms were applied as before; and all the lived appearance, which ſpread a hand's breadth above the ankle, was alſo covered with them; and in a few days, I was thoroughly ſatisfied the mortification was again ſtopped; though her appetite was greatly decayed, and her ſtrength much exhauſted. The cataplaſms were continued till the beginning of March 1771, when the dead parts ſeparated about the middle of the metatarſal bones, almoſt as even as if they had been taken off with a ſaw, and were removed with the dreſſings without the loſs of a tea-ſpoon full of of blood. From this time the ſore healed kindly, though remarkably ſlow; ſhe began to recover her appetite and health, which ſhe ſtill retains.

Since the above caſe, I have ſeen the good effects of fixed air, applied nearly in the ſame manner, (adding ſometimes a little *cort. Peruv.* or *tinct. Thebaic.* to the cataplaſms) in a beginning mortification on the leg of an old gentleman, attended with ſwelling and blackneſs about his foot and ankle; with a livid appearance running up the ſide of his leg, and many large veſications upon the foot, which never grew any larger, nor more in number, after the fermenting cataplaſms were applied; but healed, or dried up, ſoon; the ſwelling abated, and the blackneſs diſappeared in a few days; and in a fortnight he was able to walk about, and ſtill continues well.

I have alſo uſed the fermentable cataplaſms, with ſome advantage, to fœtid foul ulcers, where I have ſuſpected the abſorption of the fœtid matter to be prejudicial to health.

Query, Is not fixed air a weak acid?—If ſo, it is not ſurprizing that it ſhould reſiſt putrefaction, as all other acids have been long known to do; but its greater fluidity enabling it to penetrate further into ſoft bodies, and its cauſticity being ſo ſmall, renders it both more efficacious, and more convenient for counteracting putrefaction in living bodies.

The acid nature of this fluid appears from its uniting with *cauſtic calcareous earth*, and producing thoſe cryſtals called dogtooth ſpar.

With *cauſtic fixed alkalies*, it cryſtalizes, and produces *mild fixed alkalies*.

With *cauſtic volatile alkalies*, it cryſtalizes, and produces *mild volatile alkalies*: and from all theſe bodies it is diſpoſſeſſed by ſtronger acids.—It further appears to be an acid, from its diſſolving the iron in chalybeate waters.

I beg leave to add that this fixed or fixable air (if a weak acid) is the moſt univerſal acid in nature, as not only all limeſtone, chalk, marble, and marles, are replete with it; but it makes up a great part

of the compoſition of all animal, and vegetable bodies, and floats in great abundance in the atmoſphere: as appears from the experiments of procuring fixable air from all theſe bodies, by fermentation, or by the addition of ſtronger acids, by burning charcoal, and laſtly from the ſcum which is almoſt inſtantly produced on lime water expoſed to the air, which is a re-production of limeſtone. I am, Gentlemen, with great reſpect,

Your very humble ſervant,

JOHN POWER.

Poleſworth.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Cautions againſt the Burial of Perſons ſuppoſed Dead.

AS the following addreſs relates to a ſubject in which every individual is intereſted, the writer wiſhes to render the knowledge of it as general as poſſible.

The cuſtom of laying out the bodies of the perſons ſuppoſed to be dead as ſoon as reſpiration ceaſes, and the interment of them before the ſigns of putrefaction appear, has been frequently oppoſed by men of learning and humanity in this and other countries. Monſ. Bruhier, in particular, a phyſician of great eminence in Paris, publiſhed a piece, about thirty years ago, intitled, "The Uncertainty of the Signs of Death," in which he clearly proved, from the teſtimonies of various authors, and the atteſtations of unexceptionable witneſſes, that many perſons who have been buried alive, and were providentially diſcovered in that ſtate, had been reſcued from the grave, and enjoyed the pleaſures of ſociety for ſeveral years after.

But, notwithſtanding the numerous and well-authenticated facts of this kind, the cuſtom above mentioned remains in full force. As ſoon as the *ſemblance of death* appears, the chamber of the ſick is deſerted by friends, relatives, and phyſicians; and the *apparently dead*, though frequently *living* body, is committed to the management of an ignorant and unfeeling nurſe, whoſe care extends no farther than laying the limbs ſtraight, and ſecuring her accuſtomed perquiſites. The bed-cloaths are immediately removed, and the body is expoſed to the air, which, when cold, muſt extinguiſh the little ſpark of life that may remain, and which, by a different treatment, might have been kindled into flame *.

I am willing, however, to hope, that, ſince it has of late been ſo frequently demonſtrated, that the vital principle may exiſt, where the characteriſtics of death, except putrefaction, are preſent, the rational part of the community are, at length, diſpoſed to pay ſome attention to this ſubject.

With that hope I ſhall venture to particularize a few of the caſes in which this *fallacious appearance* is moſt like to happen, and point out the mode of treatment, which, according to the beſt of my judgment, ſhould be reſpectively adopted.

In apoplectic and fainting fits,

* Alluding to the motto of the medal given by the Humane Society, "Lateat Scintillula forſan."

and

thoſe ariſing from any vio-
itation of mind, and alſo
pium or *ſpirituous liquors* have
aken in too great a quan-
here is reaſon to believe
appearance of death has
requently miſtaken for the

In theſe caſes, the means
nended by th *Humane Society*
Recovery of Drowned Perſons
be perſevered in for ſeveral
and bleeding, which in
circumſtances has ſometimes
l pernicious, ſhould be uſed
reat caution.

he two latter inſtances it will
hly expedient, with a view
nteracting the ſoporific effects
um and ſpirits, to convey in-
ſtomach, by a proper tube, a
n of tartar emetic, and by
s other means to excite vomit-

m the number of children
d off by convulſions, and the
nty, ariſing from undoubted
that ſome who have, in ap-
pearance, died from that cauſe, have been recovered †, there is the greateſt reaſon for concluding, that many, in conſequence of this diſeaſe, have been prematurely numbered among the dead; and that the fond parent, by neglecting the means of recalling life, has often been the guiltleſs executioner of her own offspring.

To prevent the commiſſion of ſuch dreadful miſtakes, no child, whoſe life has been apparently extinguiſhed by convulſions, ſhould be *conſigned* to the grave till the means of recovery above recommended in apoplexies, &c. have been tried; and, if poſſible, under the direction of ſome ſkilful practitioner of medicine, who may vary them as circumſtances ſhall require.

When fevers ariſe in weak habits, or when the cure of them has been principally attempted by means of depletion, the conſequent debility is often very great, and the patient

ſhould think myſelf extremely culpable, if I neglected this opportunity ioning parents and nurſes againſt the free uſe of Godfrey's Cordial. It ong ſolution of opium, and I am perſuaded that the ſleep it produces oved ne ſleep of death to thouſands of children. When this poiſonous l has been given in a dangerous doſe, and a diſcovery of it is made before wer of ſwallowing is loſt, it will be adviſeable to give the child a tea-ful of ipecacuan wine every quarter of an hour, till the contents of the ch are diſcharged.

† A remarkable fact of this kind may be found in the Ephemerid Medico-Germ. Ann. Oct. the ſubſtance of which is as follows:—A girl, about years of age, who had been for ſome weeks before troubled with a bad , was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit; a phyſician was immediately ſent for, finding that the heart and lungs had ceaſed to perform their functions, ier lips and cheeks were pale, and her temples ſunk, concluded that life irrecoverably loſt. For the ſatisfaction, however, of her afflicted parents, ter was adminiſtered, and her wriſts were chafed with ſpirituous water; o ſign of life appearing, the ſoles of the feet were ordered to be rubbed ſtrong brine; and the friction was continued without intermiſſion three ers of an hour; at the end of which time ſhe began to breathe. The on was then increaſed; two or three deep inſpirations followed; and in a time the child, who was ſuppoſed to be dead by the phyſician, as well as yſtanders, was, to the ſurpriſe of both, and the great joy of her parents, ed to life and health.

ſome-

ſometimes ſinks into a ſtate which bears ſo cloſe an affinity to that of death, that I am afraid it has too often deceived the byſtanders, and induced them to ſend for the undertaker when they ſhould have had recourſe to the ſuccours of medicine.

In ſuch caſes, volatiles, *eau de luce* for example, ſhould be applied to the noſe, rubbed on the temples, and ſprinkled often about the bed; hot flannels, moiſtened with a ſtrong ſolution of camphorated ſpirit, may likewiſe be applied over the breaſt, and renewed every quarter of an hour; and as ſoon as the patient is able to ſwallow, a tea-ſpoonful of the ſtrongeſt cordial ſhould be given every five minutes.

The ſame methods may alſo be uſed with propriety in the ſmall-pox when the puſtules ſink, and death apparently enſues; and likewiſe in any other acute diſeaſes, when the vital functions are ſuſpended from a ſimilar cauſe.

Even in old age, when life ſeems to have been gradually drawing to a cloſe, the *appearances of death* are often fallacious.

"Not many years ſince, a lady in Cornwall, more than eighty years of age, who had been a conſiderable time declining, took to her bed, and in a few days ſeemingly expired in the morning. As ſhe had often deſired not to be buried till ſhe had been two days dead, her requeſt was to have been regularly complied with by her relations. All that ſaw her, looked upon her as dead, and the report was current through the whole place; nay, a gentleman of the town actually wrote to his friend in the iſland of Scilly, that ſhe was deceaſed. But one of thoſe who were paying the laſt kind office of humanity to her remains perceived ſome warmth about the middle of the back, and acquainting her friends with it, they applied a mirror to her mouth; but, after repeated trials, could not obſerve it in the leaſt ſtained; her under-jaw was likewiſe fallen, as the common phraſe is; and, in ſhort, ſhe had every appearance of a dead perſon. All this time ſhe had not been ſtripped or dreſſed, but the windows were opened, as is uſual in the chambers of the deceaſed. In the evening the heat ſeemed to increaſe, and at length ſhe was perceived to breathe."—See Lond. Chron. vol. iv. p. 465.

It was the intention of the writer to publiſh a work upon this ſubject, but as his various avocations will not permit him to carry that deſign into execution, he thought it his duty to throw out the above hints; and if they ſhould be the means of preventing one perſon from being laid out, or, what is more horrible, buried alive, it will afford the writer a pleaſure of the moſt exalted kind, that ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of doing good to his fellow-creatures.

Paſgrave-Place. W. HAWES.

P. S. If that regard be paid to the above addreſs which the ſubject of it ſeems to demand, and any life or lives be ſaved in conſequence of the hints that I have thrown out, the communication of any ſuch inſtances of ſucceſs will be eſteemed a particular favour; as it will afford me the moſt ſolid pleaſure, and be a ſatisfactory evidence that a man who labours to promote the intereſts of humanity will be attended to by the public.

The

*llowing Caſe amongſt a Va-
of others, which have fallen
r the immediate Inſpection of*
Harmant, *a celebrated Phy-
n at* Nancy, *furniſhes us with
rong Proof of the Neceſſity of
Caution recommended above,
h ſo much Humanity and Judge-
t, by Mr.* Hawes.

ECEMBER 23, 1764, I was
ſent for by *M. de Potier*,
it of the royal and military
of St. *Lewis*, &c. at *Nancy*,
ten with the utmoſt expedi-
o his manſion, to attend his
who was dangerouſly ill. It
about *eight* o'clock in the
ng when the meſſenger came
houſe; but as I was not at
, they had recourſe to another
ician. This gentleman judg-
from the appearance of the
it, that it was an apoplectic
e ordered the remedies uſual
ch caſes, but without any ef-

Clyſters of tobacco, with
uintida, made not the leaſt
ſſion. They concluded that
patient was abſolutely dead,
from that moment every re-
was diſcontinued.

was not before *two o'clock* in
fternoon that I was informed
of the invitation in the
ing, or of the ſtate of the pa-

I ran to his aſſiſtance. As
entering the doors, the other
cian happened to meet me,
me the cook was dead, and
every kind of aid had been ad-
ſtred in vain.

his account did not abate my
s to ſuccour the unfortunate
t. I went into the room
e the ſuppoſed corpſe, yet in
was expoſed to the ſight of
ultitude of ſpectators, all of
whom ſeemed affected with the
event.

They were already preparing for
his funeral, I immediately exa-
mined his body with the ſtricteſt
attention; I found his face livid,
and a little ſwollen; the eyes half
open, bright, prominent; the
mouth cloſed, teeth fixed, the neck
enlarged, the belly very much
ſwoln: there was neither pulſe
nor reſpiration.

By theſe different ſymptoms I
concluded immediately that they
were the effect of the vapour of
lighted charcoal. I made enquiry
upon this ſubject of all the do-
meſtics. The kitchen girl inform-
ed me, that he had retired to his
chamber about *eleven* o'clock the
preceding evening, in good health;
that ſhe had carried up, by his
order, a braſier, with charcoal;
that finding he did not make his
appearance in the kitchen at the
uſual hour, ſhe concluded that he
was ſtill aſleep; but perceiving
that it grew late, ſhe went into the
room in order to awaken him, and
then ſhe found him in the ſituation
in which I had ſeen him.

This account confirming my
conjectures, I prepared to admini-
ſter aſſiſtance. I ordered him to be
immediately taken out of the bed
and out of the chamber, and had
him placed naked upon a ſeat in a
court by the ſide of a fountain.
After he was properly fixed, I be-
gan with throwing cold water in
his face by glaſsfuls. I deſired ſe-
veral of the aſſiſtants to follow my
example, but they complied with
reluctance, being prepoſſeſſed that
the man was dead, and that my at-
tempts were fruitleſs.

More than *an hour* elapſed be-
fore the patient had diſcovered any

ſigns

ſigns of ſenſibility. The attendants began to deſpair, and to animate their courage, I aſſured them that in a ſhort time they would perceive their error. This aſſurance, join'd to my entreaties, made them renew the application of the water; they threw it with greater force, and more frequently than before, which ſoon produced a ſlight hickup.

This firſt ſymptom having ſtruck them like a reſurrection, the noiſe thereof was ſoon ſpread throughout the manſion, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction ran to the place; I ordered the adminiſtration of cold water to be continued in their preſence, frequently, and by glaſsfuls. The hiccoughs became ſtronger and more frequent, and I perceived that the teeth began to relax.

I had ordered cylinders of liquorice root to be prepared. I introduced ſome with the utmoſt difficulty between the teeth, to hinder them from fixing again; and we ſoon perceived the efforts of the air attempting to enter the cheſt, and of the cheſt endeavouring to diſtend and contract itſelf.

I ordered Spaniſh ſnuff alſo to be blown into the noſtrils with a view to excite ſneezings, tho' without this effect; but the attendants perceived him to move his head, and give manifeſt ſigns of ſenſation; he moved alſo his right hand and fingers, as if he wiſhed to raiſe them to his noſe. This new indication of his *Reſurrection* gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the company.

The projection of water was continued with vigour, and the frequency of the hiccoughs increaſed proportionably. This remedy excited a ſlight vomiting of naſeous matter. I had already ſpent *three compleat hours* in attempting the recovery, and had advanced no further than to the ſymptoms mentioned above; but they portended a perfect cure. This I intimated to the attendants, and perſevered in the application of the cold water.

The continuance of this ſimple remedy at length procured a vomiting of frothy matter, reſembling ſoap ſuds, to which ſucceeded the moſt violent efforts of the cheſt to relieve itſelf. The body of the patient began to be greatly agitated, and to raiſe itſelf. All the members, and particularly the fingers and toes, became violently contracted. In a word, he uttered a cry which I had preſaged to be the moſt certain ſign of returning life. I redoubled at the ſame time the projection of the water, and this renewal produced a freſh diſcharge of ſaponaceous matter, with new attempts to reſpire. The movements of the body redoubled with ſuch agitation, that they ſeemed to indicate the pain which the patient ſuffered from ſo long a continuance of our method of treatment.

I was perſuaded, by the moſt urgent entreaties, to convey the patient from the open court, where we all experienced the ſevereſt cold, into a warmer place. At firſt I oppoſed their entreaties, but was at length obliged to yield to the requeſts of his relations. He was conveyed into the kitchen; but what I had feared and predicted, came to paſs. The patient was no ſooner conveyed thither, than he

apſed into his former ſtate of ibility. We were obliged to the windows and doors im- ıtely, in order to obtain the :ſt degree of cold poſſible, and the projection of water, ı we fortunately found at

Three hours more were ɔyed in this exerciſe; and be- ı eight and nine o'clock in vening the ſubject began to ıt with violence, and was ſeiz- th a univerſal trembling.

ow conducted myſelf as in the :r caſes, and ordered him to t to bed.

iſited him about half paſt ten :k in the evening, I found him ſtly ſenſible, but his belly diſtended, and his body was l with ſhiverings at intervals. ered a glyſter to be applied, ptiſan of chicken broth with to be given him, and alſo vulnerary mixture, with the r mineralis Hoffmanni. Theſe :ines having appeaſed the lat- mptoms, I learned the next ing that he had paſſed a good . The pulſe was become regular, and the pain in the leſs, as alſo the ſhiverings, there only remained a ſenſa- ɔf fatigue, and a ſmall diſten- ɔf the abdomen, occaſioned by ind.

ıe fourth day our patient find- imſelf radically cured by the nuance of proper remedies, mined to go to the foot of the and return thanks to God reſerving him from being in- l alive; a miſerable event, ı would indubitably have tak- ace, had it not been for the cation of this efficacious re- !

The following Caſe, tranſlated from the French, *and inſerted in the Reports of the Humane Society, cannot be too extenſively publiſhed, as it proves the great Danger, and even Inhumanity, of immediately abandoning new-born Infants when apparently dead, inſtead of aſſiduouſly perſevering in the Trial of every Method that may reſtore them to Life.*

A PUPIL in Midwifry in Manhein, being ſent for to Lampertheim on Good Friday laſt, to a woman in labour, found her in a very weak ſtate in conſequence of an hæmorrhage of 15 days continuance. He delivered her of a boy perfectly formed, but who, though all the means uſual in ſuch caſes were tried, gave no ſigns of life. Fortunately the practitioner recollected, that when he had ſeparated the funis umbilicalis, its artery was filled with blood, from which he concluded, that the death of the child was not occaſioned by the mother's hæmorrhage; for when that is the caſe, the umbilical artery is generally empty and flaccid. This conſideration encouraged him to try the following experiment:

Having placed the child in a bath of warm wine, he applied his mouth to that of the patient, and blew into it, cloſing the noſtrils with the right hand, that the breath might be impelled into the trachea, while, with his left hand, he rubb'd the abdomen; by theſe means producing a kind of artificial reſpiration. He continued this operation during the ſpace of *half an hour*, without perceiving any effect, except that the colour of the

the body became more animated. This ſlight proſpect of ſucceſs made him perſiſt in his endeavours. After ten minutes the infant ſuddenly breathed in a convulſive manner, and uttered a plaintive cry, but without repeating theſe ſymptoms. He now obſerved a ſlight pulſation in the funis umbilicalis, but without any perceptible motion of the thorax. Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, he continued to blow into the mouth of the child, who ſoon gave repeated ſighs, and in a little time the patient's compleat recovery was the reward of theſe aſſiduous attempts in which this gentleman had perſevered during three quarters of an hour.*

Of ſmoky Houſes, occaſioned by Faults in other Parts of the Building, altogether independent of the Structure of the Chimney itſelf.

THE firſt and moſt common defect is a too great cloſeneſs of the room. Smoke is impelled up the chimney by the preſſure of the air entering at the fire-place, and riſing upwards after being rarified by the heat of the fire; but if freſh air is not admitted into the apartments in ſufficient quantities, to ſupply the conſumption by the fire, the room will be quickly exhauſted, and the air in it become as light as the external air at the top of the chimney, ſo that the ſmoke will as readily be diſperſed into the chamber as through the chimney.

In this caſe, if any door or window is opened, ſo as to admit plenty of free air, the ſmoke will be quickly diſpelled, and the proper circulation eſtabliſhed. The ſame effect will be produced, by making a ſmall hole in ſome of the ſides of the room: but unleſs this be done with ſome judgment, it may frequently add to the diſeaſe, as it may concur with ſome of the other cauſes of ſmoky houſes, to be afterwards mentioned.

A better method of remedying this evil would be, to have a ſmall hole made in the wall at the back

* We have inſerted in the Reports of the year 1774, page 70, two caſes of a ſimilar nature, merely as inſtances of the ſucceſs which will ſometimes attend our aſſiduous uſe of ſuitable methods in the caſe of ſtill-born children. For the ſame ends we will alſo ſubjoin the following caſe communicated to us by Dr. Houlſton:

A friend of mine, Mr. Wright Gleave, ſurgeon, in Liverpool, delivered the wife of Mr. Thomas Clarke, ſalt boiler there, of a ſon, Auguſt 21, 1776. This woman had a deformed pelvis, and had not been delivered of her other children (except one at ſeven months) without the help of inſtruments. She now had a laborious, lingering time; but at the end of two days, was delivered naturally. The child's head was much elongated. It had neither reſpiration, pulſation, nor motion; and was judged by all the by-ſtanders to be dead. It remained thus ten minutes at leaſt, though Mr. Gleave had very judiciouſly employed immediately frictions on the cheſt, temples, ſoles of the feet, &c. change of poſture, and inflation of the lungs. After theſe had been perſevered in near a quarter of an hour, ſome pulſation of the heart was perceived; ſoon after, ſome motion, and then a general convulſion came on, which laſted near ten minutes; after which the child cried, and recovered perfectly.

of

chimney, and immediately ıeath it: or a ſmall perfora- ıade in the wall in any other ıient manner; the one end ch ſhould communicate with ːernal air, and the other com- ate with the chamber in any ıear the grate, and as low as poſſible, through which a nt ſupply of air would be ad- ered to the fire, without the ſt inconvenience or trouble.

ıis were practiſed, doors and ws might with ſafety be much cloſer than uſual, and partments rendered equally and comfortable, with a ſmaller quantity of fuel ve uſe at preſent. For as the n the ordinary mode of con- ng chambers, is kept alive conſtant ſucceſſion of cold air the doors, windows, and crannies of the room, ruſhing ds the chimney in all direc- the air of the room, which, cooled by this means, would ıickly heated to a great de- is conſtantly kept cold, in of the ſtrong heat of a blazing which, at the ſame time that rches the parts of our body re moſt expoſed to it, does arm the parts which are turn- m it; and we experience at me time a burning heat and ng cold, which is often pro- e of the moſt diſagreeable . But if the fire were ſup- with air in the manner above- oned, there would be leſs air ı in through the crannies of om, ſo that what was within be ſoon warmed, and conti- ng ſo, even with a ſmall de- of heat.

wever improper this might be eople in perfect health, it : ſurely be of great uſe for thoſe who are in a weakly habit of body; eſpecially if care were taken to carry off the foul air, by having a ſmall tube leading from the upper part of the room to the top of the houſe, through which the air that had been rendered noxious by the ſmoke of candles, or perſpiration, would be conveyed away, and a ſucceſſion of freſh air admitted from the tube near the fire-place to ſupply that want.

If any one ſhould think of adopting this ſpecies of refinement, it is proper he ſhould be warned of the inconveniencies that may attend it, as well as the benefits that may reſult from it. I ſhall therefore be excuſed for pointing theſe out on this occaſion with ſome degree of preciſion.

Perhaps nothing contributes ſo much towards preſerving the health of ſedentary and recluſe perſons, as the fires that are uſually burnt in our apartments; as they perform the part of a perpetual ventilator, which helps to carry off the foul air, that is continually generating by the breath of the company, and burning of the candles; which would ſoon be accumulated in ſuch quantities as to become extremely noxious, were it not for the aid that this affords us in cold climates. —On this account open fires, which are much more chearful, are alſo more conducive to health, than concealed ſtoves, which are employed in ſome cold countries.— We ought therefore to adhere to our own old faſhion, and not be in too much haſte to imitate our frugal neighbours in this particular.

For the ſame reaſon I would by no means adviſe, that the method above deſcribed of feeding the fire with freſh air, ſhould be adopted

without proper precautions. For ſhould our doors and windows be made very cloſe, and theſe pipes for admitting air be left open, the freſh air would be ſo readily admitted by that means, as to keep the air of the room *in æquilibrio* with the external atmoſphere, ſo that little or none would be preſſed in through the crannies at which it at preſent enters; and the perpetual ventilation would thus be ſtopped,—and the foul air be continually retained in the room; which might then indeed be heated at a much ſmaller expence, and more equally, than at preſent, but it would be at the ſame time leſs healthful to the inhabitants.

It would, therefore, by no means be ſafe to introduce the cool air by this contrivance, without at the ſame time opening a vent-hole in the top of the room, by which the foul air might be carried out of the apartment. This might be done by means of a ſmall tube opening into the room, either in or near the ceiling; which might either be carried to the top of the building, or be made to communicate with the external air by a ſmall perforation through the wall at the roof of the room, by means of either of which a proper circulation would be eſtabliſhed, and the foul air be carried off.

For the fire would no ſooner have warmed any particles of air within the room, than theſe would be greatly expanded, and riſe immediately upwards, ſo as to fill the higher parts of the room with rarefied air;—and as other particles would be ſucceſſively heated and rarefied in their turn, by their expanſive force they would preſs upon the ſides of the apartment in every place, ſo as to force the lighteſt particles through the opening left for that purpoſe in the top of the room, by which means the foulest air would be gradually drawn off, without deſcending again into the lower regions, to the annoyance of the company.

By attending to theſe circumſtances, it will appear ſufficiently obvious, that a room which has ſuch a ventilator within itſelf in the roof, will be more ſweet and wholeſome than one in the ordinary fashion.—For although the fire ventilates the under part of the room well enough; yet ſuch particles of air as are rarefied by its action at ſuch a diſtance from it, as to be buoyed upwards beyond the reach of the chimney, when they once riſe above the top of the mantle will be carried directly to the top of the room, where they muſt remain clogged with the foul vapours; having no outlet through which they can iſſue forth to the open air.

To cure this evil, a ſpecies of ventilator has been lately contrived, by fitting a ſmall circular wheel of metal into one of the upper panes of the higheſt window;—which is certainly of ſome utility, unleſs where it is attended with other inconveniencies, which now require to be pointed out.

If a vent-hole is made in the roof of the room, through which the rarefied air may be readily emitted, it muſt follow, that as the air within the room is gradually heated, and thus carried off, ſome cool freſh air muſt inſinuate itſelf into the room to ſupply that deficiency, as well as to keep the fire alive: but if there is no vent for the heated air in the room but through

through the pipe of the chimney, there will be leſs danger that the ſmoke will be drawn from it into the apartment, than if there be another opening made for carrying off that heated air;—ſo that any thing of this ſort muſt have a tendency to diminiſh the draught of the chimney, and may on ſome occaſions produce ſmoke, where it would not have appeared without it.

Every opening, therefore, of the ſort here mentioned, ought to be ſo contrived, as to admit of being ſhut or opened at pleaſure, ſo as that a remedy may be at hand for this diſeaſe whenever it may become troubleſome.—But the wheel-ventilators above alluded to do not admit of this, and are on this account imperfect.

There is no neceſſity for having that opening very large on any occaſion, but it ought to be ſo formed as to admit of being eaſily contracted without being wholly ſhut; which might be beſt effected by having the mouth of it covered with a ſliding ſhutter, like that on the end of a teleſcope, which might be cloſed or opened to any degree at pleaſure.

But if this pipe in the upper part of the room will have ſome tendency *in any caſe* to produce ſmoke, it will be rather in greater danger of occaſioning this, if the freſh air is admitted to the fire by the pipes above deſcribed, than in the ordinary way.—For as the room, as well as the chimney, muſt in this caſe be in a great meaſure ſupplied with freſh air from theſe tubes, there would be ſome danger, that in iſſuing into the room it might draw ſome ſmoke along with it.—This danger, however, it muſt be acknowledged, is but very ſmall, next to nothing,—as all the freſh air that would flow from theſe into the room would iſſue at the under part next the hearth, where there would be no ſmoke.—What ſhould go once through the grate, could never be drawn from the chimney, unleſs by extreme imprudence in allowing too great an opening in the roof of the room.

It would be better, however, on all occaſions to obviate this inconvenience, ſmall as it is, by the following contrivance, which would render our apartments more ſweet, wholeſome,—equally warm in every part, and more agreeable upon the whole, than any other.

Let another opening be made in the ceiling of the room, having a communication with a ſmall pipe that ſhould lead from thence either to the outſide of the wall, or to any other part of the building that might be judged more convenient; where it ſhould be bent, and conducted downwards, till it reached the ground; where it ſhould be left open, to communicate with the external air.—In this ſituation the cool external air would be forced in at the lower opening of the tube, and made to aſcend into the apartment, in proportion to the quantity that eſcaped towards the higher regions by means of the ventilator.—And as that weighty air would no ſooner enter the room than it would tend towards the floor by its own natural gravity, it would gradually mix with the heated air in its deſcent,—become in ſome meaſure warmed by that means, and equally diſperſed through the room, ſo as ſlowly and imperceptibly to reach the candles and the company in the room,

and ſupply them with a ſufficient quantity of freſh and wholeſome air, without the inconveniencies to which the company are ſubjected by the uſual way of admitting freſh air. For, if it enters near the floor of the apartment, it is hurried along in a rapid undivided ſtream towards to the fire-place, and ſtriking upon the legs and inferior parts of the body, affects them with a ſtrong ſenſation of cold. To overcome the effects of this, large fires muſt be kept; by which other parts of the body are warmed to an extraordinary degree, which is productive of moſt of thoſe diſorders that are pernicious to the young, and often prove fatal to the old, during the winter ſeaſon, in theſe cold regions.

Thus might our apartments be kept conſtantly, and moderately, and equably warm, at a moderate expence, without endangering our health on the one hand, by reſpiring a confined, ſtagnant, and putrid air; or, on the other hand, by ſubjecting ourſelves to ſuch danger of catching colds, conſumptions, and rheumatic complaints, by being expoſed to ſuch exceedingly unequal degrees of heat and cold, as are unavoidable where our apartments are ſo open as to admit a ready paſſage to the external air during the winter ſeaſon.

The reader will eaſily perceive, that all that has been here ſaid, has a reference only to thoſe apartments in cold climates and rigorous weather, where fire to warm them becomes neceſſary.—In warmer regions, or during the ſummer ſeaſon, there can be no objection to the wheel ventilator in the window.—It is a ſimple contrivance, and a ſafe and effectual mean of preſerving the air in our apartments ſweet and wholeſome at that ſeaſon.

On the Uſefulneſs of waſhing and rubbing the Stems of Trees; by Mr. Marſham.

I Had for ſeveral years intended to put in practice the celebrated Dr. Hales' advice of waſhing, with that of Mr. Evelyn of rubbing the ſtem of a tree, in order to increaſe its growth; but other avocations prevented me till the laſt ſpring: when, as ſoon as the buds began to ſwell, I waſhed my tree round from the ground to the beginning of the head; viz. between thirteen and fourteen feet in height. This was done firſt with water and a ſtiff ſhoe-bruſh, until the tree was quite cleared of the moſs and dirt: then I only waſhed it with a coarſe flannel. I repeated the waſhing three, four, or five times a week, during all the dry time of the ſpring, and the fore-part of the ſummer; but after the rains were frequent, I very ſeldom waſhed. The unwaſhed tree, whoſe growth I propoſed to compare with it, was (at five feet from the ground) before the laſt year's increaſe, 3 ft. 7 in. $\frac{9}{10}$ths; and in the autumn, after the year's growth was compleated, 3 ft. 9 in. $\frac{1}{10}$th; viz. increaſe 1 in. $\frac{2}{10}$ths. The waſhed tree was laſt ſpring 3 ft. 7 in. $\frac{2}{10}$ths, and in the autumn it was 3 ft. 9 in. $\frac{7}{10}$ths; viz. increaſe 2 in. $\frac{5}{10}$ths, that is, one-tenth of an inch above double the increaſe of the unwaſhed tree. As the difference was ſo great, and as ſome unknown accident might have injured the growth of the unwaſhed tree, I added the year's increaſe

of five other beeches of the
age (viz. all that I had mea-
, and found the aggregate
ſe of the ſix unwaſhed beeches
9 in. $\frac{3}{10}$ths, which, divided
, gives one inch and five-
and an half for the growth
h tree; ſo the gain by waſh-
nine-tenths and an half. To
the experiment fairly, I fixed
o of my largeſt beeches, ſown
41, and tranſplanted into a
in 1749. The waſhed tree
een, from the firſt year, the
t plant till the year 1767,
its rival became and conti-
the largeſt plant, until I be-
waſh the other: therefore I
on the leſs thriving tree as
ireſt trial. The trees were
of the ſame height and
ſpreading a circle of about
feet diameter. I think it
ary to mention theſe circum-
s; for I know by experience,
ſhort and ſpreading tree,
ample room, will increaſe
or three times, and perhaps
mes as much, as a tall ſmall-
l tree of the ſame age, that
near other trees. Thus my
l beech increaſed above ſix
as much as Mr. Drake's
ful beech at Shardeloes,
that tree ſeemed in good
when I ſaw it in 1759 and
But it increaſed only 2 in.
in thoſe ſeven years; which
erhaps be owing to its vaſt
, being ſeventy-four feet
half to the boughs (as the
ight of the ſhire for Suffolk,
hn Rous, told me that Mr.
had informed him) only ſix
nd four inches round, and
a ſmall head, and little
o ſpread.

tton, Oct. 29, 1775.

Directions for making the beſt Compoſition for the Metals of reflecting Teleſcopes, by Mr. John Mudge.

THE perfection of the metal of which the ſpeculum ſhould be made conſiſts in its hardneſs, whiteneſs, and compactneſs; for upon theſe properties the reflective powers and durability of the ſpeculum depend. And firſt of the hardneſs and whiteneſs of the metal. There are various compoſitions recommended in Smith's Optics, all which have however their ſeveral defects. Three parts copper and one part and one-fourth of tin will make, he ſays, a very hard white metal; but it is liable to be porous. This, however, is an imperfection which I ſhall preſently ſhew the method of preventing; but the permanent fault of it, and which I have myſelf experienced, is, that it is not hard enough. The ſpeculum of a reflecting teleſcope ought to have the utmoſt poſſible hardneſs, compatible with its being operated upon by the tool.

It is to be obſerved, that ever ſo ſmall a quantity of tin added to melted copper deſtroys its perfect malleability, and at the ſame time produces a metal whiter and harder than copper. As the quantity of tin is increaſed, ſuppoſe to a fifth or fourth part, the metal becomes whiter, ſtill harder, and conſequently more friable. If the quantity of tin be further increaſed to a third of the whole compoſition, it will then have its utmoſt whiteneſs; but will be rendered at the ſame time ſo exceedingly hard and brittle, that the fineſt waſhed emery upon lead or braſs will not cut it without breaking up its ſurface;

and the common blue ſtones uſed in grinding the ſpeculum, will not touch it. Mr. Jackſon (ſome time ſince dead) a mathematical-inſtrument-maker, and a moſt excellent workman, told me, that the tin was increaſed to the above proportion in his metals; but that they were ſo exceedingly hard, that it coſt him an infinite deal of pains, and a journey of two hundred miles, to find out a ſtone of ſufficient hardneſs to cut it, and whoſe texture at the ſame time was fine enough not to injure its ſurface. I have ſeen ſeveral of his finiſhed metals; they were indeed perfectly hard and white; but the kind of ſtone with which he ground them he kept a ſecret.

After many experiments with various proportions of tin and copper, by gradually increaſing the former, I at laſt found that fourteen ounces and an half of grain-tin to two pounds of good Swediſh copper, made a beautiful white and very hard metal; ſo hard indeed, that the ſtones would but barely cut it, and waſhed emery on braſs or tin but juſt grind the ſurface without breaking it up; whereas the proportion of tin being increaſed by the addition of only another half ounce, the former inconvenience immediately took place. This therefore is the *maximum* in point of hardneſs.

Thus much of the two firſt conſiderations, the hardneſs and whiteneſs of the metal; the next, and indeed the moſt eſſential, property is its compactneſs, or its being without pores.

This compoſition (though complete in the former reſpects) was, as well as Dr. Smith's, ſubject every now and then to be porous; ſometimes, indeed, I ſucceeded in caſting a ſingle metal, or perhaps two or three, without this imperfection; at other times, and moſt frequently indeed, they were attended with this defect, without my being at all able to form a probable conjecture at the cauſe of my ſucceſs or diſappointment. The pores were ſo very ſmall that they were not diſcoverable when the metal had received a good face and figure upon the hones, nor till the laſt and higheſt poliſh had been given; and then it frequently appeared as if duſted over with millions of microſcopic pores, which were exceedingly prejudicial in two reſpects; for firſt, they became in time a lodgment for a moiſture which tarniſhed the ſurface; and ſecondly, on poliſhing the ſpeculum, the putty neceſſarily rounded off the edges of the pores, ſo as to ſpoil a great part of the metal, by the loſs of as much light and ſharpneſs in the image as there were defective points of reflection in the metal.

Beſides the trouble of a great number of experiments, in order to get rid of this miſchief, and to aſcertain the cauſe to which it was owing, there was this additional inconvenience attending it, viz. that the fault was not diſcovered, as was obſerved before, till a great deal of trouble had been taken in grinding and even poliſhing the metal, the whole of which was rendered uſeleſs by the mortifying diſcovery of this defect.

I was extricated at laſt from this difficulty, and in ſome meaſure by accident. Having one day made a great number of experiments, and having melted down all the good copper I had or could procure;

though puzzled and fatigued, ot caring to give it up, I re- ſted that I had ſome metal h was reſerved out of curioſity, vas a part of one of the bells . Andrew's which had been ſt. Expecting, however, very from this groſs and uncertain oſition, I was nevertheleſs de- ned to ſee what could be made by enriching the compoſition a little freſh tin. According- ting a metal with it, it turned erfectly free from pores, and ery reſpect as fine a metal as ſaw.

ould not at firſt conceive to this ſucceſs was owing; but I hit upon the real cauſe of defect, which had given me uch embarraſſment and trou- uring a courſe of near a hun- experiments, and in conſe- e thereof fell upon a method ever after prevented it.

ad hitherto always melted the r firſt, and when it was ſuffi- y fuſed, I uſed to add the pro- nal quantity of tin; and as is the two were mixed, and oria taken off, the metal was d into the moulds. I began ſider that putty was calcined nd ſtrongly ſuſpected, that ceſſive heat which the copper arily undergoes before fuſion, fficient to reduce part of the this ſtate of calcination, therefore might fly off from mpoſition in the form of at the time the metal was l into the flaſks.

on this idea, after I had fur- myſelf with ſome more ſh copper and grain-tin (both I had always before uſed) ted the copper, and having added the tin as uſual to it, cast the whole into an ingot; this was, as I expected, porous. I then melted it again, and as in this mixed ſtate it did not acquire half the heat which was before neceſſary to melt the copper alone, ſo it was not ſufficient to calcine the tin; the ſpeculum was then perfectly cloſe, and free from this fault; nor did I ever after, in a ſingle inſtance, meet with the above-mentioned imperfection.

All that is neceſſary, therefore, to be done to procure a metal which ſhall be white, as hard as it can be wrought, and perfectly compact, is to melt two pounds of Swediſh copper, and when ſo melted, to add fourteen ounces and a half of grain-tin to it; then, having taken off the ſcoria, to caſt it into an ingot. This metal muſt be a ſecond time melted to caſt the ſpeculum; but as it will fuſe in this compound ſtate with a ſmall heat, and therefore will not calcine the tin into putty, it ſhould be poured off as ſoon as it is melted, giving it no more heat than is abſolutely neceſſary. It is to be obſerved, however, that the ſame metal, by frequent melting, loſes ſomething of its hardneſs and whiteneſs; when this is the caſe, it becomes neceſſary to enrich the metal by the addition of a little tin, perhaps in the proportion of half an ounce to a pound. And indeed when the metal is firſt made, if inſtead of adding the fourteen ounces and a half of tin to the two pounds of melted copper, about one ounce of the tin were to be reſerved and added to it in the ſucceeding melting, before it is caſt off into the moulds, the compoſition would be the more beautiful,

tiful, and the grain of it much finer: this I know by experience to be the caſe.

The beſt method for giving the melted metal a good ſurface is this: the moment before it is poured off, throw into the crucible a ſpoonful of charcoal-duſt; immediately after which the metal muſt be ſtirred with a wooden ſpatula, and poured into the moulds

I wiſh I may not be conſidered as tedious in the above details; but as this buſineſs cauſed me a great deal of trouble, I was willing to give ſome account of the means by which I was freed from this difficulty ever after. Perhaps, indeed, the whole of this proceſs may be unneceſſary, as many years ſince, I communicated this compoſition, and I believe at the ſame time the method of preventing the pores, to the late Mr. Peter Collinſon, a member of the Royal Society; and likewiſe two or three years ſince, at the deſire of my brother, to Mr. Michell. Although it be poſſible, therefore, that this method is generally known, yet, as I have frequently of late ſeen ſpecula with this defect, and obſerved metals of ſome of Mr. Short's teleſcopes which are not quite ſo perfect as could be wiſhed (though they are all exquiſitely figured) I was willing by this publication wholly to remove any future embarraſſment of this ſort, and to furniſh workmen with an excellent compoſition for their metals. And would the Royal Society be pleaſed to honour the proceſs with a place in their records, I know of no other method ſo proper to give this, as well as the following information, a general notoriety.

The metal being caſt, there will be no occaſion for the complicated apparatus directed by Dr. Smith, for grinding and poliſhing it. Four tools are all that are neceſſary, viz. the rough grinder to work off the rough face of the metal; a braſs convex grinder, on which the metal is to receive its ſpherical figure; a bed of hones, which is to perfect that figure, and to give the metal a fine ſmooth face; and a concave tool or bruiſer, with which both the braſs grinder, and the hones are to be formed. A poliſher may be conſidered as an additional tool; but as the braſs grinder is uſed for this purpoſe, and its pitchy ſurface is expeditiouſly, and without difficulty formed by the bruiſer, the apparatus is therefore not enlarged.

On the Uſe of Oak Leaves in Hot-Houſes in Preference to Tanner's Bark, by W. Speechly, *Gardener to his Grace the Duke of* Portland.

I Preſume that the leaves of the oak abound with the ſame quality as the bark of the tree, therefore the ſooner they are raked up after they fall from the trees, the better, as that quality will naturally decreaſe during the time they are expoſed to the weather. After being raked into heaps they ſhould immediately be carried to ſome place near the hot-houſes, where they muſt lie to *couch*. I generally fence them round with charcoal-hurdles, or any thing elſe to keep them from being blown about the garden in windy weather. In this place we tread them well, and water them in caſe they happen to have been brought in dry. We make

the heap ſix or ſeven feet in
neſs, covering it over with
atts, or any thing elſe, to
nt the upper leaves from be-
lown away. In a few days
eap will come to a ſtrong
For the firſt year or two
uſed theſe leaves, I did not
iue them in the heat longer
ten days or a fortnight; but
s I diſcovered a conſiderable
venience, as they ſettled ſo
when got into the hot-houſe
n to require a ſupply. Taught
perience, I now let them re-
in the heap for five or ſix
, by which time they are
rly prepared for the hot-
. In getting them into the
)its, if they appear dry, we
them again treading them in
exceedingly well till the pits
ite full. We then cover the
with tan to the thickneſs of
nches, and tread it well till
ırface become ſmooth and
On this we place the pine-
n the manner they are to
beginning with the middle
:ſt, and filling up the ſpaces
:n the pots with tan. In
anner we proceed to the next
l the whole be finiſhed; and
)eration is performed in the
nanner as when tan *only* is

:r this the leaves require no
trouble the whole ſeaſon
h, as they will retain a con-
nd regular heat for twelve
s without either ſtirring or
ɜ; and if I may form a
:nt from their appearance
aken out, (being always en-
l perfect) it is probable they
continue their heat through
ıd year; but as an annual
of leaves is eaſily obtained,
ſuch a trial is hardly worth the
trouble of making.

After this the pines will have no
occaſion to be moved but at the
ſtated times of their management,
viz. at the ſhifting them in their
pots, &c. when at each time a lit-
tle freſh tan ſhould be added to
make up the deficiency ariſing
from the ſettling of the beds; but
this will be inconſiderable, as the
leaves do not ſettle much after their
long *couching*. During the two
firſt years of my practice I did not
uſe any tan, but plunged the pine-
pots into the leaves, and juſt co-
vered the ſurface of the beds, when
finiſhed, with a little ſaw-duſt, to
give it a neatneſs. This method
was attended with one inconve-
nience; for by the caking of the
leaves they ſhrunk from the ſides of
the pots, whereby they became
expoſed to the air, and at the ſame
time the heat of the beds was per-
mitted to eſcape.

Many powerful reaſons may be
given why oak leaves (for I have
not tried any other kinds) are pre-
ferable to tanners bark.

Firſt, They always heat regu-
larly; for during the whole time
that I have uſed them, which is
near ſeven years, I never once knew
of their heating with violence;
and this is ſo frequently the caſe
with tan, that I affirm, and indeed
it is well known to every perſon
converſant in the management of
the hot-houſe, that pines ſuffer
more from this one circumſtance,
than from all the other accidents
put together, inſects excepted.
When this accident happens near
the time of their fruiting, the effect
is ſoon ſeen in the fruit, which al-
ways comes ill ſhaped and exceed-
ingly ſmall. Sometimes there will
be

be little or no fruit at all; therefore gardeners who make uſe of tan *only* for their pines, ſhould be moſt particularly careful to avoid an over heat at that critical ſeaſon——the time of *ſhewing* fruit.

Secondly, The heat of oak leaves is conſtant; whereas tanners bark generally turns cold in a very ſhort time after its furious heat is gone off. This obliges the gardener to give the tan frequent turnings in order to promote its heating. Theſe frequent turnings (not to mention the expence) are attended with the worſt conſequences; for by the continual moving of the pots backwards and forwards, the pines are expoſed to the extremes of heat and cold, whereby their growth is conſiderably retarded; whereas when leaves are uſed, the pines will have no occaſion to be moved but at the times of potting, &c.—The pines have one particular advantage in this undiſturbed ſituation; their roots grow through the bottoms of the pots and matt amongſt the leaves in a ſurprizing manner. From the vigour of the plants, when in this ſituation, it is highly probable that the leaves, even in this ſtate, afford them an uncommon and agreeable nouriſhment.

Thirdly, There is a ſaving in point of expence, which is no inconſiderable object in places where tan cannot be had but from a great diſtance, as is the caſe here, the article of carriage amounting to ten ſhillings for each waggon-load. Indeed, this was the principal reaſon that firſt induced me to make trial of leaves.

My laſt ground of preference is the conſideration that decayed leaves make good manure; whereas rotten tan is experimentally found to be of no value. I have often tried it both on ſand and clay, alſo on wet and dry lands, and never could diſcover, in any of my experiments, that it deſerved the name of a manure; whereas decayed leaves are the richeſt, and, of all others, the moſt ſuitable for a garden. But this muſt only be underſtood of leaves after they have undergone their fermentation which reduces them to a true vegetable mould, in which we experimentally know that the food of plants is contained—but whether that food be *oil*, *mucilage*, or *ſalt*, or a combination of all three, I leave to philoſophers to determine. This black mould is, of all others, the moſt proper to mix with compoſt earth, and I uſe it in general for pines, and almoſt for every thing that grows in pots. For flowers it is moſt excellent. The remainder of this vegetable mould may be employed in manuring the quarters of the kitchen-garden, for which purpoſe it is highly uſeful.

Leaves mixed with dung make excellent hot-beds—and I find that beds compounded in this manner preſerve their heat much longer than when made entirely with dung. In both caſes the application of leaves will be a conſiderable ſaving of dung, a circumſtance very agreeable, as it will be the means of preventing the conteſts frequently obſerved in large families between the ſuperintendant of the gardens and the directors of the huſbandry.

Welbeck,
Feb. 20, 1776. W. SPEECHLY.

Uſeful

ul Hints for learning to Swim.
r Benjamin Franklin, *LL.D.*
. R. S. In a Letter to a Friend.

Dear Sir,

CANNOT be of opinion with you, that it is too late in life you to learn to ſwim; the river the bottom of your garden, ds a moſt convenient place for purpoſe. And, as your new loyment requires your being n on the water, of which you ſuch a dread, I think you ld do well to make the trial; ing being ſo likely to remove e apprehenſions, as the conſneſs of an ability to ſwim to ſhore in caſe of an accident, or pporting yourſelf in the water a boat could come to take you

do not know how far corks or lders may be uſeful in learning wim, never ſeen much of Poſſibly they may of ſupporting the e learning what , or that m nd ſtrikin hat is nec ſſive n ſwimm confid ter to

ſhore, and throw an egg into the water, between you and the ſhore; it will ſink to the bottom, and be eaſily ſeen there, as your water is clear. It muſt lie in the water ſo deep as that you cannot reach it to take it up but by diving for it. To encourage yourſelf in order to do this, reflect that your progreſs will be from deeper to ſhallower water, and that at any time you may, by bringing your legs under you, and ſtanding on the bottom, raiſe your head far above the water. Then plunge under it with your eyes open, throwing yourſelf towards the egg, and endeavouring, by the action of your hands and feet againſt the water, to get forward till within reach of it. In this attempt you will find that the water buoys you up againſt your inclination; that it is not ſo eaſy a thing to ſink as you imagined; that you cannot, but by active force, get down to the egg. Thus you feel the power of the water to ſupport you, and learn to confide in that power; while your endeavours to overcome it, and to reach egg, teach you the manner of ing on the water with your feet hands, which action is alſo uſed in ſwimming to ſupport head higher above water, or forward through it.

your having the neceſſary preſence of mind to recollect that poſture, and the directions I gave you relating to it. The ſurpriſe may put all out of your mind. For, though we value ourſelves on being reaſonable knowing creatures, reaſon and knowledge ſeem, on ſuch occaſions, to be of little uſe to us: and the brutes, to whom we allow ſcarce a glimmering of either, appear to have the advantage of us.

I will, however, take this opportunity of repeating thoſe particulars to you, which I mentioned in our laſt converſation, as, by peruſing them at your leiſure, you may poſſibly imprint them ſo in your memory, as on occaſion to be of ſome uſe to you.

Firſt, that, though the legs, arms, and head of a human body, being ſolid parts, are ſpecifically ſomewhat heavier than freſh water, yet the trunk, particularly the upper part, from its hollowneſs, is ſo much lighter than water, as that the whole of the body, taken together, is too light to ſink wholly under water, but ſome part will remain above, until the lungs become filled with water; which happens from drawing water into them inſtead of air, when a perſon, in the fright, attempts breathing, while the mouth and noſtrils are under water.

2dly, That the legs and arms are ſpecifically lighter than ſalt-water, and will be ſupported by it; ſo that a human body would not ſink in ſalt-water, though the lungs were filled as above, but from the greater ſpecific gravity of the head.

3dly, That therefore a perſon throwing himſelf on his back in ſalt water, and extending his arms, may eaſily lie ſo as to keep his mouth and noſtrils free for breathing; and, by a ſmall motion of his hands, may prevent turning, if he ſhould perceive any tendency to it.

4thly, That, in freſh water, if a man throws himſelf on his back, near the ſurface, he cannot long continue in that ſituation, but by a proper action of his hands on the water. If he uſes no ſuch action, the legs and lower part of the body will gradually ſink till he comes into an upright poſition, in which he will continue ſuſpended, the hollow of the breaſt keeping the head uppermoſt.

5thly, But if in this erect poſition the head is kept upright above the ſhoulders, as when we ſtand on the ground, the immerſion will, by the weight of that part of the head that is out of water, reach above the mouth and noſtrils, perhaps a little above the eyes, ſo that a man cannot long remain ſuſpended in water with his head in that poſition.

6thly, The body continued ſuſpended as before, and upright, if the head be leaned quite back, ſo that the face looks upwards, all the back part of the head being then under water, and its weight conſequently in a great meaſure ſupported by it, the face will remain above water quite free for breathing, will riſe an inch higher every inſpiration, and ſink as much every expiration, but never ſo low as that the water may come over the mouth.

7thly, If therefore a perſon, unacquainted with ſwimming, and falling accidentally into the water, could have preſence of mind ſufficient

o avoid ſtruggling and plung-
nd to let the body take this
l poſition, he might conti-
ng ſafe from drowning, till
s help would come. For,
he cloaths, their additional
t, while immerſed, is very
derable, the water ſupport-
; though, when he comes
the water, he would find
very heavy indeed.
, as I ſaid before, I would
viſe you or any one to de-
on having this preſence of
on ſuch an occaſion, but
fairly to ſwim, as I wiſh all
were taught to do in their
; they would, on many oc-
ces, be the ſafer for having
that ſkill, and on many more the happier, as freer from painful apprehenſions of danger, to ſay nothing of the enjoyment in ſo delightful and wholeſome an exerciſe. Soldiers particularly ſhould, methinks, all be taught to ſwim; it might be of frequent uſe either in ſurprizing an enemy, or ſaving themſelves. And, if I had now boys to educate, I ſhould prefer thoſe ſchools (other things being equal) where an opportunity was afforded for acquiring ſo advantageous an art, which, once learnt, is never forgotten. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

An Account of the Events produced in England, *by the Grant of the Kingdom of* Sicily, *to Prince* Edmund, *Second Son of King* Henry *the Third. By* Thomas Aſtle, *Eſq.*

THE grant of the kingdom of Sicily by Pope Innocent the Fourth to Prince Edmund, will be found upon enquiry to have produced the greateſt events in their conſequences, that ever appeared in the annals of England. Amongſt others, the aſſociation of the barons againſt King Henry the Third; the appointing conſervators of the peace in the ſeveral counties; and the ſettling the democratical part of our conſtitution upon a permanent baſis, by Simon Montfort, Earl of Leiceſter, whilſt the king was his priſoner.

As the king's wars with his barons have not been generally attributed to his connections with Sicily, and foreign hiſtorians being almoſt ſilent upon this head, I flatter myſelf that an account of this tranſaction may be acceptable to the ſociety.

The emperor Frederick, who died in 1250, by his will ſhared his kingdoms amongſt his children. He gave the Iſle of Sicily to his ſon Henry, whom he had by his third wife Iſabella of England, ſiſter to King Henry the Third. But the Emperor Conrade the Fourth, his ſucceſſor, being at war with Pope Innocent the Fourth, that Pontiff attempted to ſeize upon Sicily: and, apprehending that this attempt might be attended with great expence; he endeavoured to perſuade Richard Earl of Cornwall, third brother to King Henry the Third, to accept of the crown of Sicily; flattering himſelf, that the earl's immenſe wealth would enable him to ſupport his military operations: but Richard, being a prince of great œconomy, declined the offer. The Pope afterwards offered the crown of the Two Sicilies to King Henry the Third, who refuſed the preſent; being unwilling to deprive his nephew Henry of his kingdom. However, Conrade, having put his brother Henry to death, and made himſelf maſter of Sicily, was in the year 1253 poiſoned, as is ſuppoſed, by his baſtard-brother Manfred, who uſurped the throne of that kingdom. Hereupon Pope Innocent the IVth, improving the opportunity, made himſelf maſter of Naples; but Conradine, the ſon of the late emperor, continuing the war, the Pope found himſelf unable to maintain the army which he had ſent to Naples. In this exigency he applied once more to the

ing of England, and offered he crown of Sicily for his l ſon Edmund; obſerving, as his nephew Henry was there was no further room s ſcruples.

nry was weak enough to ac- the offer, and not only ſent ope all the money which he borrow or extort from his ts, but was alſo ſo indiſcreet, engage for the payment of all ms which the Pope might w for the placing Prince Ed- upon the throne of Sicily. Pope, the better to carry on leſigns, and to amuſe and the king, who was become dingly fond of this Sicilian ction, ſent over into England t his notary, with inſtruc- to grant the kingdom of Si- to Prince Edmund and his

e Pontiff, finding that Henry ſo compleatly fallen into his , ſpared not the king's purſe, lrew away his money ſo faſt, his ordinary revenue could poſſibly anſwer the expence. put him upon various me- of obtaining money from his le, which rendered him ex- ngly odious to them; but he ſo infatuated with the hopes quiring a kingdom for his that he diſregarded their com- ts. Notwithſtanding Pope cent was very ſenſible that is out of the king's power to rm his engagements, he aſſiſted with his apoſtolical authority rrowing and ſqueezing money the clergy as well as from laity; and when Henry was le to ſatisfy his demands, the threatened to give the crown cily to ſome other prince; but, his forces being defeated by thoſe of Manfred between Troya and Foggia in the year 1254, he ſoon after died, as it is ſaid, of vexation. His ſucceſſor Alexander the Fourth, at a great expence, carried on the war againſt Manfred; who, having defeated the forces of his Holineſs near Nocera, was crowned king of the Two Sicilies.

Pope Alexander practiſed the ſame arts as his predeceſſor upon the king of England, who, being ignorant of what had happened in Italy, was made the dupe of this deſigning Pontiff. And he, the better to conceal his intended impoſitions upon Henry, ſent the biſhop of Bononia to London with a bull, confirming his predeceſſor's grant of the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmund, upon the following conditions, viz.

That Edmund ſhould perform liege homage to the Pope.

That Sicily ſhould be no longer divided; but that the two parts ſhould be under the government of one and the ſame king.

That the king ſhould make the Pope every year an acknowledgement of two thouſand ounces of *pure gold*.

That he ſhould ſend three hundred horſe for three months to ſerve the church in caſe of need.

That the churches of Sicily ſhould enjoy their liberties, and that the Pope ſhould quietly poſſeſs his rights to thoſe churches.

That Edmund and his ſucceſſors, when they paid their homage, ſhould ſwear that they would never conſent to be choſen emperors, on pain of loſing their crown, and being excommunicated.

That the church ſhould keep poſſeſ-

poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of Benevento.

That Edmund, when he came to the age of fifteen, ſhould perform his homage in perſon; and until then the king his father ſhould pay it for him. (The form of the homage is inſerted in the inſtrument.)

That it ſhould be at the Pope's choice, whether he would have homage paid him by Edmund and his ſucceſſors in perſon or by proxy. And,

That Edmund ſhould confirm and maintain the grants made by his predeceſſors to the family of *Hoemburch*.

Beſides the above conditions, there were many other conventions and inſtruments for putting Edmund into poſſeſſion of the kingdom; ſeveral of which may be found in the Foedera; and many more are extant upon the patent, clauſe, and charter rolls.

About the end of October, 1255, the ceremony of inveſtiture was performed at London by the biſhop of Bononia, in the preſence of the king and a numerous aſſembly of great men, by the ſymbol of a ring which the Pope had ſent for that purpoſe. The poor king wept for joy at this ceremony, and ſent the Pope immediately afterwards fifty thouſand marks, and bound himſelf to ſend two hundred thouſand more within a ſtated time; upon which account, the Pope granted the king the tenths of the revenues of the clergy.

Although the king's flatterers congratulated him upon this augmentation of glory, there were wiſer people who were grieved to ſee their ſovereign ſo great a dupe to the Pope; and perceived that all the ready-money in the kingdom was not ſufficient to bring about the undertaking in which he was embarked. In ſhort, this Sicilian connection was become exceedingly unpopular, and the buſineſs grew more and more alarming. However, Henry being preſſed by the Pope, was obliged to call a parliament, for ſupplies; and he, to avoid oppoſition, omitted ſending writs to the refractory barons. In this parliament, the king introduced his ſon cloathed in the Apulian habit, and made a ſpeech, wherein he demanded large ſupplies for placing him upon the throne of Sicily; but the barons, being ſenſible of the ridiculous cheat impoſed by the Pope, determined not to laviſh the treaſure of the kingdom upon ſuch a chimerical project, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the king's demands; and aſſigned the following reaſons for their refuſal:

1. The great diſtance of that kingdom from England.

2. The difficulties of ſecuring a free paſſage through the territories of powers at enmity with the king of England, and perhaps favourers of his adverſary.

3. Manfred's being in poſſeſſion of Labor *(Laboris)* and other places through which the communication between the ſeveral parts of the kingdom is uſually carried on.

4. The ſtrength of the prince (Manfred) in the kingdom.

5. The alliance actually ſubſiſting between that prince, the natives of Apulia, and the inhabitants of the adjacent countries.

6. Manfred's being in poſſeſſion of moſt of the cities, caſtles, and fortreſſes, of the kingdom.

7. The

The great riches which that
: daily received from thence.
The immenſe expence al-
incurred by the king with-
ny advantages gained in re-

The exceſſive ſums requiſite
ſcharging the debts then due,
ſo for defraying the expences
ince Edmund's journey, and
ıg him in quiet poſſeſſion of
:ingdom; all which would
nt to more money than the
: kingdom of England could
ce.

The deſtruction and impo-
ment of England, which muſt
ıe conſequence of the ſeveral
frequent iters or circuits of
ıſtices, and of a variety of
tions, ſeizures, and other op-
ons.

. The ſcantineſs of the king's
iis ſon's treaſure, and the po-
of the Engliſh as well clergy
ty.

. The troubles prevailing in
ony, Ireland, and Scotland.

. The hoſtile invaſion of Eng-
by the Welch, in order to
out the natives by force of

. The diminution of the pow-
: England in reſpect to its
:ellors, wealth, and people,
h the departure of the Earl of
wall muſt occaſion.

. The encouragement it would
to the King of France, and
: neighbouring princes, but
: eſpecially to ſuch as former-
ɔſſeſſed lands in England, to
k that kingdom, ſo ſoon as
ıffairs of Sicily had drained it
nen, councellors, arms, and
ey.

ɔ. The reſolutions they had
n not only to refuſe giving

their aſſent to the king's taking upon himſelf the burthen of this buſineſs, leſt it ſhould be ſurmiſed that they conſented to his being betrayed or delivered into the hands of his enemies; but totally to decline being concerned in the buſineſs aforeſaid jointly with the king; and that as well for the before-mentioned reaſons, as on account of the immoderate and uncertain expence wherewith it muſt be attended, and which could not be raiſed.

Laſtly, The difficult and heavy terms required in caſe the buſineſs ſhould be undertaken, and which might occaſion the king's loſs of his right to that kingdom after infinite trouble and expence in order to obtain it.

In this extremity the King and the Pope united in oppreſſing the people; the king iſſued a proclamation, commanding all that were worth 15*l. per annum* in land to take the order of knighthood, or to pay a certain ſum: he alſo took a tallage of 500 marks from the citizens of London, and his Holineſs ſent Ruſſand his legate into England to extort money; for which purpoſe he ſummoned an aſſembly of the biſhops and abbots, whom he acquainted with the Pope's and the King's pleaſure. The demands of the legate were ſo exorbitant, that they were received by the aſſembly with the greateſt ſurprize and indignation. The Biſhop of Worceſter declared roundly; that he would loſe his life rather than comply. The Biſhop of London ſaid, that if the mitre was taken off his head, he would clap on an helmet in its place. The legate was no leſs violent; and, in the end, the biſhops and abbots

being threatened with excommunication, were obliged to ſubmit. It ſeems, however, that ſome of the prelates did not comply with the Pope's demands; for, on the 10th of the kalends of October, 1256, he iſſued a bull, whereby he excommunicated all the prelates who had not paid their tenths. Nor did his Holineſs ſtop here; for he borrowed, from ſeveral Italian merchants, in King Henry's name, 135,540 marks; and, to diſcharge theſe debts, he cauſed obligatory notes to be drawn upon the biſhops and abbots in England, which they at firſt refuſed to pay, but, after ſeveral ſtruggles, they agreed to repay theſe ſums; and by a bull, dated the 5th of the kalends of October, 1256, he ordered a ſubſidy to be levied upon the clergy of Scotland for the payment of the debt contracted by King Henry for the affairs of Sicily.

Upon the 20th of the nones of October, the Pope iſſued a bull, allowing the king ſix months time for the payment of the debt to him; and ordered the king to ſend an army into Sicily upon pain of excommunication and interdict. In ſhort, the demands of the Pope were intolerable, and he preſſed the king continually to ſend him money and troops to Italy; both of which, the parliament, convened for that purpoſe, abſolutely refuſed; and returned for anſwer to the king's demands, that he had unadviſedly accepted the kingdom of Sicily from the Pope without the counſel of his nobles, unapriſing their deliberation and wiſdom; that he ought to have been inſtructed by the example of his brother, who had rejected the offer; that many difficulties would attend the conqueſt of a country ſo great a diſtance from England; that the ſincerity of the Pope was much to be doubted; that the Apulians were a moſt treacherous people, who poiſoned their relations; and concluded by declaring, that they neither could nor would longer bear with ſuch extortions and oppreſſions. At length the king adjourned the parliament to Oxford; and agreed, that the government ſhould be reformed and put into the hands of twenty-four commiſſioners, who formed the ſix famous articles, called the Proviſions or Statutes of Oxford. The barons, before they broke up, agreed upon an oath of aſſociation, whereby they obliged themſelves to maintain theſe proviſions with their lives and fortunes; and the city of London ſoon afterwards entered into the aſſociation. The king, being deprived of great part of his power by theſe Proviſions, was abſolved by Pope Urban the Fourth from his oath which he had taken to obſerve theſe ſtatutes; whereupon he declared to the parliament at London, that he would not be longer bound by them. He took poſſeſſion of the Tower, and diſmiſſed by proclamation all the officers who had been appointed by the twenty-four commiſſioners, and nominated others in their room. The barons, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts for an accommodation, had recourſe to arms. The Earl of Leiceſter, who was at the head of the confederates, having taken the king priſoner at the battle of Lewes, obliged him to iſſue ſuch mandates as he thought proper. All the officers of the crown and of the houſehold were named by

earl; and the whole authority, ell as arms, of the ſtate, were ed in his hands. He inſtitut- each county officers, to whom given the title of conſervators he peace, and inveſted them new and arbitrary powers. ie body of each commiſſion ap- ing the conſervators of the e, there was a precept to every hem, to ſend four knights ich county, to be choſen by iſſent of that county, *for the e county*, to meet the king at lon upon the octaves of the Trinity then next enſuing. e commiſſions bear date the f June, 48 Henry III. A. D. . The parliament met accor- y, and approved of the new of government formed by the is.

iceſter, being in the zenith s power, cauſed writs to be in the king's name, for a parliament to meet at London e octaves of St. Hilary. To parliament only twenty-three temporal barons which were s party, and a great number cleſiaſtics, who were devoted s intereſt, were ſummoned; the better to increaſe and to advantage his popularity, ſed general writs to be ſent ſheriff of each county, to re- two knights for each ſhire, or each borough two burgeſ- ſit in parliament.

has been aſſerted by Dr. , Mr. Hume, Mr. Whitaker, thers, that this was the firſt that the cities and boroughs eputies to repreſent them in ment; which opinions have controverted by Mr. Petit, Tyrrel, Mr. Hody, and the ord Lyttelton. But, without entering into this conteſt, it may be remarked, that, ſince the time of the Earl of Leiceſter's adminiſtration, the right of the citizens and burgeſſes to ſit in parliament hath never been queſtioned; although the commons were not regularly ſummoned to parliament for many years afterwards.

It may not be improper to obſerve, that Pope Urban the Fourth, by his bull dated 5 kall. Aug. 1263, revoked the grant of Sicily to Prince Edmund; and his ſucceſſor, Pope Clement the Fourth, granted the ſame to Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis King of France. Upon the 6th of June, 1265, the king, whilſt he was in Leiceſter's power, iſſued a commiſſion to ſeveral perſons therein named, to renounce the kingdom of Sicily in the name and on the behalf of him and his ſon Edmund; and Leiceſter afterwards cauſed that renunciation to be notified to the Pope by a letter from the king. Indeed, that earl was obliged in honour to take theſe ſteps, as he and ſeveral of his adherents had bound themſelves by an oath not to make peace with the king until he had renounced his pretenſions to the kingdom of Sicily. But Prince Edmund had ample amends for the loſs of that kingdom; for, upon the 4th of Auguſt, 1265, his brother Prince Edward, having defeated Leiceſter and his adherents at the battle of Eveſham, the immenſe eſtates of that earl, together with thoſe of Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, John of Monmouth, and others, were given to Prince Edmund, who was created Earl of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, Derby, and Campaigne. Theſe vaſt poſſeſſions laid the foundation of

the future greatneſs of the houſe of Lancaſter; the power and influence of which increaſed to ſuch a heighth, that Henry of Bolingbrook, being too powerful for a ſubject, depoſed his couſin-german King Richard II, and mounted the throne of this kingdom. And thus, in the perſon of Prince Edmund, were originally founded the great contentions which long ſubſiſted between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter.

The Ceremonial of making the King's Bed. By Mr. Brooke, *of the Herald's College, F. S. A.*

THIS account is extracted from an original manuſcript, elegantly written, beautifully illuminated, and richly bound, which was ſome time in the library of Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl-marſhal of England, to whom it came by deſcent from Thomas the great Duke of Norfolk, beheaded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; who married Mary daughter and coheir of Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, lord-chamberlain to King Henry the VIIIth. It contains the whole duty of the lord-chamberlain, and of the officers in his department, is the original copy kept for the information of that earl, and had been compiled by order of, and approved by the king himſelf in council.

Herald's College,
Jan. 15, 1776. I. C. BROOKE, R. C.

" The oolde ordre of makyng the kynges bedd, not to be uſed nor done, but as hys grace woll comaund and appoynte from tyme to tyme hereafter.

Furſte a groome or a page to take a torche & to goo to the warderobe of the kynges bedd, & bryng theym of the warderobe with the kynges ſtuff unto the chambr for makyng of the ſame bedde. ——Where as aught to be a gentylman-uſher, iiij yomen of the chambr for to make the ſame bedde. The groome to ſtande at the bedds feete with his torche. ——They of the warderobe opennyng the kynges ſtuff of hys bedde upon a fayre ſheete bytween the ſayde groome & the bedds fote, iij yomen or two at the leſte in every ſyde of the bedde. The gentylman uſher and parte commaundyng theym what they ſhall doo.——A yoman with a dagger to ſearche the ſtrawe of the kynges bedde that there be none untreuth therin. —— And this yoman to caſte up the bedde of downe upon that, & oon of theym to tomble over yt for the ſerche thereof. Then they to bete and tufte the ſayde bedde, & to laye oon then the bolſter without touchyng of the bedde, where as it aught to lye. Then they of the warderobe to delyver theym a fuſtyan takyng the ſaye thereof. All theys yomen to laye theyr hands theroon at oones, that they touch not the bedde, tyll yt be layed as it ſhoulde be by the comaundement of the Uſſher.—— And ſo the furſte ſheet in lyke wyſe, and then to truſſe in both ſheete & fuſtyan rownde about the bedde of downe. The warderoper to delyver the ſecond ſheete unto two yomen, they to croſſe it over theyre arme, and to ſtryke the bedde as the Uſſher ſhall more playnly ſheweun to theym. Then every

every yoman layeing hande upon the ſheete to laye the ſame ſheete upon the bedde. And ſo the other fuſtyan upon or ij with ſuche coverynge as ſhall content the kynge. Thus doon the ij yomen next to the bedde to laye down agene the overmore fuſtyan, the yomen of the warderobe delyverynge theym a pane ſheete, the ſayde yoman therewythall to cover the ſayde bedde: and ſo then to laye down the overmoſt ſheete from the beddes heed. And then the ſayd ij yomen to laye all the overmoſt clothes of a quarter of the bedde. Then the warderoper to delyver unto theym ſuch pyllowes as ſhall pleaſe the kynge. The ſayd yoman to laye theym upon the bolſter and the heed ſheet with whych the ſayde yoman ſhall cover the ſayd pyllowes. And ſo to truſſe the endes of the ſaid ſheete under every end of the bolſter. And then the ſayd warderoper to delyver unto them ij lytle ſmall pyllowes wherwythall the ſquyres for the bodye or gentylman uſſher ſhall give the ſaye to the warderoper, and to the yoman whyche have layde on hande upon the ſayd bedde. And then the ſayd ij yomen to laye upon the ſayde bedde toward the bolſter as yt was bifore. They makyng a croſſe and kiſſynge yt where there handes were. Then ij yomen next to the feete to make the feers, as the uſſher ſhall teche theym. And ſo then every of them flicke up the aungell about the bedde, and to lette downe the corteyns of the ſayd bedde or ſparver.

Item, a ſquyer for the bodye or gentylman-uſſher aught to ſett the kynges ſword at hys beddes heede.

Item, a ſquyer for the bodye aught to charge a ſecret groome or page to have the kepynge of the ſayde bedde with a lyght unto the tyme the kynge be diſpoſed to goo to yt.

Item, a groome or page aught to take a torche whyle the bedde ys yn makyng to feche a loof of brede, a pott with ale, a pott wyth wine for theym that maketh the bedde, and every man.

Item, the gentlyman-uſſher aught to forbede that no manner of man do ſett eny dyſſhe uppon the kynge's bedde for fere of hurtyng of the kynge's ryche counterpoynt that lyeth therupon. And that the ſayd uſſher take goode heede, that noo man wipe or rubbe their hands uppon none arras of the kynges, wherby they myght bee hurted, in the chambr where the kynge ys ſpecially, and in all other."

In a former Volume we gave our Readers an Account of the Objections made by an anonymous Writer to Mr. Bryant's *Explanation of the celebrated* Apamean *Medal, together with Mr.* Bryant's *Anſwer. As the Ground of that Diſpute is now conſiderably changed by the Authenticity of the Medal itſelf being queſtioned, the following Obſervations by the learned Preſident of the Society of Antiquarians may not be unacceptable to our Readers.*

THE very learned and ingenious Mr. Bryant having directed the attention of the public to the Apamean medal, I hope it will not be thought an unacceptable or a uſeleſs attempt, to clear up ſome points relative to that coin; and to enquire into the proofs of authenticity, that the le-

of antiquity which appear on Mr. Crofts's coin. The third is in Dr. Hunter's cabinet, and (either on purpoſe, or by accident) has been broken into three or four parts, but is joined and holden together in a rim of braſs. It bears the moſt exact reſemblance to the other two, except in point of preſervation. The worthy poſſeſſors of theſe medals, who ſo obligingly favoured me with a ſight of them, will not be diſpleaſed, I hope, with my declaring from the moſt thorough conviction (and poſſibly not differing from them in opinion), that all three coins are ſpurious, and ſeem to have been caſt in the ſame mould.

From theſe facts it ſhould follow, that the Ottoboni and Chigi medaillons are the only *genuine* pieces extant of Philip *with this reverſe*. Of the latter we know nothing except the name: but the former has ſtood the examination of medalifts, is ſupported by the authority of Vaillant, and may have given birth to the ſeveral ſpurious coins which perhaps were caſt in imitation of it. For, whatever may be the real hiſtory repreſented on this medaillon, the ark ſwimming on the waters, the two perſons in it, the dove with the branch, and the word NΩK on the ark, ſo little different from NΩF, might have ſuggeſted the firſt hint, and have been the great inducement to the falſifiers of coins to give importance and rarity to a genuine medaillon of this impreſſion, by changing the word NEΩK into NΩE. Alterations more bold and difficult have been frequently practiſed to impoſe upon collectors; and the deceit of changing a few letters only on a genuine coin, is much more excuſable than fabricating a falſe one, eſpecially if it is formed without an archetype, and has no other foundation but the fancy of the maker. The Italians, who are very converſant in this kind of manufacture, conſider it as a venial ſin, and the Abbé Venuti, ſpeaking of the Florentine coin, ſuppoſes the word NΩE to have been formed on this, and on all the other genuine medals of this impreſſion, by an operation which he calls *poliſhing the coin*, as if repairing and falſifying were ſynonymous terms. The paſſage, however, to which I refer, confirms what has been before advanced concerning the legend of this medal.

Though this was manifeſtly the moſt eaſy and natural method of new modelling the coin in queſtion, yet it is ſomewhat remarkable, that no *genuine medal* of Philip ſo altered exiſts in any collection. Poſſibly its extreme rarity may have prevented the fabricators from trying this experiment on it; for the fraud appears to have been uniformly carried on (as is evident from the above-mentioned ſpecimens), by caſting new medals, not by repairing old ones; ſo, that on the whole we may ſubſcribe to Gori's opinion with which he concludes his diſſertation on this coin:

"Profecto neminem fore arbitror, qui turbatis corruptiſque hoc loci numiſmatis credere velit, in arcâ ſcriptum nomen NΩE."

It is rather unfortunate, that one of Falconeri's engravings ſhould repreſent a falſe medal, and the other miſrepreſent a true one; for we may allow the genuineneſs of Severus's coin, which is now in the French

nuine, and the difference was ſuppoſed to ariſe only from a miſtake in the mint-maſter, the error would more juſtly have been imputed to the Medicean coin, from the improbability of its bearing the name of Noah; whereas the word ΝΕΩΚ on the other coin, expreſſed a title commonly borne by the Aſiatic cities, and frequently expreſſed on their medals.

It happens unfortunately, that the coin on which Falconeri's diſſertation is founded, has been proved to be ſpurious. Profeſſor Gori, the keeper of the Grand Duke's collection, whoſe ſkill in medals, and particularly in thoſe under his care, gives the greateſt weight to his opinion, pronounces it to be a caſt coin, deſcribes its imperfections, and points out the particular appearance of its ſurface, common to all ſuch counterfeit coins, by ſaying, *Porulis et ramentis ſcatet:* unwilling, however, to diſcredit either the Duke's cabinet, or Falconeri's judgment, he ſuggeſts that this counterfeit piece was ſubſtituted by fraud in the place of the genuine coin deſcribed by the author. But if this is fact, may we not aſk, What is become of that genuine coin? Was it ſtolen, that the fraudulent poſſeſſor might keep it for ever ſecluded from human inſpection, and confine the enjoyment of it to his own ſole view? Would he not rather have been tempted to diſpoſe of it to ſome of thoſe royal and magnificent collectors, who are known to ſpare no expence in the purchaſe of ſuch valuable uniques? But no *genuine* coin of this impreſſion, with a fair legend on the ark, is to be found in any other public collection; at leaſt as far as we are

[illegible]med by the pu[illegible]hers of dals. There is one of them inclosed in the King of France's cabinet, but the Abbé Barthelemy, who is a very learned and ſkilful medaliſt, expreſſes his doubts, even almoſt to a diſbelief, of the authenticity of that coin. His words are: "The medaillon of Philip, th the ſame type, is preſerved in king's cabinet; it is perfectly l to that Falconeri has engraved, the two or three letters on the a are entirely defaced. I have n ver been ſatisfied with this meda the firſt glance of it is very unfi vourable, and our ſuſpicions en creaſe in proportion as we examin it with more attention." There is another of theſe medals in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke, which is all that the preſent ſituation of that cabinet will permit us to ſay of it; but I hope it will not be thought a bold, or diſreſpectful conjecture, to ſuppoſe that whenever that collection ſhall be ſubmitted to public view, this medaillon will prove to be of the *farinae* with that of Florence, I am the more juſtified in this opinion, from the opportunities which I have had of examining three different ſpecimens of the ſame coin, all poſſeſſed by gentlemen of great worth, and moſt approved ſkill in the ſcience. The firſt, which may boaſt with that at Florence, of being in the moſt entire preſervation, belongs to the Rev. Mr. Crofts; the figures and legend are perfect, and the dark brown pattern, ſo often ſeen on genuine coins, is well imitated. Mr. Duane poſſeſſes another of theſe pieces, caſt (as it ſhould ſeem) in the ſame mould; the metal is more yellow, and it pretends not to thoſe external

and in the ſame period of his office in both cities. This point, however, is not material to the preſent queſtion. But it has been objected with regard to the word ΝΕΩΚ, that Apamea does not appear, by any coin or other record, to have enjoyed the Neocorate, though the city of Magneſia did, as is evident from a medal of Maximus quoted by Harduin.

ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ.

This objection, however, being merely negative, may not be thought concluſive; for, if the legends on theſe medaillons of Severus and Philip are really genuine, they will be ſufficient to eſtabliſh this fact.

What has been already ſaid relates only to the authenticity, condition, and legend of the medals in queſtion; but the moſt material, and indeed the moſt difficult part of the enquiry, is the import of theſe emblematical figures on their reverſe, and the hiſtory intended to be repreſented by them. The public has already before them three different opinions on this ſubject. That which aroſe from Falconeri's diſſertation, and is adopted by Mr. Bryant, which ſuppoſes this reverſe to allude to the Noachic deluge: that of Vaillant, and other ſubſequent medaliſts, who make it to be deſcriptive of Deucalion's flood: and the third opinion is that of Father Harduin, which differs from both theſe, and, as uſual, is ſingular in its kind; for he tells us, that the ark floating among the waters repreſents the ſituation of Apamea between the rivers Marſyas, Obrimas, and Orgas; that the figures within and without the ark denote the Emperor and Empreſs; their up-lifted hands, and the dove with the branch, are emblems of the peace and tranquillity procured for Aſia in general, and for this city in particular, by Severus's conqueſt over the Parthians. It may be ſufficient merely to mention this laſt, which ſeems to want both date and concluſion.

The firſt of theſe hypotheſes, as I have before obſerved, was very materially affected by the acknowledged ſpuriouſneſs of the Florentine coin. The ſuppoſed name of the patriarch being rejected, and the true legend reſtored, the figures and emblems are left to tell their own ſtory, whether it relate to the flood of Noah, to that of Deucalion, or to any other event of a different nature and period.

It is confeſſedly difficult to ſuppoſe, that a fact in the Moſaical hiſtory ſhould be repreſented and deſcribed on a coin of the lower empire, ſtruck in a city of Aſia, where neither the inhabitants nor the mint-maſters can well be ſuppoſed to have been either Jews or Chriſtians. Had they been ſo, they could not have undertaken to record this event in ſo public a manner, without the permiſſion of the emperor: and ſhould it be further ſuppoſed, that Philip was a convert to chriſtianity, which thoſe learned writers, Monſ. Tillemont, and Huet, have attempted to prove, yet even this would not ſolve the difficulty, becauſe the ſame reaſon could not be applicable to the ſimilar reverſe on the coin of Severus, who was confeſſedly a heathen, and a violent perſecutor of the chriſtians.

It would certainly give great weight

weight to this opinion, if ſome characteriſtical marks could be pointed out on the coin peculiar to the ſcriptural hiſtory of the flood, and not applicable to that of Deucalion. And ſuch at firſt ſight appear to be the two birds, one repreſented ſitting on the ark, the other flying towards it with a branch in its claws; provided that the former be ſuppoſed a raven, and the latter a dove; becauſe both are mentioned as having been ſent out by Noah to diſcover whether the waters were abated; but on the other hand, it cannot be aſſerted, that the former is intended for a raven; and if it were, medaliſts have found an alluſion from the blackneſs of that bird to the antient name of Apamea, which according to Pliny was firſt called Celaenae, and according to Stephanus Κελαιναὶ. The eagle alſo (for ſo Harduin thinks it to be) was an emblem of this city, and appears on its medals, and the bird on the wing reſembles an eagle on Severus's medaillon, though in Philip's it is more like a dove. But theſe two birds are equivocal emblems, for according to Plutarch the dove attended Deucalion, and was a token to him of the encreaſing tempeſt by his return to the ark, and of fair weather when he came back no more; and Abydenus, as quoted by Euſebius in relation to that deluge, ſpeaks of *birds* in the plural as thrice ſent out by Siſuthrus. The branch, indeed, is not taken notice of by any profane hiſtorian, and the Moſaical account repreſents only a leaf in the bird's mouth.

The tradition of the Deucalionic flood being ſuppoſed more recent, and better preſerved in the minds of the heathen, by forming a remarkable æra in their hiſtory of the world, was a more probable object of their attention; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that many ſuch alluſions to different parts of profane hiſtory are to be found on their coins; but the repreſentation of Noah's flood would be a ſingle inſtance of ſcripture hiſtory recorded on a heathen medal.

It is with the greateſt diffid that I preſume to doubt any opini advanced by that moſt learned a ingenious author, whoſe Analyſis Antient Mythology has enrich the public with ſuch a treaſure learning; and who, with a good neſs of heart equal to the extent of his abilities, has applied them to illuſtrate many important truths revealed in ſacred hiſtory. As he wanted not various and abundant proofs of this event, he may well be juſtified in illuſtrating his other arguments by the mention of the Apamean coin of Philip; b his reaſoning, ſo far as the let on the ark are concern founded on the ſuppoſed au city of this coin, for which ought not to be made anſwerable, the caſe may poſſibly now app to him in a different light; at l he will only draw his concluſion from the number, attitude, &c. o the figures on the reverſe: and, though the words ΝΕΩ and ΝΩΕ, under the conduct of his able pen, may be taught to ſpeak the fa language, yet the addition of final K ſeems to determine th word to a different meaning; inſtead of conveying the name o deity, or a patriarch, points out a title or office belonging to the cit where the medal was ſtruck.

This

This objection may be thought of more conſequence than a diſquiſition concerning the form of the ark, as repreſented on the medal, whether it be intended to repreſent a ſquare or quinquelateral veſſel; whether it be open at top, or covered with a flat or angular roof. Mr. Bryant's repreſentation undoubtedly differs from thoſe in the Muſeum Florentinum, the French king's cabinet, and the Numiſmata Pembrochiana, wherein they are all faithfully repreſented from the original engravings; but he cannot be charged with any conſiderable deviation from Falconeri's engraving, which probably was his archetype. The difference conſiſts chiefly in this, that the deſcending line, which is drawn in Mr. Bryant's plate from the back of the ark, and is loſt behind the ſecond figure, forms a larger angle with the ſide or end line of the ark, than it does in Falconeri's, and therefore conveys the idea of an angular roof; whereas that line in Falconeri approaches ſo near to a perpendicular, that it may ſeem to the eye rather as the end in perſpective of an open boat or veſſel, whoſe ſides are of equal height. It is evident, however, from Falconeri's deſcription of the coin, that the tranſverſe line reſting on what he calls the *duo tigilli erecti*, was underſtood by him to repreſent a covering over the heads of the figures; and therefore it ſeems immaterial whether that roof was flat or angular: nor, indeed, can any ſatisfactory concluſion be drawn from the delineation of the ſpurious coin of Philip, nor even from the three different repreſentations of the genuine medaillon of Severus, which, in ſome inſtances, vary from each other. I would extend this obſervation even to the coin itſelf, whereon the accuracy or ſkill of a mint-maſter cannot much be depended on, according to whoſe ideas and miſerable perſpective, the ſame figure might repreſent an open or a covered building, a boat or an ark, a ſuggeſtum or a temple; eſpecially on the coins minted during the latter part of the empire, in the Aſiatic provinces.

Nor does it ſeem material to enquire into the ſize of the ark, or the number of perſons repreſented without or within it; for it was not the intention, much leſs was it within the capacity of the mint-maſter, to include ſuch a variety of facts or perſonages within the narrow compaſs of a ſingle reverſe. It was thought ſufficient, if he could mark the hiſtorical fact by one or two leading and well-known circumſtances; ſo that if the Noachic deluge had been the object of his work, he could not have deſcribed all the perſons contained in that veſſel; much leſs could he have found room for the variety of animals preſerved in it. The reſtoration of mankind, whether by Noah's or Deucalion's flood, was juſtly depicted in the perſons of a male and female, whom hiſtory has pointed out as the parents of the poſtdiluvian world. They are repreſented in one part of the reverſe in an ark floating on the waters, in another part as juſt landed from it, with uplifted hands, in thankfulneſs to the deity for their preſervation. The repetition of the figures, far from being an objection to either of thoſe hiſtories, ſeems rather to give an additional illuſtration to the coin, and to aſcertain

aſcertain the fact, by exhibiting the two perſons in different ſituations. This liberty is ſometimes taken in hiſtorical paintings, and the ſame figure appears in various parts of the picture.

But whether the ſacred or profane hiſtory of the deluge was the object of this reverſe, the word inſcribed on the ark will be of very little uſe in explaining the figures. For, according to Vaillant, the word ΝΕΩΚ muſt be ſubſtituted inſtead of ΝΩΕ. The Abbé Barthelemy thinks that authority is wanting for both, and that neither of the words can be fairly traced on any of the genuine medals with this reverſe; ſo that, ΝΩΕ appearing only on the ſpurious medaillon of Philip, it will be to no purpoſe to contend for it, either as the name of the patriarch, or, according to Mr. Barrington, as the dual of the pronoun ΕΓΩ, put into the mouths of Deucalion and Pyrrha, to expreſs their ſituation, and alluding to that paſſage in Ovid's Metam. lib. i.

"*Nos duo* turba ſumus."

For it is apprehended that this pronoun is *always* ſpelt with an I, and therefore, until ſome authority can be produced, either from MSS. or printed books, of its being written with an E, neither the ſpelling nor the meaning here given, can be juſtified from the Greek language.

It is alſo well known to all thoſe who are converſant with medals, that they hardly ever ſpeak a language like this. The office of the mint-maſters was of a public and ſerious nature. They were employed in repreſenting the ceremonies of religion, and the events of hiſtory, in the plaineſt and moſt intelligible manner, for the public information; and, though they might be tolerable mythologiſts, yet they could have nothing to do with poetry. It may be juſt matter of doubt, whether the name or writings of Ovid were known to the Apameans, ſituated at 500 miles diſtance from Tomis, the place of that poet's reſidence. It may be thought ſtill leſs probable, that they ſhould be ſo familiariſ to his works as to allude to them ſo remarkable an event by the application of a ſingle pronoun, which did not convey ſo much information as might be learned from the number and attitude of the figures themſelves; but this, being only matter of opinion, muſt be referred to the judgment of the reader.

But is there no other event to which theſe medals might refer? were there no religious or hiſtorical facts relative to Apamea, the circumſtances of which may not have been tranſmitted to poſterity, though they were well known at that time to the Apameans? Is any thing more frequent on medals of the Aſiatic cities than repreſentation of their local deiti temples, images, altars, and c remonies of worſhip? Why m not the building repreſent a t ple dedicated to ſome marine or river deities, ſituated, as the coin repreſents it, at the confluence of, or upon the Apamean ri vers, with the images of thoſe deities in the temple? and may not the figures ſtanding near the temple repreſent Worſhipers, Prieſts, Editui or Νεωκοροι, eſpecially as one of them is veiled like a prieſt, and

and their right-hands are liſted up in the poſture of adoration or thankſgiving? May not this have been a celebrated temple, for which games were inſtituted in the ceremonial of their worſhip, under the prefidency of an ἀγωνοθέτης; and to which, on ſuch a ſuppoſition, the title of Nεωκόρων might be applicable. But, as nothing can be produced from hiſtory, from the ſtate of theſe medals, or from their legends, to determine preciſely the fact to which they allude, there is ſtill ample room left for further conjecture; the principal object of this paper having been to ſhew the different ſtate of the medals under conſideration, to diſtinguiſh the ſpurious from the genuine coins, and rather to ſhew what conſequences cannot be drawn, than to eſtabliſh any certain ones, on ſo difficult a ſubject. But whatever theſe may be, it ſeems neceſſary that they ſhould be deduced from the figures and legend on the Contour only, which are allowed by the beſt medaliſts to be genuine.

On the Antiquity of Cock-Fighting.

MEN have long availed themſelves of the *antipathy one cock* ſhews to *another*, and have encouraged that natural hatred with arts that diſgrace human reaſon. —The origin of this ſport is ſaid to be derived from the Athenians on the following occaſion: When Themiſtocles was marching his army againſt the Perſians, he by the way eſpying two cocks fighting, cauſed his army to behold them, and made the following ſpeech to them: "Behold, theſe do not fight for their houſehold gods, for the monuments of their anceſtors, nor for glory, nor for liberty, nor for the ſafety of their children, but only becauſe the one will not gave way unto the other." This ſo encouraged the Grecians, that they fought ſtrenuouſly, and obtained the victory over the Perſians; upon which cock-fighting was by a particular law ordained to be annually practiſed by the Athenians.

Though the ancient Greeks piqued themſelves on their politeneſs, calling all other nations *barbarous*, yet Mr. Pegge has proved clearly in a Treatiſe publiſhed in the third volume of the Archæologia, that they were the authors of this cruel and inhuman mode of diverſion.—The inhabitants of Delos were great lovers of this ſport; and *Tanagra*, a city of Bœotia, the Iſle of Rhodes, Chalcis in Eubœa, and the country of Media, were famous for their generous and magnanimous race of chickens.—It appears they had ſome method of preparing the birds for battle. Cock-fighting was an inſtitution partly religious, and partly political at Athens, and was continued there for the purpoſe of improving the ſeeds of valour in the minds of their youths—But it was afterwards abuſed, and perverted both there and in other parts of Greece, to a common paſtime and amuſement, without any *moral*, political or religious intention; and as it is now followed and practiſed amongſt us.—It appears that the Romans, who borrowed this, with many other things from Greece, uſed

uſed quails * as well as cocks for fighting.—The firſt cauſe of contention between the two brothers, Baſſianus and Geta, ſons of the Emperor Septimius Severus, happened, according to Herodian, in their youth, about fighting their quails and cocks †.—Cocks and quails, fitted for the purpoſe of engaging one another to the laſt gaſp, for diverſion, are frequently compared in the Roman writers ‡, and with much propriety, to Gladiators. The fathers of the church inveigh with great warmth againſt the ſpectacles of the *Arena*—the wanton ſhedding of human blood in ſport —— One would have thought that with this, cock-fighting would alſo have been diſcarded, under the mild and humane genius of Chriſtianity.—But it was reſerved for this enlightened æra to practiſe it with new and aggravating circumſtances of cruelty—The Shrove Tueſday *maſſacre* of this uſeful and ſpirited creature, is now indeed in a declining way; but that monſtrous barbarity, the battle-royal and Welſh-main ſtill continue to be in full force amongſt us.—A ſtriking diſgrace to the manly character of Britons!

It is probable that cock-fighting was firſt introduced into this iſland by the Romans.—The bird itſelf was here before Cæſar's arrival.

William Fitz-Stephen, who wrote the life of Becket, in the reign of Henry II. is the firſt of our writers that mentions *cocking*, deſcribing it as the ſport of ſchool-boys on Shrove Tueſday. The theatre (the cockpit) it ſeems was the ſchool, and the maſter was the comptroller and director of the ſport.—From this time, at leaſt, the diverſion, however abſurd, and even impious, was continued amongſt us: It was followed, though diſapproved and prohibited 39 Edward III.—Alſo in the reign of Henry VIII. and A. D. 1569. It has been by ſome called a royal diverſion; and every one know the cockpit at Whitehall was erected by a crowned head, for the more magnificent celebrating of the ſport. It was prohibited however by one of Oliver's acts, March 31, 1654.

Origin of the Name of Old Nick.

NOBODY has accounted for the Devil's having the name of *Old Nick*. Keyſler *de Dea Nehaleunia*, p. 33, and *Antiq. Septentr.* p. 261, mentions a deity the waters worſhipped by the ancient Germans and Danes und the name of *Nocca* or *Nicken*, ſtyl in the Edda *Nikur*, which he derives from the German *nugen*, anſwering to the Latin *necare*. Wormius, *Mon. Dan.* p. 17, ſays the

* Hence Marcus Aurelius, 1. ſect. 6. ſays, "I learn from Diognetus," ne rebus inanibus ſtudium impenderem, ne Coturnices ad pugnam alerem, neve rebus ittiuſmodi animum adjicerem.

† Interque ſe fratres diſſidebant, pueriliprimum certamine, edendis Cotornicum pugnis, Gallinaceorumque conflictibus, ac puerorum colluctationibus exorta diſcordia. Herodian. III. Sect. 33.

‡ Hence Pliny's expreſſion, Gallorum, ſeu Gladiatorum, and that of Columella, fixoſarum Avium *laniſtæ*.—Laniſta being the proper term for the maſter of the Gladiators.

redneſs

redneſs in the faces of drowned perſons was aſcribed to this deity's ſucking their blood out at their noſtrils. Waſthovius, *preſ. ad Vit. Sanctor.* and Loccenius, *Antiq. Sueo-Goth.* p. 17, call him *Neccus*, and quote from a Belgo-Gallic Dictionary, *Neccer, Spiritus Aquaticus*, and *Necce, necare.* The Iſlandic Dict. in Hickes' Theſ. P. III. p. 85. renders *Nikur, bellua aquatica.* Laſtly, Rudbekius, *Atlant.* p. 1, c. 7. § 5, p. 192, & c. 30, p. 719, mentions a notion prevalent among his countrymen, that *Neckur*, who governed the ſea, aſſumed the form of various animals, or of a horſeman, or of a man in a boat. He ſuppoſes him the ſame with Odin; but the above authorities are ſufficient to evince that he was the Northern *Neptune*, or ſome ſubordinate ſea-god of a noxious diſpoſition. Wormius queries whether a figure ſaid to be ſeen, 1615, on the river *Lan*, and called *Waſſer Nichs*, might not be of this kind. Probably it was a ſea-monſter of the ſpecies called *Mermen*, and by our Spenſer, Fairy-Queen, II. 12, 24.

The grieſly Waſſerman.

It is not unlikely, but the name of this evil ſpirit might, as Chriſtianity prevailed in theſe northern nations, be transferred to the father of evil.

If it would not be thought punning on names, I would hazard another conjecture.—*St. Nicholas* was the patron of mariners, conſequently opponent to *Nicker.* How he came by this office does not appear. The Legend ſays, "*Ung jour que aucuns mariniers periſſoyent ſi le prierent ainſi a larmes, Nicolas, ſerviteur de Dieu, ſi les choſes ſont vrayes que nous avons ouyes, ſi les eſprouve maintenant. Et tantoſt un homme s'apparut au la ſemblance de luy, & leur dit, Veez moy, ſe ne m'appellez vous pas: & leur commenca a leur ayder en leur exploit: de la ne fet tantoſt la tempeſtate ceſſa. Et quant ils furent venus a ſon Egliſe ilz ſe cogneurent ſans demonſtrer, & ſi ne l'avoient oncques veu. Et lors rendirent graces a Dieu & a luy de leur delivrance; et il leur dit que ilz attribuaſſent a la miſericorde de Dieu et a leur creance, et non pas a ſes merites.*—Then follow other miracles, not peculiarly appropriated to him under this character. We have afterwards, indeed, another ſtory of his delivering from an illuſion of the Devil certain pilgrims *qui alloient a luy* a nage, which I underſtand to mean only *by water*, Legende d'or. fol. viii. See alſo Blomefield's Hiſt. of Norfolk, II. p. 861.

PALÆOPHILUS.

Remarkable Inſtances of the Craſis.

CORRUPTIONS, by means of the figure we call *a Craſis*, have had a great effect, I believe, in all languages; it is when the prefix adheres to the following word, which it often very eaſily and naturally does, in pronunciation, and afterwards is written or printed in that form. Thus the modern names of the city of *Athens* are *Satinas* and *Satines*, from ἐς τὰς Ἀθηνας; and that of *Conſtantinople*, *Stamboul*, from ἐς τὴν πόλιν. Hence *ædepol*, *mehercule*, &c. of the Romans; and, perhaps, our word *endeavour*, and *rendevous*, from the French *endeavoir*, and *rendez-vous*. Some attention, however, is neceſſary in the caſe, and ſome diſtinction

tinction ſhould be made, for the *Craſis* is not concerned in all words that coaleſce together, as *otherwiſe*, *always*, &c. which ought rather to be called compounds; for I eſteem it no *Craſis* unleſs there be ſuch a mixture or coalition of letters in the word as to make the word to ſeem different from itſelf, and to be obſcured or deformed by it. Thus *Birlady*, a form of ſwearing by the bleſſed Virgin, much uſed formerly, and ſometimes now, is a manifeſt jumble and corruption of *By our Lady*.

It appears, from this ſhort account of things, that vulgar, haſty, and inaccurate pronunciation has been the principal cauſe of this figure; which has been more applied in our language than, I preſume, is commonly thought; and therefore I am in hopes that a regard had unto it cannot fail of giving light unto the ſenſe and etymology of very many of our Engliſh words. The figure has alſo operated very remarkably in ſome of our *Engliſh* ſirnames, as has been noted by our learned *Camden*, *Remains*, p. 122; we ſhall therefore inſert thoſe inſtances amongſt the reſt. I obſerve, laſtly, before I proceed on my Alphabet, that it is ſurpriſing how prone the country-people of the North and midland parts of *England* are to the uſe of this grammatical figure, eſpecially in reſpect of the article *The*, which in the ſhape of *T* or *Th* they will join to words which begin with a conſonant, or with more than one; cauſing thereby much roughneſs and harſhneſs, and even difficulty of pronunciation; *o'er th'bridge*, *o'er th'brig*, as they ſpeak it, for *over the bridge*.

Now, the prefixes, or other particles, which uſually coaleſce with the words they belong to, ſo as to alter or diſguiſe them, are theſe: *A*, *An*, *At*, *Ap*, *By*, *Di*, *De*, *Do*, *I*, *In*, *It*, *Mine*, *Ne*, *O*, *Sainte*, *The*, *Two*, *Three*, and *To*. And theſe I propoſe to go through in their order.

A.—*An Accomplice*. The monkiſh hiſtorians perpetually uſe the word *Complices* in Latin; and *Complice* itſelf, as an Engliſh word, occurs in *Weaver*, Fun. Monuments, p. 266, and ſee *Johnſon*. So that I ſuſpect a *Craſis* here, and that it was firſt *a Complice*, corrupted afterwards to *Accomplice*, which in that caſe would require the article *an* to be prefixed. The word *accompliſh* might facilitate the corruption with unthinking people.

An.—*A Nay-word*. This is a common expreſſion for a by-word or proverb, and is probably a *Craſis* of *an Aye-word*; that is, a word, or ſaying, *always* and perpetually uſed, agreeable to the ancient uſe of *Aye*. If this be not the meaning and the original of it, it will be difficult to account for it.

A Narrow, id eſt, an Arrow. See Mr. *Hearne* ad *Gul. Neubrig.* p. lxxxv, lxxxvi. The prefix has here evidently grown and faſtened itſelf to the noun.

Jacke Napes, which *Skelton* gives us p. 160, ſeems to be *Jack an Apes*. as *Littleton* writes it; but I am doubtful about this, as *Nape* or *Knape* is the ſame as knave or ſervant. See Gloſſ. to *Douglas's Virgil*.

A Nogler. This is the name formerly given to thoſe people who travelled the country with *Sheffield* wares; a practice now generally

left off there, inſomuch that the name itſelf is falling into oblivion, as the original of the word has long ſince done. I take the etymon to be this: what we call an *Higler* was once written an *Hagler*, and ſo you will find it in Dr. *Fuller*'s Worthies, p. 278. Now, *an Hagler* is very eaſily turned into *a Nagler*, and with *a* open *a Nogler*. Dr. *Johnſon* omits the *Higler*, and deſcribes the *Hagler* as one that is tardy in bargaining, from to *haggle*. But it ſeems the *Higler* and the *Hagler* is the ſame perſon, and ſo this ſenſe of the latter word is omitted by him.

A Newt. An Eft, or ſmall lizard, of which Newt is the common name in *Derbyſhire* and *Staffordſhire*. *Plott*. Hiſt. Staff. p. 244, 251; and it is uſed by *Shakeſp*. Macbeth, A. IV. Sc. 1. "*Newt*, ſays Dr. *Johnſon*, is ſuppoſed by *Skinner* to be contracted from *an Evet*," and it certainly is ſo. The Saxon word is efete; ſo that the gradation is an Efete, an Evet, a Nevet, a Newt, *v* conſonant being turned into *u*, juſt as *v* in *Devil* is changed into *u* by thoſe who pronounce it, as the vulgar often do, *Deul*.

A Needle, anciently written *a Neld*, which perhaps may by *Craſis* be *an Eld*, the ſame as *an Elſe*, uſed by ſhoemakers.

Nawl. i. e. an Awl, implement of the cobler, uſed by *Beaum*. & *Fletcher*, VIII. p. 55.

A Noddy; quaſi, by a Craſis, *an Oddy*; a ſingular or whimſical perſon.

A Nailbourn. This word is both ſo written and pronounced in *Kent*, and, anſwering to the *Vipſeys* or *Gypſeys* in *Yorkſhire*, *Camd*. Col. 901, or *Ray* on the Deluge, p. 95, means a torrent which flows only now and then, or once in a few years. Now, when theſe torrents broke out, they were ſuppoſed to betoken famines, ſickneſſes, and deaths, chiefly I preſume ſickneſſes; whence I conjecture there is a *Craſis* in the caſe, a *Nailbourn* being in fact *an Ailbourn*, as the forerunner of *Ails* or diſeaſes. It is written, however, *Eylebourn* by Dr. Harris, p. 240, 23, 411. and ſo *Philipot* gives it, p. 42. which perhaps may be a corruption of *Ailbourn*; but as theſe deſultory torrents often abound with ſmall eels, it is poſſible they might take their names from thence, quaſi *Eelbourns*. But there will ſtill be a *Craſis* in *Nailbourn*.

At. — This particle coheres chiefly in ſuch names of perſons as are taken from ſituation; as,

Taſh, which Mr. *Camden* thinks is contracted from *At Aſh*. *Remains*, p. 123.

Twells. As we have the name of *Atwells*, or *Atwell*, one has certainly reaſon to think that *Twells* is a *Craſis* for *At Wells*.

Ab or Ap.—We have certain names now in *England*, brought originally, I ſuppoſe, from *Wales*, in which the *Ab* or *Ap* is become a part of the name that followed it. At firſt they were patronymics, though they are not ſo now. Thus *Pugh* is *ap Hugh*; *Price* or *Brice*, *ap Rice*; *Pritchard*, *ap Richard*; *Prideaux*, *ap Rideaux*; *Bevan*, *ap Evan*; *Bowen*, *ap Owen*; *Powel*, *ap Hoel*.

By.—*Bilive*, i. e. *by le Eve*; ſometimes written *blive* and *blyve*. Gloſſ. to *Chaucer*, v. *Blive*.

Di.—*Didapper*, the bird, quaſi *Dive-*

Dive-Dapper; which is confirmed by its being called *Dab-Chick* in *Kent*.

Do.—*Don* and *doff*, i. e. to *do on*, and *do of*. See *Johnſon in Vocibus*.

De.—In names of perſons drawn from the places of their abode, or extraction, the French particle *De* will often coaleſce with the name of the place, if it begin with a vowel. *Danvers*, *de* or *d'Anvers*; *Daeth*; *de* or *d'Aeth*, a town in *Hainault*; *Daſhwood* may be ſuppoſed to be *de* or *d'Aſhwood*; *Daville*, *d'Eivill*; *Camden*, Remains, p. 122; *Doily*, *de Oily*, ibid. p. 111; *Dauney*, ibid. p. 122. *Aunay* is a plot of ground where alders grow; and, to name no more, *Devereux* is undoubtedly *d'Evereux*.

Eche or Each.—Hence *every chone*, *Skelton*, p. 192, i. e. *every eche one*; which we have now contracted to *every one*.

I.—This pronoun eaſily coaleſces, as *I'm*, *I'll*, *I'ld*, i. e. *I would*. *Percy*'s Songs, p. 81. *Ychulle*, *Percy*, III. p. xvii. i. e. *I ſhall*, *ye ſhall*.

In.—*Ith* for *in the*; hence *yth*, *Percy*, I. p. 6.

It.—Hence *'tis*.

Mine.—*My Neam*, *my Nont*; *Nuncle*, *Nont*. Theſe words are uſed familiarly in the North by young people to the elder ſort, though there be no alliance or relation between them. *Eame* is the *Saxon* for uncle, and the poſſeſſive pronoun *mine* has grown to it. The ſecond is from *mine Aunt* in like manner, as likewiſe *Nuncle* (ſee *Shakeſp.* Lear, I. ſc. 13.) and *Nont*.

Ne.—This old negative very readily coincided with words beginning with a vowel or a *w*.

Nis and *Nys*, i. e. *ne is*, or *is not*: *Skelton*, p. 62. *Nill*, for *ne will*; *nilt*, ne wilt: *Fairfax*, *Chaucer*. Hence *will or nill*: Invective againſt *Wolſey*. So *nil'd* for *ne would*: Mirrour of Magiſtrates, p. 487.

N'ot, and *nolt*, for *ne wot*, or *know not*, written in *Machabree*, folio 220, *note*. *Nolt* occurs in *Fairfax*, xviii. 50.

None is either *ne one* or *no one*.

Nere, i. e. *ne were*: Fairfax, xii. 81. v. 47; x. 61; alibi.

Nould, *ne would*: Fairfax,

Nought, *ne ought*; written alſo formerly *noght*.

Nam, *neam*; *nart*, *neart*; *nad*, *ne had*; *niſt*, *ne wiſt*: all in *Chaucer*.

O.—*Ho!* I take to mean *O yes*.

Of.—*o'th'*, i. e. *of the*. Hence *ath the*, *Percy*, i. p. 6, where *the* abounds by the miſtake of copyiſts; for p. 9, you have *athe*, for *of the*, twice.

Saint.—This word, prefixed to the names of certain holy men, ſuppoſed to be ſo, either adhered, by means of its laſt letter *T*, to the name of ſuch ſaint, or the of it was joined to it; eſpe in certain of our ſirnames borrow. from the names of ſaints. I ſhall ſpecify, firſt, ſome caſes where the laſt letter only adheres, which moſtly happens where the name begins with a vowel. Thus the French *S. Agnan* or *Aignan* was pronounced by ſome in France *S. Tignan*: *H. Steph.* Apolog. pour *Herodote*, iii. p. 242. Edit. 1735.

A Tantony pig; ſo written in *Drake*'s *Eborac.* p. 315; meaning a pig of St. *Anthony*.

Tawdry, i. e. *St. Audrey*;

term borrowed from thoſe times when they tricked and bedecked the ſhrines and altars of the ſaints, as being at vye with each other on that occaſion. The votaries of St. *Audrey* (an iſle of *Ely* ſaint) exceeding all the reſt in the dreſs and equipage of her altar, it grew into a byword upon any thing that was very gaudy, *that it was all taudry*, as much as to ſay, all St. *Audrey*:" Canting Dict. v. Taudry.

Talkmund. St. *Alkmond's* church at *Derby* is commonly called *Talkmund.*

San Telmo. The meteor called *St. Elmo*, in *Ulloa*, ii. p. 350, is written *San Telmo.*

S. Tathan. St. *Athan* or *Aithan.* Memorial of *Brit.* Piety, Append. p. 40.

S. Twinnel, i. e. St. *Winnoc.* Ibid. p. 48.

Tooley-ſtreet, *Tooley*-bridge, *Tooley*-corner, all in *Southwark*, from St. *Olave*, pronounced *Olye*, as *Camden* gives it, Remains, p. 123.

St. *Tooſes.* St. *Oſithe's*, written St. *Tooſes* in *Bailey's* Life of Bp. *Fiſher*, p. 88. Mr. *Camden* obſerves, that *St. Oſyth* is turned into *Saint Tows:* Remains, ibid.

S. *Tabbe.* St. *Ebba* was the famous prioreſs of *Coldingham*, who choſe to deform herſelf, with her nuns, rather than be abuſed by the inſolent Danes. See *Camd.* Remains, l. c. alſo *Fuller*, Worthies in *Rutland.*

St. *Thetha*, or St. *Teath.* St. *Etha* was a *Corniſh* Saint.

St. *Tomer.* This name we have in *Camden's* Remains, p. 151, for St. *Omer*, or *de Sto. Audomaro.*

St. *Tole.* St. *Aldate's* church, or St. *Old's*, at *Oxford*, is vulgarly called St. *Tole's.* *Pointer*, *Oxon.* Acad. p. 109.

Town. This ſirname, I imagine, may be corrupted of *St. Owen*, who occurs in *Camden*, p. 151.

I come now to thoſe inſtances where the whole ſubſtance, as it were, of the word *Saint* is incorporated with the name, as is evident from many of our ſirnames taken from the names of ſaints. The French *San*, as in *Sampol*, *Sammarthanus*, &c. coheres thus in their language.

Samond: i. e. *St. Amand*, or *de Sto. Amando.*

Simberd. *St. Barbe*, or *de Sta. Barbara. Camb.* p. 150.

Sinclair. *De Sta. Clara*, or *de Sto. Claro*, as *Newcourt*, in Repert. i. p. 224. But q. if this be not an error.

Sanliz, *Senliz*, *Singlis.* Theſe are *St. Lis*, or *de Sto. Liſio*, or *Sylvanectenſis*, for which ſee *Camd.* p. 150.

Sentlo. *St. Lo*, or *de Sto. Lando. Camd.* p. 151.

Sentlow. This is different from the former, being interpreted *de Sancto Lupo. Camd.* ibid. *Lupus* is the name of a ſaint.

Sellinger. So they commonly pronounce this name; whereas the orthography is *St. Leger*, i. e. *de Sto. Leodegario. Camd.* p. 150.

Semarton, *St. Martin*, or *de Sto. Martino. Camd.* p. 151.

Semarc. *St. Medard. Camd.* p. 150. But one would rather think *St. Marc.*

Seimple, *Sampole.* The firſt is the *Scotch* name, the ſecond the *French*; both are *St. Paul.*

Seimpere, *Sampier*, or *Sempere. St. Peter*, or *de Sto. Petro.*

Semeur.

Semour. De Sto. Mauro.

THE.—*Bydene*, i. e. *by the even*, or by night. Romance of *Amys* and *Amylion*.

To *thende*. To *the ende*. *Caxton*, Myrrour, cap. 5.

Taylot. *Gloceſterſhire* word; meaning an *hay-loft*. At firſt, no doubt, they ſaid *in taylot*, for *in the hay-loft*; and then converted the whole into a ſubſtantive, calling a *hay-loft* by that name.

Tuffold, or *Tovel*. This means *an hovel* in *Derbyſhire*, where they firſt ſaid *in tovel*, i. e. *in the hovel*; and then, by miſtake, took *tovel* to be the ſubſtantive, for *hovel*.

Ton and *Tother*: as, *do you take ton, and I'll take tother*; meaning *the one* and *the other*. *The ton, Percy* i. p. 7, where either *the* or *t* abounds; and yet this is very commonly uſed, as is *the tother*, for which ſee *Percy*, p. 58.

Tierne croſs, in *Somner's* Antiq. of *Canterb.* p. 11, 169, is *the iron croſs*.

Nathleſs. *Not the leſs*. See Dr. *Johnſon*.

To.—By cutting off the *o*, this ſign glues itſelf to many verbs in *Caxton*, and other authors; as *tabound*, *taccompliſh*, *tarette it*, i. e. to impute it; *toffer*, ; *talledge hungre and thurſte*, *Caxton*, in Myrrour, cap. 5, is to allay them.

TWO.—This numeral will ſometimes cohere with a noun, as *twinter*, a calf two winters or two years old. *Derbyſhire*.

Tovet. This, in *Kent*, means two pecks, and conſequently is a coalition of *two fat* or *vat*.

A *Twibill*. This is an implement that cuts both ways; and as Two is pronounced often *twa*, hence you have *twa-bill*, or *twi-bill*.

THREE.—A *Trevet* is an houſehold implement of iron with three feet to ſtand before the fire, for the purpoſe of ſetting any thing upon to dry or warm, and takes its name from the ſaid *three feet*. See *Tanner*, Biblioth. in *Nic Trivet*.

TOOT.—This word means to *peep*, or *peep out*. When peaſe in *Derbyſhire* firſt appear, they are ſaid to toot, i. e. *to out*; and hence they have the participle *tooting*. Thus, I conceive that *tooting* at *Tunbridge-wells* means *to out*, in the way of inviting and bringing gueſts to their maſter's houſe.

POSTSCRIPT.

TRIMON.—In the anonymous metrical hiſtory of the battle of Floddon-Field, lately publiſhed, it is obſerved, p. 32, that *St. Paul*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Andrew*, never taught the *Scottiſh* prelates to go to war, but rather ſome later Popiſh ſaints, *Trimon* of *Quhytehorn*, or *Doſſin* of *Roſs*; where, as St. *Ninian* was the great ſaint at *Candida Caſa*, or *Whitehern*, the Editor ſays, we ſhould read *Ninian of Quhytehorn*. An emendation is undoubtedly neceſſary; this, however, is not a happy one. The *Scots*, it ſeems, call *Ninian*, *Ringen*, (ſee Memorial of *Brit.* Piety, p. 131,) whence I conjecture there is a Craſis here, and that the true correction is *Tringen*. If this be the truth, as I preſume it is, it affords a pregnant inſtance of the uſefulneſs of attending to the effects of the *Craſis*: but, indeed, of this, in point of etymology, we have ſeen many examples above.

SMERWICK.—There is ſomething particular in this, as the firſt letter, inſtead of the laſt, in *Saint*, coaleſces; for it means *St. Maryswick*, in the county of *Kerry*, in *Ireland*. *Campbell*, Lives of Adm. ii. p. 49.

Account of ſeveral Gigantic Statues found in Eaſter Iſland, in the South Seas, by Captain Cook.

ON the Eaſt ſide, near the ſea, they met with three platforms of ſtone-work, or rather the ruins of them. On each had ſtood four of thoſe large ſtatues, but they were all fallen down from two of them, and alſo one from the third; all except one were broken by the fall, or in ſome meaſure defaced. Mr. Wales meaſured this one, and found it to be fifteen feet in length, and ſix feet broad over the ſhoulders. Each ſtatue had on its head a large cylindric ſtone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they meaſured, which was not by far the largeſt, was fifty-two inches high, and ſixty-ſix in diameter. In ſome the upper corner of the cylinder was taken off in a ſort of concave quarter-round; but in others the cylinder was entire.

They obſerved that this ſide of the iſland was full of thoſe gigantic ſtatues ſo often mentioned; ſome placed in groupes on platforms of maſonry; others ſingle, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep; and theſe latter are, in general, much larger than the others. Having meaſured one, which had fallen down, they found it very near twenty-ſeven feet long, and upwards of eight feet over the breaſt or ſhoulders; and yet this appeared conſiderably ſhort of the ſize of one they ſaw ſtanding: its ſhade, a little paſt two o'clock, being ſufficient to ſhelter all the party, conſiſting of near thirty perſons, from the rays of the ſun. Here they ſtopped to dine; after which they repaired to a hill, from whence they ſaw all the Eaſt and North ſhores of the iſle, on which they could not ſee either bay or creek fit even for a boat to land in; nor the leaſt ſigns of freſh water. What the natives brought them here was real ſalt water; but they obſerved that ſome of them drank pretty plentifully of it, ſo far will neceſſity and cuſtom get the better of nature! On this account they were obliged to return to the laſt mentioned well; where, after having quenched their thirſt, they directed their route acroſs the iſland towards the ſhip, as it was now four o'clock.

In a ſmall hollow, on the higheſt part of the iſland, they met with ſeveral ſuch cylinders as are placed on the heads of the ſtatues. Some of theſe appeared larger than any they had ſeen before; but it was now too late to ſtop to meaſure any of them. Mr. Wales, from whom I had this information, is of opinion that there had been a quarry here, whence theſe ſtones had formerly been dug; and that it would have been no difficult matter to roll them down the hill after they were formed. I think this a very reaſonable conjecture; and have no doubt that it has been ſo.

The gigantic ſtatues, before mentioned, are not, in my opinion, looked upon as idols by the preſent inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch; at leaſt, I ſaw nothing that could induce me to think ſo. On the contrary, I rather ſuppoſe that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families. I, as well as ſome others, ſaw a human ſkeleton lying in one of the platforms, juſt covered with ſtones. Some of theſe platforms of maſonry are thirty

thirty or forty feet long, twelve or ſixteen broad, and from three to twelve in height; which laſt in ſome meaſure depends on the nature of the ground. For they are generally at the brink of the bank facing the ſea, ſo that this face may be ten or twelve feet or more high, and the other may not be above three or four. They are built, or rather faced, with hewn ſtones of a very large ſize; and the workmanſhip is not inferior to the beſt plain piece of maſonry we have in England. They uſe no ſort of cement; yet the joints are exceedingly cloſe, and the ſtones mortiſed and tenahted one into another, in a very artful manner. The ſide-walls are not perpendicular, but inclining a little inwards, in the ſame manner that breaſtworks, &c. are built in Europe: yet had not all this care, pains, and ſagacity, been able to preſerve theſe curious ſtructures from the ravages of all-devouring time.

The ſtatues, or at leaſt many of them, are erected on theſe platforms, which ſerve as foundations. They are, as near as we could judge, about half length, ending in a ſort of ſtump at the bottom, on which they ſtand. The workmanſhip is rude, but not bad; nor are the features of the face ill formed, the noſe and chin in particular; but the ears are long beyond proportion; and, as to the bodies, there is hardly any thing like a human figure about them.

I had an opportunity of examining only two or three of theſe ſtatues, which are near the landing-place; and they were of a grey ſtone, ſeemingly of the ſame ſort as that with which the platforms were built. But ſome of the gentlemen, who travelled over the iſland, and examined many of them, were of opinion that the ſtone of which they were made, was different from any other they ſaw on the iſland, and had much the appearance of being factitious. We could hardly conceive how theſe iſlanders, wholly unacquainted with any mechanical power, could raiſe ſuch ſtupendous figures, and afterwards place the large cylindric ſtones, before mentioned, upon their heads. The only method I can conceive, is by raiſing the upper end by little and little, ſupporting it by ſtones as it is raiſed, and building about it till they got it erect; thus a ſort of mount or ſcaffolding would be made, upon which they might roll the cylinder, and place it upon the head of the ſtatue; and then the ſtones might be removed from about it. But if the ſtones are factitious, the ſtatues might have been put together on the place, in their preſent poſition, and the cylinder put on by building a mount round them as above mentioned. But, let them have been made and ſet up, by this or any other method, they muſt have been a work of immenſe time, and ſufficiently ſhew the ingenuity and perſeverance of the iſlanders in the age in which they were built; for the preſent inhabitants have moſt certainly had no hand in them, as they do not even repair the foundations of thoſe which are going to decay. They give different names to them, ſuch as Gotomoara, Marapate, Kanaro, Goway-toogoo, Matta Matta, &c. &c.; to which they ſometimes prefix the word Moi, and ſometimes annex Areekee.

kee. The latter ſignifies chief; and the former, burying, or ſleeping-place, as well as we could underſtand.

Beſides the monuments of antiquity, which were pretty numerous, and no where but on or near the ſea-coaſt, there were many little heaps of ſtones, piled up in different places, along the coaſt. Two or three of the uppermoſt ſtones in each pile were generally white; perhaps always ſo, when the pile is complete. It will hardly be doubted that theſe piles of ſtone had a meaning. Probably they might mark the place where people had been buried, and ſerve inſtead of the large ſtatues.

On the firſt Introduction of Muſic into the Service of the Church. From Sir J. Hawkins's *General Hiſtory of Muſic.*

IT has already been obſerved, that the ſcience of harmony was anciently a ſubject of philoſophical enquiry; and it is manifeſt, from the account herein before given of them and their writings, that the Greeks treated it as a ſubject of very abſtract ſpeculation, and that they neither attended to the phyſical properties of ſound, nor concerned themſelves with the practice of muſic, whether vocal or inſtrumental. Ptolemy was one of the laſt of the Greek harmonicians; and from his time it may be obſerved, that the cultivation of muſic became the care of a ſet of men, who, then at leaſt, made no pretenſions to the character of philoſophers. This may be accounted for either by the decline of philoſophy about this period, or by the not improbable ſuppoſition, that the ſubject itſelf was exhauſted, and that nothing remained but an improvement in practice on that foundation which the ancient writers, by their theory, had ſo well laid. But whatever may have been the cauſe, it is certain, that after the eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity the cultivation of muſic became the concern of the church: to this the chriſtians were probably excited by the example of the Jews, among whom muſic made a conſiderable part of divine worſhip, and the countenance given to it in the writings of St. Paul. Nor is it to be wondered at by thoſe who conſider the effects of muſic, its influence on the paſſions, and its power to inſpire ſentiments of the moſt devout and affecting kind, if it eaſily found admittance into the worſhip of the primitive chriſtians: as to the ſtate of it in the three firſt centuries, we are very much at a loſs; yet it ſhould ſeem from the information of St. Auguſtine, that in his time it had arrived at ſome degree of perfection; poſſibly it had been cultivating, both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern empire, from the firſt propagation of chriſtianity. The great number of men who were drawn off from ſecular purſuits by their religious profeſſion, amidſt the barbariſm of the times, thought themſelves laudably employed in the ſtudy of a ſcience which was found to be ſubſervient to religion: while ſome were engaged in the oppugning heretical opinions, others were taken up in compoſing forms of devotions, framing liturgies; and others in adapting ſuitable melodies to ſuch pſalms and hymns as had been received into the ſervice of the church,

church, and which made a very conſiderable part of the divine offices: all which is the more probable, as the progreſs of human learning was then in a great meaſure at a ſtand.

But as the introduction of muſic into the ſervice of the church ſeems to be a new æra, it is neceſſary to be a little more particular, and relate the opinions of the moſt authentic writers, as well as to the reception it at firſt met with, as its ſubſequent progreſs among the converts to chriſtianity. If among the accounts to be given of theſe matters, ſome ſhould carry the appearance of improbability, or ſhould even verge towards the regions of fable, let it be remembered, that very little credit would be due to hiſtory, were the writer to ſuppreſs every relation againſt the credibility whereof there lay an objection. Hiſtory does not propoſe to tranſmit barely matters of real fact, or opinions abſolutely irrefragable; falſehood and error may very innocently be propagated, nay the general belief of falſehood, or the exiſtence of any erroneous opinion, may be conſidered as facts; and then it becomes the duty of an hiſtorian to relate them. Whoever is converſant with the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians muſt allow that the ſuperſtition of ſome, and the enthuſiaſm of others of them, have ſomewhat abated the reverence due to their teſtimony. But notwithſtanding this, the characters of Euſebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius, for veracity and good intelligence, ſtand ſo high in the opinion of all ſober and impartial men, that it is impoſſible to withhold our aſſent from the far greater part of what they have written on this ſubject.

The advocates for the high antiquity of church-muſic urge the authority of St. Paul in its favour, who, in his Epiſtle to the Epheſians, charges them to ſpeak to themſelves in pſalms, and hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging and making melody in their hearts to the Lord; and who exhorts the Coloſſians to teach and admoniſh one another in pſalms, hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs. Cardinal Bona is one of theſe; and he ſcruples not to aſſert, on the authority of theſe two paſſages, that ſongs and hymns were, from the very eſtabliſhment of the church, ſung in the aſſemblies of the faithful. Johannes Damaſcenus goes farther back; and relates, that at the funeral of the Bleſſed Virgin, which was celebrated at Gethſemana, the apoſtles, aſſiſted by angels, continued ſinging her requiem for three whole days inceſſantly. The ſame author, ſpeaking of the ancient hymn called the Triſagion, dates its original from a miracle that was performed in the time of Proclus, the archbiſhop: his account is, that the people of Conſtantinople being terrified with ſome portentous ſigns that had appeared, made ſolemn proceſſions and applications to the Almighty, beſeeching him to avert the calamities that ſeemed to threaten their city, in the midſt whereof a boy was caught from among them, and taken up to heaven; who, upon his return, related, that he had been taught by angels to ſing the hymn, in Greek,

Αγιος ο Θεος, αγιος ισχυρος, αγιος αθανατος, ελεησον ημας.

Holy God, holy and ſtrong, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us.

The truth of this relation is queſtioned by ſome, who yet credit a viſion

viſion of St. Ignatius; of which Socrates, the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian, gives the following account: "St. Ignatius, the third biſhop of Antioch, in Syria, after the apoſtle Peter, who alſo converſed familiarly with the apoſtles, ſaw the bleſſed ſpirits above ſinging hymns to the Sacred Trinity alternately, which method of ſinging, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, Ignatius taught to his church; and this, together with an account of the miracle which gave riſe to it, was communicated to all the churches of the Eaſt." Nicephorus, St. Chryſoſtom, Amalarius, and ſundry others, acquieſce in this account of the origin of antiphonal ſinging: as do our countrymen, Hooker, Hammond, Beveridge, and Dr. Comber.

By the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, ſaid to have been, if not compiled by the apoſtles themſelves, at leaſt collected by Clement, a diſciple of theirs, the order of divine worſhip is preſcribed; wherein it is expreſsly required, that after the reading the two leſſons, one of the preſbyters ſhould ſing a pſalm or hymn of David; and that the people ſhould join in ſinging at the end of each verſe. It would be too little to ſay of this collection, that the authority of it is doubted, ſince it is agreed, that it did not appear in the world till the fourth century: and the opinions of authors are, that either it is ſo interpolated as to deſerve no credit, or that the whole of it is an abſolute forgery.

Hitherto, then, the high antiquity of church-muſic ſtands on no better a foundation than tradition, backed with written evidence of ſuch a kind as to have ſcarce a pretence to authenticity: there are, however, accounts to be met with among the writers of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that go near to fix it at about the middle of the fourth century.

Having determined the commencement of muſic in the chriſtian worſhip, the hiſtorian next mentions the particular perſons under whoſe protection it was cultivated with the greateſt zeal and ſucceſs. Thoſe were, St. Baſil, St. Chryſoſtom, and St. Ambroſe; the latter of whom inſtituted that method of ſinging, which from him has been denominated the Cantus Ambroſianus, or Ambroſian Chant. Sir John Hawkins obſerves in reſpect of this name, that it appears not to have ſpecified any determined ſeries of notes, but was only invented to expreſs in general a method of ſinging agreeable to ſome rule preſcribed or taught by that father. It is however ſuppoſed to have had a reference to the modes of the ancients, at leaſt to thoſe of Ptolemy, which our author has proved, in a preceding part of the Hiſtory, to have been exactly coincident with the ſeven ſpecies of the diapaſon; though St. Ambroſe conceiving all above four to be ſuperfluous, reduced them to that number, in which he retained, but under other denominations, the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Myxolydian modes. The deſign of the reverend patriarch, as our author farther remarks, was to introduce a kind of melody founded on the rules of art, and yet ſo plain and ſimple in its nature, that the whole congregation might ſing it.

Among the improvements of muſic ſubſequent to this period, our author mentions in terms of peculiar diſtinction thoſe made

: the end of the ſixth century,
:. Gregory the Great, the firſt
of that name; a man, as he
obſerves, not more remark-
for his virtues than for his
ing and profound ſkill in the
:e of muſic. The firſt im-
:ment made by this venerable
ff was the invention of that
of notation by the Roman
s, which is uſed at the preſent

But he is chiefly celebrated
aving encreaſed the number
nes from four to eight, and
ıe inſtitution of what is called
Gregorian Chant, or plain

Of the reformation which
ffected in the muſic of the
:h, our author has ſelected an
ınt from Maimbourg's Hiſtoire
ɔntifical de St. Gregoire.

John Hawkins obſerves, that it was in the cathedral church of Canterbury that the choral ſervice was firſt introduced into England; to which place, and the churches of Kent, it was confined till the arrival of Theodore, when it afterwards ſpread over the whole kingdom.

An anecdote mentioned by our author reſpecting the primitive ſimplicity of Putta, biſhop of Rocheſter, deſerves to be mentioned. Being driven from his ſee by Ethelred, king of the Mercians, in 677, he retired to Scroulfe, the biſhop of Mercia, where obtaining a ſmall cure, and a portion of ground, he remained in that country, totally unſolicitous for the reſtitution of his former dignity, and even went about, teaching choral muſic wherever he could find entertainment.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The following is one of thoſe Letters which, ſome Time ago, engaged the Attention of the Public ſo much under the Name of Ganganelli. *It contains a ſhort and ſuccinct Deſcription of* Italy.—*The principal Objects are ſtrongly and judiciouſly marked, and the Whole is written in a lively and ſpirited Manner.*

To the Abbé Ferghen.

MONS. ABBÉ,

YOU cannot do better to divert yourſelf from your troubles and embarraſſment than to viſit Italy. Every well-informed man owes an homage to this country, ſo deſervedly boaſted of; and it will give me inexpreſſible ſatisfaction to ſee you here.

The firſt object that ſtrikes you will be the great bulwarks given us by Nature, in the Alps and Appennines, which ſeparate us from France, and have occaſioned our being ſtiled Tramontanes by that nation. They are a majeſtic range of mountains, which ſerve as a frame to the magnificent picture within them.

Torrents, rivulets, and rivers, without reckoning the ſeas, are objects which preſent the moſt curious and intereſting points of view to foreigners, and eſpecially to painters. Nothing can be more agreeable than the moſt fertile ſoil in the fineſt climate, every where interſected with ſtreams of running water, and every where peopled with villages, or ornamented with ſuperb cities.—Such a country is Italy!

If agriculture was held in equal eſteem with architecture; if the country was not divided into ſuch a number of governments, all of different forms, and almoſt all weak, and of little extent; miſery would not be found by the ſide of magnificence, and induſtry without activity; but unfortunately we are more engaged in the embelliſhment of cities, than in the culture of the country; and uncultivated lands every where reproach the idleneſs of the people.

If you begin your route at Venice, you will ſee a city very ſingular from its ſituation;—it reſembles a great ſhip reſting upon the waters, and which cannot be approached but by boats.

The ſingularity of its ſituation is not the only thing that will ſurpriſe you.—The inhabitants in maſque for four or five months in the year;—the laws of a deſpotic government, which allow the greateſt liberty in their amuſements; the rights of a ſovereign without authority; the cuſtoms of a people who dread even his ſha-

dow, and yet enjoy the greateſt tranquillity; form inconſiſtencies, which in a very extraordinary manner muſt affect foreigners. There is ſcarcely a Venetian who is not eloquent;—collections have been made of the *bons mots* of their Gondoliers, replete with true Attic ſalt.

Ferrara diſplays a vaſt and beautiful ſolitude within its walls, almoſt as ſilent as the tomb of Arioſto, who was buried there.

Bologna preſents another kind of picture; there the ſciences are familiar, even to the ſex;* who appear with dignity in the ſchools and academies, and have trophies frequently erected to them. A thouſand different paintings will gratify your mind and eyes, and the converſation of the inhabitants will delight you.

You will then paſs through a multitude of ſmall towns, in the ſpace of more than a hundred leagues, each of which has its theatre, its caſin *(a rendezvous for the nobility)*, a man of learning, or ſome poet, who employ themſelves according to their taſte or their leiſure.

You will viſit Loretto, made famous by the great concourſe of pilgrims from other countries, and the treaſures with which the church is magnificently enriched.

You will then deſcry Rome, which may be ſeen a thouſand years, and always with new pleaſure. The city, ſituated upon ſeven hills, which the ancients called the Seven Miſtreſſes of the World, ſeems from thence to command the univerſe, and boldly to ſay to mankind, that ſhe is the queen and the capital.

You will call to mind the ancient Romans, the remembrance of whom can never be effaced; on caſting an eye on the famous Tiber, which has been ſo often mentioned, and which has been ſo frequently ſwelled by their own blood, and that of their enemies.

You will be in extacy at the ſight of St. Peter's, which artiſts ſay is the wonder of the world; being infinitely ſuperior to the St. Sophia at Conſtantinople, St. Paul's at London, or even the Temple of Solomon.

It is a ſtructure which extends itſelf as you ſurvey it, where the whole ſeems to be immenſe, while every member of it appears to preſerve its due proportion. The paintings are exquiſite, the monumental ſculptures breathe, and you will imagine that you ſee the New Jeruſalem come down from Heaven, which St. John ſpeaks of in the Revelations.

You will find, both in the great and in the detail of the Vatican, which was erected on the ruins of falſe oracles, beauties of every kind that will tire your eyes, while they at the ſame time charm you. Here Raphael and Michael Angelo, ſometimes in a ſublime, ſometimes in a pathetic manner, have diſplayed the maſter-pieces of their genius, by expreſſing in the moſt lively language the whole energy of their ſouls; and here the ſcience and genius of all the writers

* This expreſſion is not diſtinguiſhed in the original by a gender; for there is a certain peculiar politeneſs in the Italian and French languages, that whenever the word *ſex* is uſed abſolutely and irrelatively, it is always to be underſtood of the *female*.

in

in the world are depoſited, in the multitude of works which compoſe that rich and immenſe library.

Churches, palaces, public ſquares, pyramids, obeliſks, pillars, galleries, grand fronts of buildings, theatres, fountains, gardens, views, all, all will declare to you that you are at Rome; and every thing will attach you to it, as to the city, which of all others has been the moſt univerſally admired. You will not, indeed, meet with that French elegance which prefers the beautiful to the ſublime; but you will be amply recompenſed by thoſe ſtriking views that every inſtant muſt excite your admiration.

Laſtly, in all the figures of painting or of ſculpture, both antient and modern, you will ſee a new creation, and almoſt think it animated. The Academy of Painting, filled with French ſtudents, will ſhew you ſome who are deſtined to become great maſters in their profeſſion, and who by coming to ſtudy here do honour to Italy.

You will admire the grandeur and ſimplicity of the Head of the Church, the ſervant of ſervants in the order of humility, and the firſt of men in the eyes of the Faithful. The cardinals who ſurround him will repreſent to you the twenty-four old men who encircle the throne of the Lamb, whom you will find equally modeſt in their manners, and edifying in their morals.

But theſe great and pleaſing objects will be diſgraced by the diſguſting ſight of groupes of Mendicants, whom Rome improperly ſupports, by beſtowing miſapplied charity, inſtead of employing them in uſeful labours: thus it is that the thorn is ſeen with the roſe, and vice too frequently by the ſide of virtue.

But if you wiſh to ſee Rome in all her ſplendour, endeavour to be there by the feaſt of St. Peter. The illumination of the church begins with a gentle light, which you may eaſily miſtake for the reflection of the ſetting ſun: it then ſends forth ſome pieces of beautiful architecture, and afterwards finiſhes with waving flames, which make a moving picture, that laſts till day-break. All this is attended with double fire-works, the ſplendour of which is ſo bright, that you would think the ſtars had fallen from the Heavens, and burſt upon the earth.

I do not mention to you the ſtrange metamorphoſis which has placed the order of St. Francis even in the capitol, and has produced a new Rome from the ruins of the old; to ſhew the world, that chriſtianity is truly the work of God, and that he has ſubdued the moſt famous conquerors to eſtabliſh it in the very centre of their empire.

If the modern Romans do not appear warlike, it is becauſe the nature or principle of their government does not inſpire them with valour; but they have the ſeed of every virtue, and make as good ſoldiers as any, when they carry arms under a foreign power. It is certain that they have a great ſhare of genius, a ſingular aptitude in acquiring the ſciences; and you would imagine they were born Harlequins, ſo expreſſive are they in their geſtures, even from their infancy.

You will next travel by the famous Appian Way, which from

its age is become wretchedly inconvenient, and you will arrive at Naples, the Parthenope of the Ancients, where the aſhes of Virgil are depoſited, and where you will ſee a laurel growing, which could not poſſibly be better placed.

Mount Veſuvius on one ſide, and the Elyſian Fields on the other, preſent a moſt ſingular and contraſted view; and after being ſatisfied with this delightful proſpect, you will find yourſelf ſurrounded by a multitude of Neapolitans, lively and ingenious, but too much addicted to pleaſure and idleneſs, to become what they otherwiſe might be capable of. Naples would be a delightful place, if it was not for the multitude of the lower populace, who have the appearance of unhappy wretches, or banditti, though often without being either the one or the other.

The churches are magnificently decorated, but their architecture is in a wretched taſte, and by no means comparable to the Roman. You will have a ſingular pleaſure in traverſing the environs of this town, which is moſt delightful, from its delicious fruits, charming views, and fine ſituations. You will penetrate into the famous ſubterranean city of Herculaneum, which was ſwallowed up in a former age by an eruption of Mount Veſuvius. If the mountain happens to be raging, you will ſee torrents of fire iſſuing from its bowels, and majeſtically overſpreading the country. You will ſee a collection of whatever has been recovered out of Herculaneum, at Portici; and the environs of Puzzuolo, ſung by the Prince of Poets, will inſpire you with a true paſſion for poetry.

You ſhould walk with the Æneid in your hand, and compare the cave of the Cumæan Sybil and Acheron with what Virgil has ſaid of them.

You will return by Caſerta, which from its decorations, marbles, extent, and aqueducts worthy of ancient Rome, is the fineſt place in Europe: and you will make a viſit to Mount Caſſino, where the ſpirit of St. Benedict has ſubſiſted uninterruptedly, above a dozen ages, in ſpite of the immenſe riches of that ſuperb monaſtery.

Florence, from whence the fine arts have iſſued, and where their moſt magnificent maſter-pieces are depoſited, will preſent other objects to your view. There you will admire a city, which, according to the remark of a Portugueſe, *ſhould only be ſhewn on Sundays*, it is ſo handſome, and ſo beautifully decorated. You will every where trace the ſplendour and elegance of the family of Medici, inſcribed in the Annals of Taſte as the reſtorers of the fine arts.

Leghorn is a well inhabited ſeaport, of great advantage to Tuſcany. Piſa always has men of learning, in every ſcience, in its ſchools. Sienna, remarkable for the purity of its air and language, will intereſt you in a very ſingular manner. Parma, placed in the midſt of fertile paſtures, will ſhew you a theatre which can contain fourteen thouſand people, and where every one can hear what is ſaid, though ſpoken in a whiſper. Placentia will appear to you worthy of the name it bears, as its delightful ſituation muſt captivate every traveller.

You,

You will not forget Modena, as it is the country of the famous Muratori, and a city celebrated for the name which it has given to its ſovereigns.

You will find at Milan the ſecond church in Italy, for ſize and beauty: more than a thouſand marble ſtatues decorate its outſide, and it would be a maſter-piece, if it had a proportionable front. The ſociety of its inhabitants is quite agreeable, ever ſince it was beſieged by the French. They live there as they do in Paris, and every thing, even to the hoſpitals and burying-grounds, preſents an air of ſplendour. The Ambroſian Library muſt attract the literati; and the Ambroſian ritual no leſs engage the eccleſiaſtic, who wiſhes to know the uſages of the church as well as thoſe of antiquity.

The Borromean Iſles will next attract your curioſity, from the accounts you muſt have had of them. Placed in the middle of a delightful lake, they preſent to your view whatever is magnificent or gay in gardens.

Genoa will appear to you truly ſuperb in its churches and palaces. There you will ſee a port famous for its commerce, and the reſort of ſtrangers. You will ſee a doge changed almoſt as often as the ſuperiors of communities, and with ſcarce any greater authority.

And laſtly Turin, the reſidence of a court where the virtues have long inhabited, will charm you with the regularity of its buildings, the beauty of its ſquares, the ſtreightneſs of its ſtreets, and the ſpirit of the people; and there you will agreeably conclude your travels.

I have been juſt making the tour of Italy, moſt rapidly and at little expence, as you ſee, to invite you to it in reality;—'tis ſufficient to *ſketch* paintings to ſuch a maſter as you.

I make no mention of our morals to you; they are not more corrupt, than among other people, let malice ſay what it will; they vary only their ſhades, according to the difference of the governments.—The Roman does not reſemble the Genoeſe, nor the Venetian the Neapolitan; but you may ſay of Italy, as of the whole world, that, with ſome little diſtinctions, it is here, as it is there, *a little good, and a little bad.*

I do not attempt to prejudice you in favour of the agreeableneſs of the Italians, nor of their love of the arts and ſciences: you will very ſoon perceive it when you come among them; you of all men, with whom one is delighted to converſe, and to whom it will always be a pleaſure to ſay, that one is his moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant.

I have taken the opportunity of a leiſure moment, to give you ſome idea of my country; it is only a coarſe daubing, which in another hand would have been a beautiful miniature: the ſubject deſerves it, but my pencil is not ſufficiently delicate for the execution.

Rome, 12 Nov. 1756.

On Languages, by Mr. De Voltaire, *in a Letter to Signior* Tovaſi Deodati.

SIR,

I AM extremely ſenſible of the honour you have done me, by ſending me your Treatiſe on the excel-

excellency of the Italian language; it was like ſending to a lover an encomium on his miſtreſs.—However, allow me to offer ſome reflections in favour of the French tongue, which you ſeem to depreciate a little too much.—A man often takes the part of his wife, when ſhe is not treated with ſufficient reſpect by his miſtreſs.

I believe, ſir, that no language can lay claim to perfection;—we may ſay with regard to them as to many other things, the ignorant have preſcribed laws to the learned.

All languages have been originally formed by the uncultivated vulgar. Workmen have impoſed names on their tools.—Savage *Hords* as ſoon as they aſſembled, contrived words to expreſs their wants, and after a number of ages were paſſed, men of genius aroſe, who made the beſt uſe they could of the terms their rude anceſtors had by chance eſtabliſhed.

In my opinion there are only two languages exiſting that have a claim to real harmony,—the Greek, and the Latin. In them alone we find a verſification that can boaſt of a genuine meaſure,—a certain *Rhythmus*, a real mixture of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, and quantity in the ſyllables.—The rude inventors of thoſe two languages, had certainly more muſical heads, a juſter ear, and more delicate organs than other nations.

You have, you ſay, ſir, long and ſhort ſyllables in your beautiful Italian language, and ſo have we in our French; but neither you nor we, nor any other nation, have real Dactyls and Spondees. Our verſes are diſtinguiſhed by the number, not the quantity of ſyllables. *La bella lingua Toſcana e la figlia primogenita del Latino.* "The beautiful Tuſcan language is the eldeſt daughter of the Latin." Enjoy your right of ſeniority, but allow your younger ſiſters ſome ſhare in the ſucceſſion.

I have always reſpected the Italians as our maſters; but you will acknowledge that you have formed excellent ſcholars. Almoſt all the European languages have a mixture of beauties and faults which balance each other. You have not the melodious and ſtately terminations of the Spaniſh words, which are rendered ſo ſonorous by a happy concourſe of vowels and conſonants: *los rios, los hombres, las hiſtorias, los coſtumbres.* Nor have you thoſe dipthongs which in our language produce ſo harmonious an effect;—*les Rois, les Empereurs, les exploits, les hiſtoires:* you reproach us with our *e* mute, as a flat dull ſound, which expires on our lips, but to that *e* mute are we principally indebted for the harmony of our proſe and our verſe. *Empire, couronne, diademe, flamme, tendreſſe, victoire:* all theſe terminations leave a ſound, which dwells upon the ear even after the word is pronounced, as a harpſichord echoes after the finger is lifted off the keys.

Acknowledge, ſir, that the prodigious variety of thoſe terminations give our language ſome advantages over yours, the words of which end only with the five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*, and even the laſt of theſe we ought to ſtrike out, for you have not in the whole compaſs of your language, above ſeven or eight words that end in *u*.—There remain then only the four ſounds, *a, e, i, o*, for the terminations of

all Italian words. Do you ſincerely think, ſir, that the ear of a foreigner can be pleaſed with hearing the following verſes of Taſſo?

——— il Capitano
Che'l grano ſi pelcro libero di Chriſto,
Molto egli opro col ſenno e colla mano.

Do you think ſuch a frequent repetition of the vowel *o*, can be agreeable to any ear not accuſtomed to it? Compare with this dull uniformity ſo tireſome to a ſtranger; —compare with thoſe dry heavy lines, the following ſimple couplet of Corneille.

Le deſtin ſe déclare, et nous venons d'entendre
Ce qu'il a reſolu du beau-père & du gendre.

You ſee that every word has a different termination. Pronounce now theſe two verſes of Homer,

Εξ ου δη τα πρωτα διαστην ερισαντε
Ατρειδης τε αναξ ανδρων και διος Αχιλλευς.

Pronounce theſe verſes before a young lady, either of England or Germany, who has the leaſt delicacy of ear, ſhe will prefer the Greek, — ſhe will tolerate the French, and ſhe will be a little diſguſted with the uniformity of the Italian terminations. 'Tis an experiment I have often tried.

Your poets, who aſſiſted in forming your language, were ſo ſenſible of this radical defect in the termination of the Italian words, that they have cut off the letters *e* and *o*, in which your infinitives, preterites, and nominatives, conſtantly end. They ſay *amar'* inſtead of *amaré*, *noqueron*, for *noqueroné*, *la ſtagion* for *la ſtagioné*, *buon'* for *buono*, *malevol* for *malevole*. You were deſirous to avoid a diſagreeable ſound, and you frequently fall into the error of terminating your verſes with the canine letter *r*, which the Greeks never did. *

It is acknowledged that the Latin tongue muſt have long appeared rude and barbarous to the Greeks, from the frequent repetition of *ur* and *um*, and the multitude of proper names which terminated in *us*. We have ſucceeded better than you in getting rid of this uniformity. —If Rome was antiently filled with ſenators and knights in *us*, we at preſent meet only with the cardinals and abbés in *i*.

You boaſt, ſir, and with great reaſon, of the copiouſneſs of your language, but allow that we labour under no ſcarcity. 'Tis true, there is no Idiom exiſting which paints all the different ſhades of ideas. In this reſpect, all languages are poor; for example, no language can expreſs, by a ſingle word, love founded on eſteem, on beauty alone, on ſimiliarity of characters, or on conſtitution; the caſe is the ſame with all the paſſions, all the qualities of our ſoul: what we perceive moſt diſtinctly, it is often impoſſible to expreſs.

Yet, ſir, do not imagine that in every thing we are reduced to the extreme indigence with which you reproach us. You have given us a catalogue of two columns to ſhew your own plenty and our poverty. You ſet on one ſide *orgoglio*, *alterigia*, *ſuperbia*, and on the other the ſingle word *orgueil*. But, ſir, we have *orgueil*, *ſuperbe*, *hauteur*, *fierté*, *morgue*, *elevation*, *dedain*, *arrogance*, *inſolence*, *gloire*, *gloriole*, *preſumtion*, *outre cuidance*. All theſe words expreſs different modes of the ſame paſſion, in the ſame manner as your *orgoglio*, *ſuperbia*,

* This is a very extraordinary miſtake of M. Voltaire's. The Greek dramatic and lyric poets abound in ſuch verſes.

alterigia,

ekerigia, are not always preciſely ſynonimous.

In your inventory of our mendicity, you reproach us with having only one word, *vaillant*, to ſignify valiant. I know, ſir, that your nation is very valiant when it pleaſes itſelf, and when it is the pleaſure of others; Germany and France have had the happineſs of entertaining in their ſervice, many Italian officers diſtinguiſhed for their bravery and military ſkill. *L'italico valor non e ancor morto.* "The Italian valour is not yet extinct."

But if you have *valente*, *prode*, *animoſo*, we have *vaillant*, *valeureux*, *preux*, *courageux*, *intrepide*, *hardi*, *animé*, *audacieux*, *brave*, &c. Of that courage, that bravery, there are many different characters, each of which has its peculiar epithet. We would ſay that our generals are valiant, courageous, brave, but we would diſtinguiſh that keen, impetuous courage of the general who carried ſword in hand all the works of Port-Mahon, which were cut in the living rock: from that unſhaken, deliberate, and ſkilful firmneſs, with which one of our commanders preſerved a whole garriſon from the brink of ruin, and performed a march of thirty leagues in the face of an hoſtile army, compoſed of thirty thouſand fighting men.

We would expreſs in a ſtill different manner the calm intrepidity which the connoiſſeurs admire in the grand nephew of the hero of the *Valteline*, when, after his forces were put to the route by a panic terror which ſeized our allies, that general perceiving the regiment of *Dieſbach*, and another making head againſt a victorious army, tho' they were already attacked by the enemy's cavalry, and ſeverely gauled by their artillery, ſingly joined thoſe regiments, praiſed their *valour*, their *courage*, their *firmneſs*, their *intrepidity*, their *reſolution*, their *ſteadineſs*, their *boldneſs*, their *ſpirit*, their *bravery*, their *heroiſm*, &c. See, ſir, how many terms inſtead of one. He was afterwards *daring* enough, in defiance of the victorious enemy, to draw off thoſe two regiments, at a ſlow pace, from the danger into which their gallantry had led them; and ſtill had the *ſpirit* to bear the reproaches of a multitude always ill-informed. Believe then, ſir, I intreat you, that our language has genius to expreſs, what the defenders of our country have merit to perform.

You inſult us, ſir, on the word *ragout*, imagining that we have only that term to expreſs our *meſſes*, our *diſhes*, our *entries*, our *ſervices*. Would to heaven you were in the right, my health would be more robuſt; but, unhappily, we have terms of cookery enough to fill a whole dictionary.

You boaſt of two expreſſions for a *glutton*; but, ſir, deign to pity our *gormandizers*, our *belly-gods*, our *good livers*, our *great eaters*, our *gluttons*.

You are only acquainted with the word *learning*, but we have men of *learning*, *erudition* and *letters*, *enlightened*, able and *well inſtructed*: You will find among us both the word and the thing.

Believe me, every reproach you have caſt upon us, is equally unfair with thoſe I have mentioned. —We have no *diminutives*. In the age of Marot, Rabelais, and Montaigne, we had as many as you; but ſuch puerilities appeared to us

unworthy of a language ennobled by the Paſcals, the Boſſuets, the Fenelons, the Poliſſons, the Corneilles, the Boileaus, the Maſſillons, the Fontaines, the Bruyeres. We have left to Marot, Ronſard, and Dubartas, the burleſque diminutives in *otte* and in *ette*, ſcarce preſerving any but *ſleurette*, *amourette*, *fillette*, *griſette*, *grandelette*, *vieillete*, *nabotte*, *villotte*, and even theſe we employ only in the moſt familiar ſtile.

Do not imitate *Buon' Matthei*, who in his diſcourſe before the academy de la *Cruſca*, ſo highly extols your excluſive advantage of expreſſing a hamper and a handbaſket, by *corbello* and *corbellino*; we have *corbeilles* and *corbeillons*.

You, ſir, poſſeſs much more ſolid advantages;—your language admits of inverſion, and it is eaſier to compoſe a hundred good verſes in Italian, than ten in French. The reaſon of that facility is your toleration of the *hiatus*, that gaping of the ſyllables which is proſcribed among us, and all your words being terminated by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, you have at leaſt twenty times our ſtock of rhimes, and add to this, your Poets may diſpenſe with rhime altogether. You are leſs reſtricted than we to the Hemiſtich and Ceſura; you dance at liberty and we in chains.

But believe me, ſir, you ought not to reproach our language with roughneſs or want of proſody, nor with obſcurity or dryneſs. Your own tranſlations of ſome French works are ſufficient to prove the contrary. Beſides, peruſe what has been written by Meſſrs. d'Olivet and du Marſais on the method of ſpeaking our language with propriety. Read Mr. Du Clos: obſerve the force, clearneſs, and energy, of Meſſrs. Diderot and d'Alembert; what pictureſque expreſſions are often uſed by Meſſrs Buffon & Helvetius, in works which do not always appear ſuſceptible of the ornaments of ſtyle.

I ſhall conclude this letter, which is already protracted to too great a length, with one reflection.—If languages were firſt formed by the vulgar, they have been brought to perfection by the excellent productions of men of exalted genius, and the firſt of all languages is that which can ſhew the fineſt compoſitions.

" Etalés moins votre abondance,
" Vôtre origine & vos honneurs:
" Il ne ſied pas aux Grand-Seigneurs
" De ſe vanter de leur naiſſance.

" L'Italie inſtruiſit la France;
" Mais par un reproche indiſcret,
" Nous ſerions forcés, a regret,
" A manquer de reconnaiſſance.

" Des longtems ſortis de l'enfance,
" Nous avons quitté les genoux
" D'une nourrice en décadence,
" Dont le lait n'eſt plus fait pour nous.

" Nous pourions devenir jaloux,
" Quand vous parlez notre langage,
" Puis qu'il eſt embelli par vous,
" Ceſſez donc de lui faire outrage.

" L'égalité contente un Sage:
" Terminons ainſi le procès.
" Quand on eſt égal aux Français,
" Ce n'eſt pas un mauvais partage.

On Monteſquieu *and* Grotius.

Mr. Linguet, *Counſellor of the Parliament of Paris, to Mr.* De Voltaire.

SIR, *Paris, 19th Feb.* 1767.

I WILLINGLY conform to a very laudable cuſtom, which I ſee

retty generally eſtabliſhed, viz. young authors tranſmit to you py of their works, and court onour of obtaining a place for productions in your library. is very natural, that the firſt of a tree ſhould be gathered he hand which contributed to fix its roots. The progreſs aſon and of taſte among us, is ſt entirely your work. —— who have profited by it, ot diſpenſe from teſtifying gratitude to you. The pro-n given to literature by our cellors, is worth to them a copy very new publication.---The homage is due to you by the title.

eu du goût, ce Dieu ſenſible & delicat,
vous avez ſi bien fait connaitre l'Empire,
a remis les ſceaux de cet état.
é les cris de la ſatire
s en a nommé le premier magiſtrat.
ſte là pour la finance,
ut tant que je crois,
a garde des ſceaux de France.
n'eſt pas la ſeule différence
ſtingue ces deux emplois.
n peut ſe croire capable
en garder ces derniers ſceaux.
voit-on à ce poſte honorable.
idre à chaque inſtant des concurrens nouveaux.
ci le cas eſt tout autre,
n'aurez jamais de rivaux
hardis pour demander le vôtre.

is true that you are thus ex- from time to time to trou-me meſſages, and the peruſal ry dull performances, but I ſe you uſe the privilege of chancellors, and take care o read all the petitions pre-d to you, and ſhould you even yourſelf in conſcience oblig-it, after all it would be only of the inconveniencies of your office, and you know there is no employment but has its mortifications.—Sinecures are no where to be found but in the church.

If for my ſake you derogate from the prerogatives of your office, and deign to caſt a glance upon the *Theory of Civil laws*, you will perhaps find in it a great many things that are new, but there will be likewiſe not a few which you have certainly thought of before. I have read and underſtood you ſufficiently to be aſſured, that you will not blame me for having combated the opinion of Mr. de Monteſquieu. I have done juſtice to his great genius, while I attack his errors. He is a brilliant genius ſubject to frequent eclipſes. I am far from ſaying of him all I might have done. I have materials enough remaining to form a volume. I ſhall find a proper place for them, in the ſequel of my work, if ever I compleat the grand project I have formed, to attack in their ſource, the multiplicity of laws, tribunals, cuſtoms, &c.—to prove that ſimplicity and uniformity are, or ought to be, the ſprings of policy, and that complication of every kind, is the parent of monſters. You will perceive that in the courſe of developing ſuch principles, it will be requiſite frequently to refute Mr. de Monteſquieu, and that taſk appears as eaſy as it is neceſſary.

I think with you, ſir, that literature, the arts, and every thing that relates to them, are inventions highly uſeful for the rich; excellent reſources for men of leiſure who enjoy ſuperfluity. Theſe are *corals* which amuſe them in the ſtate of perpetual infancy, in which they are kept by their opulence.

Their vivacity evaporates upon thoſe triſles with which they amuſe themſelves. The attention they pay to them, prevents their making uſe of their ſtrength to more dangerous purpoſes. But I believe the caſe to be entirely different with that other, and infinitely more numerous portion of mankind, who are called the people. Theſe intellectual *corals* become to them poiſoned Amulets, which ſpoil and corrupt them without remedy. The actual ſtate of ſociety condemns them to have only hands; — all is loſt the moment they are put in a condition of perceiving that they have a ſoul.

Could one of thoſe diviſions of mankind be ſingly illuminated; were it poſſible to intercept all the rays which proceed from the little to the great, and to cover with everlaſting darkneſs only that of the two which is no longer uſeful than while it is totally blind, I would willingly applaud the labours of the philoſophers and their partizans.

But reflect, ſir, the ſun cannot riſe upon the firſt, without a twilight extending to the ſecond, however, diſtant it may be; and this claſs, when enlightened, neceſſarily inclines to depreciate, or to mix with the other. Hence it follows that light is fatal to both; and that an obſcurity, in which they might live quietly, each within its reſpective limits, is infinitely preferable to a ſtate of illumination, by which they only learn reciprocally to deſpiſe or deteſt one another.

This, ſir, is my ſmall profeſſion of literary faith, which I ſhall ever maintain to martyrdom exclu-ſively.

Anſwer to Counſellor Linguet, *on* Monteſquieu *and* Grotius.

I BELIEVE with you, ſir, that the *ſpirit of laws* contains more than one inadvertency. Few people read attentively.—It has not been obſerved that almoſt all Monteſquieu's quotations are falſe. He cites the pretended political teſtament of Cardinal Richelieu, and makes him ſay, Chap. VI, Book III. that if there be found among the people, an unfortunate man of virtue, he ought not to be employed.---That teſtament, which beſides is not worth being cited, ſays juſt the contrary; and that not in the ſixth, but in the fourth chapter,

He makes Plutarch affirm, that women are incapable of real love. He does not conſider that this ſentiment is put into the mouth of one of Plutarch's Interlocutors, and that Greek, too fantaſtic in his opinions, is ſeverely reprimanded by Daphneus, in favour of whom Plutarch decides. That dialogue is wholly conſecrated to the honour of their ſex: but Monteſquieu read too ſuperficially, and judged too haſtily.

From the ſame negligence he ſays, *that the grand Signior is not obliged by law to keep his word.*---*That all low trades were infamous in Greece.*---*That he laments the blindneſs of Francis I, who rejected the propoſal of Chriſtopher Columbus for the diſcovery of the Indies.*---You will remark that Columbus had diſcovered America before Francis I. was born.

The vivacity of his genius makes him aſſert in the ſame place, Book IV. Chap. XIX, *that the council of Spain was guilty of falſe policy in prohi-*

biting the uſe of gold in embroid-
lace and gilding. Such a law,
he, *would be ſimilar to one we*
ſuppoſe paſt in Holland, probi-
g cinamon. He does not re-
that the Spaniards had no ma-
ſtures, that they would have
obliged to buy their ſtuffs
gold lace from other nations,
that the Dutch could purchaſe
non only at their own mark-
becauſe it grows no where but
eir dominions.
moſt all the examples that he
ces, are taken from unknown
ns, in the remoteſt parts of
upon the credit of ill-inform-
lying travellers.
affirms that there are no na-
le rivers in Perſia, except the
; he forgets that they have
Euphrates, the Oxus, the
es, the Phraſis, the Cirus,
the Indus itſelf, whoſe ſtream
ong flowed under the laws of
Kings of Perſia. Chardin, in
hird volume of his travels,
s us, that the river Zende-
, which runs through Iſpa-
, is as large as the Seine at
, and that it often drowns
houſes on the Quays of the

luckily the whole ſyſtem of
pirit of laws is built upon an
neſis which is falſe in fact.
naintains that *Monarchies are*
ſhed upon the principle of ho-
and *Republics upon that of vir-*
and in order to ſupport that
nded *bon mot*, he ſays, (Book
Ch. VII) *the nature of honour*
require preferences, and diſtinc-
therefore honour, from the na-
of the thing, is properly placed
Monarchial Governments. --- He
to reflect that from *the na-*
of the thing, the Romans, in
me of the republic, intrigued
for the Prætorſhip, the Conſul-
ſhip, the Triumph, Crowns and
Statues.

I have taken the liberty to point out ſeveral miſtakes in that book, which, in other reſpects, is an admirable performance. I ſhall not be ſurpriſed if that celebrated work appear to you to contain more epigrammatic point than ſound reaſoning; and yet it abounds with ſo much wit and genius, that it will always be preferred to Grotius and Puffendorf: ---their misfortune is to be tireſome; they are rather heavy than grave.

Grotius, whom you attack with ſo much juſtice, extorted from his age a reputation which he was far from deſerving. His *Treatiſe on the Chriſtian Religion* is not eſteemed by men of real learning. He there ſays, book i, ch. xxii. *That the general conflagration is foretold in Hyſtaſpes and the Sybilline Oracles.* To their teſtimony he adds thoſe of Ovid and Lucan.---He quotes Lycophron to prove the hiſtory of Jonas.

If you would form a judgment of the character of Grotius's genius, read his harangue to *Anne of Auſtria* on the ſubject of her pregnancy. He compares her to the *Jeweſs Anne*, who had children in her old age. He ſays that the dolphins, when they friſk upon the water, announce an approaching calm, and for the ſame reaſon the little Dauphin that leaped in her womb, prognoſticated a ceſſation of the troubles of the kingdom.

I could quote you a hundred examples of this pedantic eloquence in that Grotius, who has been the object of ſo great admiration. Time is requiſite in order to ap-

pretiate books, and fix the ſcale of reputations.

Be not afraid that people of the lower rank will read Puffendorf and Grotius; they are not fond of dull amuſements. They would rather chooſe, if they were capable, to read ſome chapters of the ſpirit of laws, which are level to every capacity, becauſe they are written with great eaſe and beauty. But let us make a diſtinction in what you call the *people*, between the profeſſions which require a decent education, and thoſe which require only the labour of the hands and daily fatigue. This laſt claſs is the moſt numerous, and the ſole relaxation and pleaſure of its members, are to go to high maſs and the tavern, becauſe there they hear ſinging and ſing themſelves.-- But for artiſans of a higher order, whoſe profeſſions require a conſiderable degree of reflexion, to perfect their taſte and extend their knowledge; they begin to apply themſelves to reading all over Europe.---In Paris you ſcarce know the Swiſs, but from thoſe of that nation who ſerve as porters at noblemen's gates, or the characters which Moliere has introduced ſpeaking an unintelligible jargon in ſome farces: but the Pariſians would be amazed, were they to ſee the manufacturers in almoſt every town in Swiſſerland, eſpecially in Geneva, devoting to ſtudy the time which cannot be conſecrated to labour. No, ſir, all is not loſt, *the moment the people are put into a condition of perceiving that they have a ſoul.* On the contrary, all is loſt when they are treated like a herd of bulls; for, ſooner or later, they butt you with their horns. Do you believe that the people read and reaſoned in the time of the wars between the red and white roſe in England? in that which brought Charles I. to the Scaffold; in the horrors of the *Armagnacs* and *Bourguignons*, or even in thoſe of the *League*? The people, ignorant and ferocious, were ſpirited on by a few fanatic doctors, who cried out, kill all in the name of the Lord. I would defy Cromwell now to turn England upſide down by his jargon of an *Energumen*; John of Leyden to make himſelf King of Munſter; and Cardinal de Retz to form the barricades at Paris. To conclude, ſir, you ought not to prohibit men from reading:---you would loſe too much by it.

Religious Perſecution; a Fragment of the Book of Geneſis, *lately diſcovered by an eminent Philoſopher.*

1 AND Abraham was ſitting at the door of his tent, under the ſhade of his fig-tree.

2 And it came to paſs that a man, ſtricken with years, bearing a ſtaff in his hand, journeyed that way. And it was noon-day.

3 And Abraham ſaid unto the ſtranger, Paſs not by, I pray thee; but come in and waſh thy feet, and tarry here until the evening; for thou art ſtricken with years, and the heat overcometh thee.

4 And the ſtranger left his ſtaff at the door, and entered into the tent of Abraham.

5 And he repoſed himſelf; and Abraham ſet before him bread, with cakes of fine meal baked upon the hearth:

6 And Abraham bleſſed the bread, giving God thanks: But the ſtranger did eat, and refuſed to pray unto the moſt High; ſaying, thy Lord is not the God of my fathers.

And Abraham was exceeding
; and he called his ſervants,
they beat the ſtranger, and
him into the wilderneſs.
Now in the evening Abraham
up his voice and prayed unto
ord: and the Lord ſaid, Abra-
where is the ſtranger that ſo-
ed this day with thee?
And Abraham anſwered and
Behold, O Lord! he eat of
read, and would not give thee
s; therefore did I chaſtiſe
and drive him from my pre-
into the wilderneſs.
And the Lord ſaid unto Abra-
Thou haſt done evil in my

Have I not borne with thy
greſſions theſe fourſcore and ten
; and couldſt not thou bear
ne day with the infirmities of
rother?
Ariſe, and follow the ſtrang-
and carry with thee oil and
; and anoint his bruiſes, and
kindly unto him.
For I the Lord thy God, am
lous God, and judgment be-
th alone unto me.
And Abraham aroſe; and
it on ſackcloth and aſhes, and
out into the wilderneſs, to do
e Lord had commanded him.

---

ympathy.—From Dr. Beattie's *Eſſay on Muſic and Poetry.*

S a great part of the pleaſure we derive from poetry de-
s on our ſympathetic feelings, hiloſophy of ſympathy ought
/s to form a part of the ſcience riticiſm. On this ſubject, fore, I beg leave to ſubjoin a brief remarks, that may poſ- throw light on ſome of the foregoing, as well as ſubſequent reaſonings.

When we conſider the condition of another perſon, eſpecially if it ſeem to be pleaſurable or painful, we are apt to fancy ourſelves in the ſame condition, and to feel in ſome degree the pain or pleaſure that we think we ſhould feel if we were really in that condition. Hence the good of others becomes in ſome meaſure our good, and their evil our evil; the obvious effect of which is, to bind men more cloſely together in ſociety, and prompt them to promote the good, and relieve the diſtreſſes, of one another. Sympathy with diſtreſs is called compaſſion or pity: ſympathy with happineſs has no particular name; but, when expreſſed in words to the happy perſon, is termed congratulation.

We ſympathiſe, in ſome degree, even with things inanimate. To loſe a ſtaff we have long worn, to ſee in ruins a houſe in which we have long lived, may affect us with a momentary concern, though in point of value the loſs be nothing. With the dead we ſympathiſe, and even with thoſe circumſtances of their condition whereof we know that they are utterly inſenſible; ſuch as, their being ſhut up in a cold and ſolitary grave, excluded from the light of the ſun, and from all the pleaſures of life, and liable in a few years to be forgotten for ever.—Towards the brute creation our ſympathy is, and ought to be, ſtrong, they being percipient creatures like ourſelves. A merciful man is merciful to his beaſt; and that perſon would be deemed melancholy or hard-hearted, who ſhould ſee the friſking lamb, or hear the chearful ſong of

of the lark, or obſerve the tranſport of the dog when he finds the maſter he had loſt, without any participation of their joy. There are few paſſages of deſcriptive poetry into which we enter with a more hearty fellow-feeling, than where Virgil and Lucretius paint ſo admirably, the one the ſorrow of a ſteer for the loſs of his fellow, the other the affliction of a cow deprived of her calf.—But our ſympathy exerts itſelf moſt powerfully towards our fellow-men: and, other circumſtances being equal, is ſtronger or weaker, according as they are more or leſs nearly connected with us, and their condition more or leſs ſimilar to our own.

We often ſympathiſe with one another, when the perſon principally concerned has little ſenſe of either good or evil. We bluſh for another's ill-breeding, even when we know that he himſelf is not aware of it. We pity a madman, though we believe him to be happy in his phrenſy. We tremble for a maſon ſtanding on a high ſcaffold, though we know that cuſtom has made it quite familiar to him. It gives us pain to ſee another on the brink of a precipice, though we be ſecure ourſelves, and have no doubt of his circumſpection. In theſe caſes, it would ſeem, that our ſympathy is raiſed, not ſo much by our reflecting on what others really feel, as by a lively conception of what they would feel if their nature were exactly ſuch as ours; or of what we ourſelves ſhould feel, if we were in their condition, with the ſame ſentiments we have at preſent.

Many of our paſſions may be communicated and ſtrengthened by ſympathy. If we go into a chearful company, we become chearful; if into a mournful one, we become ſad. The preſence of a great multitude engaged in devotion, tends to make us devout. Cowards have behaved valiantly, when all their companions were valiant; and the timidity of a few has ſtruck a panic into a whole army.—We are not, however, much inclined to ſympathiſe with violent anger, jealouſy, envy, malevolence, and other ſanguinary or unnatural paſſions: we rather take part againſt them, and ſympathiſe with thoſe perſons who are in danger from them; becauſe we can more eaſily enter into their diſtreſs, and ſuppoſe ourſelves in their condition. But indignation at vice, particularly at ingratitude, cruelty, treachery, and the like, when we are well acquainted with the caſe, awakens in us a moſt intenſe fellow-feeling: and the ſatisfaction we are conſcious of, when ſuch crimes are adequately puniſhed, though ſomewhat ſtern and gloomy, is however ſincere, and by no means diſhonourable or detrimental to our moral nature; nor at all inconſiſtent with that pity, which the ſufferings of the criminal extort from us, when we are made to conceive them in a lively manner.

Of ſympathy all men are not equally ſuſceptible. They who have a lively imagination, keen feelings, and what we call a tender heart, are moſt ſubject to it. Habits of attention, the ſtudy of the works of nature, and of the beſt performances in art, experience of adverſity, the love of virtue and of mankind, tend greatly to cheriſh it; and thoſe paſſions whereof ſelf is the object, as pride, ſelf-conceit, the love of money, ſenſuality, envy,

vanity, have a tendency no powerful to deſtroy it. No- renders a man more amiable, ore uſeful, than a diſpoſition joice with them that rejoice, to weep with thoſe that weep; ater heartily, not officiouſly, the concerns of his fellow- ures; to comply with the in- nt humour of his company, attentive to them than to elf, and to avoid every occa- of giving pain or offence. And ng but downright immorality ore diſagreeable, than that n is, who affects bluntneſs of ier, and would be thought at nes to ſpeak all that he thinks, ner people take it well or ill; an thoſe pedants are, of what- profeſſion, (for we have them ll profeſſions), who, without ing others, or entering into views of things, are conti- y obtruding themſelves upon converſation, and their own rns, and the ſentiments and age peculiar to their own s and fraternities. This be- ur, though under the name of dealing it may arrogate a ſu- rity to artificial rules, is ge- y the effect of pride, igno- , or ſtupidity, or rather of e three in conjunction. A ſt man, who ſympathetically ls to the condition and ſenti- of others, will of his own l make thoſe allowances in favour, which he wiſhes to be in his own; and will think much his duty to promote happineſs, as he thinks it to promote his. And ſuch a s well principled in equity, l as in good-breeding: and h, from an imperfect know- of forms, or from his having had but few opportunities to put them in practice, his manner may not be ſo graceful, or ſo eaſy, as could be wiſhed, he will never give offence to any perſon of penetration and good-nature.

With feelings which we do not approve, or have not experienced, we are not apt to ſympathiſe. The diſtreſs of the miſer when his hoard is ſtolen, of the fop when he ſoils his fine jubilee cloaths, of the vaunting coxcomb when his lies are detected, of the unnatural parent when his daughter eſcapes with a deſerving lover, is more likely to move laughter than compaſſion. At Sparta, every father had the privilege of correcting any child; he who had experience of paternal tenderneſs being ſuppoſed incapable of wounding a parent's ſenſibility by unjuſt or rigorous chaſtiſement. When the cardinal of Milan would expoſtulate with the Lady Conſtance upon her violent ſorrow for the loſs of her child, ſhe anſwers, but without deigning to addreſs her anſwer to one who ſhe knew could be no competent judge of her caſe, "He ſpeaks to me who never had a ſon."——The Greeks and Romans were as eminent for public ſpirit, and for parental affection, as we; but, for a reaſon elſewhere aſſigned, knew little of that romantic love between unmarried perſons, which modern manners and novels have a tendency to inſpire. Accordingly the diſtreſs in their tragedies often aroſe from patriotiſm, and from the conjugal and filial charities, but not from the romantic paſſion whereof we now ſpeak. But there are few Engliſh tragedies, and ſtill fewer French, wherein ſome love-affair is not connected with the plot.

plot. This always raiſes our ſympathy; but would not have been ſo intereſting to the Greeks or Romans, becauſe they were not much acquainted with the refinements of this paſſion.

Sympathy, as the means of conveying certain feelings from one breaſt to another, might be made a powerful inſtrument of moral diſcipline, if poets, and other writers of fable, were careful to call forth our ſenſibility towards thoſe emotions only that favour virtue, and invigorate the human mind. Fictions, that breathe the ſpirit of patriotiſm or valour; that make us ſympathiſe with the parental, conjugal, or filial charities; that recommend misfortune to our pity, or expoſe crimes to our abhorrence, may certainly be uſeful in a moral view, by cheriſhing paſſions, that, while they improve the heart, can hardly be indulged to exceſs. But thoſe dreadful tales, that only give anguiſh to the reader, can never do any good: they fatigue, enervate, and overwhelm the ſoul: and when the calamities they deſcribe are made to fall upon the innocent, our moral principles are in ſome danger of a temporary depravation from the peruſal, whatever reſemblance the fable may be ſuppoſed to bear to the events of real life. Some late authors of fiction ſeem to have thought it incumbent upon them, not only to touch the heart, but to tear it in pieces. They heap "misfortune on misfortune, grief on grief," without end, and without mercy: which diſcompoſes the reader too much to give him either pleaſure or improvement; and is contrary to the practice of the wiſer ancients, whoſe moſt pathetic ſcenes were generally ſhort.

It is ſaid, that at the firſt repreſentation of *the Furies* of Eſchylus, the horror of the ſpectacle was ſo great, that ſeveral women miſcarried; which was indeed pathos with a vengeance. But though the truth of that ſtory ſhould be queſtioned, it admits of no doubt, that objects of grief and horror too much enlarged on by the poet or noveliſt may do more harm than good, and give more pain than pleaſure, to the mind of the reader. Surely this muſt be contrary to the eſſential rules of art, whether we conſider poetry as intended to pleaſe that it may inſtruct, or to inſtruct that it may the more effectually pleaſe. And ſuppoſing the real evils of life to be as various and important as is commonly believed, we muſt be thought to conſult our own intereſt very abſurdly, if we ſeek to torment ourſelves with imaginary misfortune. Horace inſinuates, that the ancient *Satyric Drama* (a ſort of burleſque tragi-comedy) was contrived for the entertainment of the more diſorderly part of the audience; and our critics aſſure us, that the modern farce is addreſſed to the upper gallery, where, it is ſuppoſed, there is no great reliſh for the ſublime graces of the Tragic Muſe. Yet I believe theſe *little pieces*, if conſiſtent with decency, will be found neither unpleaſant nor unprofitable even to the moſt learned ſpectator. A man, eſpecially if advanced in years, would not chuſe to go home with that gloom upon his mind which an affecting tragedy is intended to diffuſe; and if the play has conveyed any ſound inſtruction, there is no riſk of its being diſſipated by a little innocent mirth.

Upon the ſame principle, I confeſs, that I am not offended with thoſe

comic ſcenes wherewith our dramatic poet has occaſional- ought proper to diverſify his dies. Such a licence will at be allowed to be more pardon- in him, than it would be in tragic poets. They muſt their way to the heart, as an does to a ſtrong fortification, ow and regular approaches; ıſe they cannot, like Shake- e, take it at once, and by . In their pieces, therefore, ‹ture of comedy might have ad an effect, as if beſiegers to retire from the out-works had gained, and leave the y at leiſure to fortify them a d time. But Shakeſpeare pe- tes the heart by a ſingle effort, an make us as ſad in the pre- ſcene, as if we had not been y in the former. With ſuch rs as he poſſeſſed in the pa- e, if he had made his trage- uniformly mournful or terrible beginning to end, no perſon ıſibility would have been able pport the repreſentation.—As e probability of theſe mixed ɔoſitions, it admits of no doubt. ıre every where preſents a ſmi- ıixture of tragedy and comedy, y and ſorrow, of laughter and ınity, in the common affairs e. The ſervants of a court v little of what paſſes among es and ſtateſmen, and may fore, like the porter in Mac- , be very jocular when their iors are in deep diſtreſs. The ı of a favourite child is a great tion to parents and friends; he man who digs the grave , like Goodman Delver in ılet, be very chearful while he ing about his work. A con- cy may be dangerous; but the conſtable who apprehends the trai- tors may, like Dogberry, be a lu- dicrous character, and his very ab- ſurdities may be inſtrumental in bringing the plot to light, as well as in delaying or haſtening forward the diſcovery.—I grant, that com- poſitions, like thoſe I would now apologize for, cannot properly be called either tragedies or comedies: but the name is of no conſequence; let them be called *Plays*: and if in them nature is imitated in ſuch a way as to give pleaſure and inſtruc- tion, they are as well entitled to the denomination of *Dramatic Poems*, as any thing in Sophocles, Racine, or Voltaire.——But to re- turn:

Love is another "tyrant of the throbbing breaſt," of whom they who wiſh to ſee the ſtage tranſ- formed into a ſchool of virtue, com- plain, that his influence in the mo- dern drama is too deſpotical. Love, kept within due bounds, is no doubt, as the ſong ſays, "a gen- tle and a generous paſſion;" but no other paſſion has ſo ſtrong a ten- dency to tranſgreſs the due bounds: and the frequent contemplation of its various ardours and agonies, as exhibited in plays and novels, can ſcarce fail to enervate the mind, and to raiſe emotions and ſympa- thies unfriendly to innocence. And certain it is, that fables in which there is neither love nor gallantry, may be made highly intereſting even to the fancy and affections of a modern reader. This appears, not only from the writings of Shakeſpeare, and other great au- thors, but from the *Pilgrim's Pro- greſs* of Bunyan, and the hiſtory of Robinſon Cruſoe: than which laſt, there is not perhaps in any lan- guage a more intereſting narrative;

or

or a tale better contrived for communicating to the reader a lively idea of the importance of the mechanic arts, of the ſweets of ſocial life, and of the dignity of independence.

On the Utility of Claſſical Learning; by the ſame.

THE mental faculties of children ſtand as much in need of improvement, and conſequently of exerciſe, as their bodily powers. Nor is it of ſmall importance to deviſe ſome mode of diſcipline for fixing their attention. When this is not done, they become thoughtleſs and diſſipated to a degree that often unfits them for the buſineſs of life.

The Greeks and Romans had a juſt ſenſe of the value of this part of education. The youth of Sparta, when their more violent exerciſes were over, employed themſelves in works of ſtratagem; which in a ſtate, where wealth and avarice were unknown, could hardly be carried to any criminal exceſs. When they met together for converſation, their minds were continually exerted in judging of the morality of actions, and the expediency of public meaſures of government; or in bearing with temper, and retorting with ſpirit, the ſarcaſms of good-natured raillery. They were obliged to expreſs themſelves, without heſitation, in the feweſt and plaineſt words poſſible. Theſe inſtitutions muſt have made them thoughtful, and attentive, and obſervant both of men and things. And accordingly, their good ſenſe, and penetration, and their nervous and ſententious ſtyle, were no leſs the admiration of Greece, than their ſobriety, patriotiſm, and invincible courage. For the talent of *ſaying* what we call *good things* they were eminent among all the nations of antiquity. As they never piqued themſelves on their rhetorical powers, it was prudent to accuſtom the youth to ſilence and few words. It made them modeſt and thoughtful. With us very ſprightly children ſometimes become very dull men. For we are apt to reckon thoſe children the ſprightlieſt, who talk the moſt: and as it is not eaſy for them to think and talk at the ſame time, the natural effect of their too much ſpeaking is too little thinking.——At Athens, the youth were made to ſtudy their own language with accuracy both in the pronunciation and compoſition; and the meaneſt of the people valued themſelves upon their attainments in this way. Their orators muſt have had a very difficult part to act, when by the ſlighteſt impropriety they ran the hazard of diſguſting the whole audience: and we ſhall not wonder at the extraordinary effects produced by the harangues of Demoſthenes, or the extraordinary care wherewith thoſe harangues were compoſed, when we recollect, that the minuteſt beauty in his performance muſt have been perceived and felt by every one of his hearers. It has been matter of ſurpriſe to ſome, that Cicero, who had ſo true a reliſh for the ſevere ſimplicity of the Athenian orator, ſhould himſelf in his orations have adopted a ſtyle ſo diffuſe and declamatory. But Cicero knew what he did. He had a people to deal with, who, compared with the Athenians, might

t be called illiterate; and to
n Demoſthenes would have
ared as cold and unintereſting,
cero would have ſeemed pom-
and inflated to the people of
ns. In every part of learn-
he Athenians were ſtudious to
. Rhetoric in all its branches
o them an object of principal
deration. From the ſtory of
ites we may learn, that the
ry ſpirit was keener at Athens,
in that corrupted age, than
y period in any other country.
perſon of mean condition,
of the loweſt fortune, with the
ts and temper of Socrates,
now to appear, inculcating
e, diſſuading from vice, and
mending a right uſe of rea-
not with the grimace of an
ſiaſt, or the rant of a de-
ier, but with good humour,
language, and ſound argu-
, we cannot ſuppoſe, that the
n of high rank would pay him
n attention in any part of Eu-

As a juggler, gambler, or
ſt, he might perhaps attract
notice, and have the honour
no little miſchief in ſome of
lubs of young worthies; but
virtue and modeſty, clothed
gs, I fear they would not wil-
y receive improvement.—
education of the Romans,
the time they began to aſpire
literary character, was ſimilar
iat of the Athenians. The
ren were taught to ſpeak their
language with purity, and
e to ſtudy and tranſlate the
k authors. The laws of the
e tables they committed to
ory. And as the talent of
ic ſpeaking was not only orna-
al, but even a neceſſary qua-
tion, to every man who wiſhed
to diſtinguiſh himſelf in a civil or
military capacity, all the youth
were ambitious to acquire it. The
ſtudy of the law was alſo a matter
of general concern. Even the chil-
dren uſed in their diverſions to
imitate the procedure of public
trials; one accuſing, and another
defending, the ſuppoſed criminal:
and the youth, and many of the
moſt reſpectable ſtateſmen, through
the whole of their lives, allotted
part of their leiſure to the exerciſe
of declaiming on ſuch topics as
might come to be debated in the
forum, in the ſenate, or before
the judges. Their domeſtic diſci-
pline was very ſtrict. Some anci-
ent matron, of approved virtue,
was appointed to ſuperintend the
children in their earlieſt years;
before whom every thing criminal
in word or deed was avoided as a
heinous enormity. This venerable
perſon was careful both to inſtil
good principles into her pupils, and
alſo to regulate their amuſements,
and, by preſerving their minds
pure from moral turpitude, and in-
tellectual depravation, to prepare
them for the ſtudy of the liberal
arts and ſciences.—It may alſo be
remarked, that the Greeks and
Romans were more accurate ſtu-
dents than the moderns are. They
had few books, and thoſe they had
were not eaſily come at: what
they read, therefore, they read
thoroughly. I know not, whether
their way of writing and making
up their volumes, as it rendered
the peruſal more difficult, might
not alſo occaſion a more durable
remembrance. From their con-
verſation-pieces, and other wri-
tings, it appears, that they had a
ſingular facility in quoting their fa-
vourite authors. Demoſthenes is
ſaid

ſaid to have tranſcribed Thucydides eight times, and to have got a great part of him by heart. This is a degree of accuracy which the greater part of modern readers have no notion of. We ſeem to think it more creditable to read many books ſuperficially, than to read a few good ones with care; and yet it is certain, that by the latter method we ſhould cultivate our faculties, and increaſe our ſtock of real knowledge, more effectually, and perhaps more ſpeedily, than we can do by the former, which indeed tends rather to bewilder the mind, than to improve it. Every man, who pretends to a literary character, muſt now read a number of books, whether well or ill written, whether inſtructive or inſignificant, merely that he may have it to ſay, that he has read them. And therefore I am apt to think, that, in general, the Greeks and Romans muſt have been more improved by their reading, than we are by ours. As books multiply, knowledge is more widely diffuſed; but if human wiſdom were to increaſe in the ſame proportion, what children would the ancients be, in compariſon of the moderns! of whom every ſubſcriber to the circulating library would have it in his power to be wiſer than Socrates, and more accompliſhed than Julius Cæſar!

I mention theſe particulars of the Greek and Roman diſcipline, in order to ſhow, that, although the ancients had not ſo many languages to ſtudy as we have, nor ſo many books to read, they were however careful, that the faculties of their children ſhould neither languiſh for want of exerciſe, nor be exhauſted in frivolous employment. As we have not thought fit to imitate them in this; as moſt of the children in modern Europe, who are not obliged to labour for their ſuſtenance, muſt either ſtudy Greek and Latin, or be idle; (for as to cards, and ſome of the late publications of Voltaire, I do not think the ſtudy of either half ſo uſeful or ſo innocent as ſhuttlecock) I ſhould be apprehenſive, that, if claſſical learning were laid aſide, nothing would be ſubſtituted in its place, and that our youth would become altogether diſſipated. In this reſpect, therefore, namely, as the means of improving the faculties of the human mind, I do not ſee, how the ſtudies of the grammar-ſchools can be diſpenſed with.

It may be obſerved that the ſtudy of a ſyſtem of grammar, ſo complex and ſo perfect as the Greek or Latin, may, with peculiar propriety, be recommended to children; being ſuited to their underſtanding, and having a tendency to promote the improvement of all their mental faculties. In this ſcience, abſtruſe as it is commonly imagined to be, there are few or no difficulties which a maſter may not render intelligible to any boy of good parts, before he is twelve years old. Words, the matter of this ſcience, are within the reach of every child; and of theſe the human mind, in the beginning of life, is known to be ſuſceptible to an aſtoniſhing degree: and yet in this ſcience there is a ſubtlety, and a variety, ſufficient to call forth all the intellectual powers of the young ſtudent. When one hears a boy analyſe a few ſentences of a Latin author; and ſhow that he not only knows the general meaning, and the import of the particular words, but

but alſo can inſtantly refer each word to its claſs; enumerate all its terminations, ſpecifying every change of ſenſe, however minute, that may be produced by a change of inflexion or arrangement; explain its ſeveral dependencies; diſtinguiſh the literal meaning from the figurative, one ſpecies of figure from another, and even the philoſophical uſe of words from the idiomatical, and the vulgar from the elegant; recollecting occaſionally other words and phraſes that are ſynonymous, or contrary, or of different though ſimilar ſignification; and accounting for what he ſays, either from the reaſon of the thing, or by quoting a rule of art, or a claſſical authority:—one muſt be ſenſible, that, by ſuch an exerciſe, the memory is likely to be more improved in ſtrength and readineſs, the attention better fixed, the judgment and taſte more ſucceſsfully exerted, and a habit of reflection and ſubtle diſcrimination more eaſily acquired, than it could be by any other employment equally ſuited to the capacity of childhood. A year paſſed in this ſalutary exerciſe will be found to cultivate the human faculties more than ſeven ſpent in prattling that French which is learned by rote: nor would a complete courſe of Voltaire yield half ſo much improvement to a young mind, as a few books of a good claſſic author, of Livy, Cicero, or Virgil, ſtudied in this accurate manner.

On the Conſtitution of Feudal Monarchy—The Dignity and Revenues of the King—and of his Power as to the raiſing of Taxes and Subſidies. From Sullivan's *Lectures on the Laws of* England.

AS, in my former lectures, I drew a general ſketch of the nature and form of the governments that prevailed among the northern nations whilſt they remained in Germany, and what alterations enſued on their being removed within the limits of the Roman empire, it will be now proper to ſhew, in as brief a manner as may conſiſt with clearneſs, the nature and conſtitution of a feudal monarchy, when eſtates were become hereditary, the ſeveral conſtituent parts thereof, and what were the chief of the peculiar rights and privileges of each part. This reſearch will be of uſe, not only to underſtand our preſent conſtitution, which is derived from thence, but to make us admire and eſteem it, when we compare it with that which was its original, and obſerve the many improvements it has undergone. From hence, likewiſe, may be determined that famous queſtion, whether our kings were originally abſolute, and all our privileges only conceſſions of theirs; or whether the chief of them are not originally inherent rights, and coeval with the monarchy; not, indeed, in all the ſubjects, for that, in old times, was not the caſe, but in all that were *freemen*, and, as all are ſuch now, do conſequently belong to all.

To begin with the king, the head of the political body. His dignity and power were great, but not abſolute and unlimited. Indeed, it was impoſſible, in the nature of things, even if it had been declared ſo by law, that it could have continued in that ſtate, when he

he had no ſtanding force, and the ſword was in the hand of the people. And yet it muſt be owned his dignity was ſo high, as to give a ſuperficial obſerver ſome room, if he is partially inclined, to lean to that opinion. All the lands in his dominions were holden of him. For, by degrees, the *allodia* had been changed into, and ſuppoſed to have been derived from, his original grant, and conſequently revertible to him. But then, the land proprietors had (on fulfilling the conditions they were bound to) a ſecure and permanent intereſt in their poſſeſſions. He could neither take them away at pleaſure, nor lay taxes or talliages on them by arbitrary will, which would have been little different. Since, in Magna Charta, we find the people inſiſting that the king had no right to aſſeſs the quantity of eſcuage, which was a pecuniary commutation for military ſervice, nor to lay talliages on his other ſubjects, but that both muſt be done in parliament. He was a neceſſary party to the making new laws, and to the changing and abrogating old ones; and from him they received their binding force, inſomuch that many old laws, though paſſed in parliament, run in the king's name only. For, in thoſe days, perſons were more attentive to ſubſtance than forms; and it was not then even ſuſpected, in any nation of Europe, that any king would arrogate to himſelf a power ſo inconſiſtent with the original freedom of the German nations. Nay, in France, to this day, the king's edicts are not laws, until regiſtered in parliament, which implies the conſent of the people, though that conſent is too often extorted by the violent power that monarch has aſſumed over the perſons and liberty of the members of that body.

The dignity of the king was ſupported, in the eyes of the people, not only by the ſplendor of his royalty, but by the lowly reverence paid him by the greateſt of his lords. At ſolemn feaſts they waited on him on the knee, or did other menial offices about his perſon, as their tenures required, and did their homage and fealty with the ſame lowly and humiliating circumſtances that the meaneſt of their vaſſals paid to them. His perſon likewiſe was ſacred, and guarded by the law, which inflicted the moſt horrible puniſhment for attempts againſt him; neither was he to be reſiſted, or accountable for any private injury done perſonally by himſelf, on any account whatſoever. For the ſtate thought it better to ſuffer a few perſonal wrongs to individuals, than to endanger the ſafety of the whole, by rendering the head inſecure.

But the greatneſs of the kingly power conſiſted in his being entirely entruſted with the executive part of the government, both at home and abroad. At home juſtice was adminiſtered in his name, and by officers of his appointment. He had, likewiſe, the diſpoſal of all the great offices of the ſtate, with an exception of ſuch as had been granted by his predeceſſors in fee, and of all other offices and employments exerciſed in the kingdom immediately under him. Abroad he made war and peace, treaties and truces as he pleaſed. He led his armies in perſon, or appointed commanders; and exerciſed, in time of war, that abſolute power over his armies that is eſſential to their preſervation and diſcipline. But how was he enabled

abled to ſupport the expence of the government, or to provide for the defence of the kingdom, or carry on a foreign war; ſince, if he was not furniſhed in that reſpect, theſe high-ſounding prerogatives had been but empty names, and the ſtate might have periſhed: and if he could at pleaſure levy the neceſſary ſums, he being ſole judge of the neceſſity, both as to occaſion and quantity, as Charles the Firſt claimed in the caſe of ſhip-money, the ſtate of the ſubject was precarious, and the king would have been as abſolute a monarch as the preſent king of France or Spain.

But abundant proviſion was made on this head, and that without overburdening the ſubject, for ſupporting the ordinary expences of the government. A vaſt demeſne was ſet apart to the king, amounting, in England, to one thouſand four hundred and twenty-two manors, as alſo many other lands, which had not been erected into manors. Beſides theſe, he had the profits of all his feudal tenures, his worſhips, marriages, and reliefs; the benefit of eſcheats, either upon failure of heirs or forfeiture; the goods of felons and traitors; the profits of his courts of juſtice; beſides many other caſualties, which amounted to an immenſe revenue; inſomuch, that, we are informed, that William the Conqueror had £. 1061 : 10s. a-day, that is, allowing for the comparative value of money, near four millions a-year; ſo that Forteſcue might well ſay, that, originally, the king of England was the richeſt king in Europe. Such a ſum was not only ſufficient for the occaſions of peace, but out of it he might ſpare conſiderably for the exigencies of war.

This revenue, however great, was not ſufficient to ſupport a war of any importance and continuance, beſides the extraordinary expence of government. It remains, therefore, to ſee what proviſion this conſtitution made, in addition to what the monarch might ſpare, for the defence of England, as it might be attacked either by land or ſea. For the latter, every ſeaport was, in proportion to its ability, obliged to find, in time of danger, at their own expence, one or more ſhips properly furniſhed with men and arms; which, joined to ſuch other ſhips as the king hired, were, in general, an overmatch for the invaders. But if the enemy had got footing in the country, the defence at land was by the knights or military tenants, who were obliged to ſerve on horſeback in any part of England; and by the ſocage tenants, or infantry, who, in caſe of invaſion, were likewiſe obliged to ſerve, but not out of their own country, unleſs they themſelves pleaſed, and then they were paid by the king.

With reſpect to carrying on *offenſive* war into the enemy's country, the king of England had great advantages over any other feudal monarch. In the other feudal kingdoms the military vaſſals were not obliged to ſerve in any offenſive war, unleſs it was juſt, the determination of which point was in themſelves; but William the Conqueror obliged all to whom he gave tenures to ſerve him *ubicunque*; and though he had not above three hundred, if ſo many, immediate military tenants under him, yet theſe were obliged, on all occaſions, to furniſh ſixty thouſand knights compleatly equipped, and ready to ſerve forty days at their own expence.

pence. If he wanted their ſervice longer, he was obliged to obtain it on ſuch terms he could. There is, therefore, no reaſon to wonder that the king of England, though maſter of a comparatively ſmall territory, was, in general, an overmatch, in thoſe early times, for the power of France. As for ſeamen in his foreign wars, he had none obliged to attend him. Thoſe he had were ſocage tenants, whoſe ſervices were certain; ſo that he was obliged to engage, and pay them, as hired ſoldiers. As the ſocage tenants in his dominions had a good ſhare of property, and enjoyed it without oppreſſion, it is no wonder the Engliſh archers in thoſe days had a gallant ſpirit, and were as redoubtable as the Engliſh infantry is at preſent.

To ſupport theſe military tenants, who ſerved after the neceſſary time, and likewiſe his infantry (as the ſurplus of his ordinary revenue would not ſuffice) he had *cuſtoms* and *talliages*, and *aids* and *ſubſidies* granted by parliament. Theſe cuſtoms, or ſo much paid by merchants on the exportation of goods, were of two kinds; as paid either by *merchant ſtrangers*, or by *merchant denizens*.

The cuſtoms paid by merchant ſtrangers were not originally ſettled by act of parliament, but by a compact between the merchant ſtrangers and king Edward the Firſt. In the Saxon times the king had a power of excluding ſtrangers from his kingdom, not *merely* with an intention of inducing their own people to traffick, but chiefly to keep out the Danes, who were the maſters of the ſea; leſt, under pretence of trade, they might get footing in, and become acquainted with the ſtate of the kingdom. They were, accordingly, admitted by the kings upon ſuch terms as the latter were pleaſed to impoſe; but Edward, who had the ſucceſs and proſperity of his kingdom at heart, came to a perpetual compoſition with them; gave them ſeveral privileges, and they gave to him certain cuſtoms in return. What ſhews they had their origin from conſent is, that the king could not raiſe them without applying to parliament. The cuſtoms of natives or denizens were, certainly, firſt given to the king by parliament; though this has been denied by ſome, merely becauſe no ſuch act is to be found, as if many of the antient acts had not been loſt; but there are acts and charters ſtill extant, which expreſsly ſay they were appointed and granted by parliament, without the power of which they could not be either altered or enlarged.

The difference between the cuſtoms and the other aids I have mentioned, *viz.* talliages and ſubſidies, is, that the latter were occaſional, granted only on particular emergencies, whereas the *cuſtoms* were for ever. If it be aſked how they came to be granted in that manner, we muſt refer back to the original ſtate of boroughs and their inhabitants, traders, in the feudal law. In France, the Roman towns were taken into protection, and had their antient privileges allowed them; but in the ſeries of wars that happened in that country for ages, every one of them in their turns were ſtormed, and reduced to vaſſalage, either to the king or ſome other great lord; and as, now, theſe lords had learned that the Roman emperor laid on taxes at his pleaſure, it was but natural they ſhould claim the ſame right, eſpecially

eſpecially over towns they had taken in war. The burgeſſes, therefore, became in the nature of villains, not indeed of common villains, for that would abſolutely have deſtroyed trade, but with reſpect to arbitrary taxation, which, however, if the lord was wiſe, was never exorbitant. In England, I apprehend, they became villains; for the Saxons were a murdering race, and extirpated the old inhabitants. However, wiſe kings, conſidering the advantages of commerce, by degrees, beſtowed privileges on certain places, in order to render them flouriſhing and wealthy; and at length, about the time of Magna Charta, or before, when every uncertain ſervice was varying to a certainty, this privilege was obtained for merchant adventurers. But the other burgeſſes, that did not import or export, and likewiſe villains, were ſtill talliageable at will. This was reſtrained by Magna Charta, which declares all talliages unlawful, unleſs ordained by parliament.

To come to the latter head, whether taxes, aids, and ſubſidies can be aſſeſſed by the king, as ſole judge of the occaſion, and the *quantum*—or whether they muſt be granted by parliament, was the great and principal conteſt between the two firſt princes of the unfortunate houſe of Stuart and their people, and which, concurring with other cauſes, coſt the laſt of them his life and throne. To ſay nothing of the divine hereditary right urged on the king's behalf, and which, if examined into ſtrictly, no royal family in Europe had leſs pretenſions to claim, both ſides referred themſelves to the antient conſtitution for the deciſion of this point. The king's friends urged that all lands were holden from him by ſervices, and that this was one of his prerogatives, and a neceſſary one to the defence of the ſtate. They produced ſeveral inſtances of its having been done, and ſubmitted to, not only in the times of the worſt, but of ſome of the beſt kings; and as to acts of parliament againſt it, they were extorted from the monarchs in particular exigencies, and could not bind their ſucceſſors, as their right was from God.

The advocates of the people, on the other hand, inſiſted, that, in England, as in all other feudal countries, the right of the king was founded on compact; that William the Conqueror was not maſter of all the lands in England, nor did he give them on theſe terms; that he claimed no right but what the Saxon kings had, and this they certainly had not; that he eſtabliſhed and confirmed the Saxon laws, except ſuch as were by parliament altered; that he gave away none but the forfeited lands, and gave them on the ſame terms as they were generally given in feudal countries, where ſuch a power was in thoſe days unknown. They admitted, that, in fact, the kings of England had ſometimes exerciſed this power, and that, on ſome occaſions, the people ſubmitted to it. But they inſiſted, that moſt of the kings that did it were oppreſſors of the worſt kind in all reſpects; that the ſubjects, even in ſubmitting, inſiſted on their antient rights and freedom, and every one of theſe princes afterwards retracted, and confeſſed they had done amiſs. If one or two of the beſt and wiſeſt of their

kings had practiſed this, they inſiſted that their anceſtors acquieſcence once or twice, in the meaſures of a prince they had abſolute confidence in, and at times when the danger, perhaps, was ſo imminent as to ſtare every man in the face, (for it was ſcarce ever done by a good prince) as when there was not a fleet already aſſembled in the ports of France to waft over an army, ſhould not be conſidered as conveying a right to future kings indiſcriminately, as a ſurrender of their important privileges of taxation. They inſiſted that theſe good and wiſe kings had acknowledged the rights of the people; that they excuſed what they had done, as extorted by urgent neceſſity, for the preſervation of the whole; that, by repeated acts of parliament, they had diſavowed this power, and declared ſuch proceedings ſhould never be drawn into precedent. They obſerved, that there was no occaſion for the vaſt demeſne of the king, if he had this extraordinary prerogative to exert whenever he pleaſed. They denied the king's divine right to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and that abſolute unlimited authority that was deduced from it. They inſiſted that he was a king by compact, that his ſucceſſion depended on that compact, though they allowed that a king intitled by that compact, and acting according to it, has a divine right of government, as every legal and righteous magiſtrate hath. They inferred, therefore, that he was a limited monarch, and conſequently that he and his ſucceſſors were bound by the legiſlative, the ſupreme authority.

The advocates of the king treated the original compact as a chimera, and deſired them to produce it; which the other ſide thought an unreaſonable demand, as it was, they alledged, tranſacted when both king and people were utterly illiterate. They thought the utmoſt proof poſſible was given by quoting the real acts of authority, which the Saxon kings had exerciſed; among which this was not to be found; that the Norman kings, though ſome of them had occaſionally practiſed it, had, in general, both bad and good princes, afterwards diſclaimed the right, and that it never had (though perhaps ſubmitted to in one or two inſtances) been given up by their anceſtors, who always, and even to the face of their beſt princes, inſiſted that it was an encroachment on thoſe franchiſes they were intitled to by their birthright.

Such, in general, were the principles on which the arguments were maintained on both ſides: for to go into *minutiæ*, would not conſiſt with the deſign of this undertaking. I apprehend it will be evident from this detail of mine, though I proteſt I deſigned to repreſent both ſides fairly, that I am inclined to the people in this queſtion. I own I think that any one that conſiders impartially the few monuments that remain of the old Saxon times, either in their laws or hiſtories, the conſtant courſe ſince the conqueſt, and the practice of nations abroad, who had the ſame feudal policy, muſt acknowledge, that though this right was claimed and exerciſed by John, Henry the Third. Edward the Firſt, Second, and Third, Richard the Second, and Henry the Eighth, it was in the event

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diſclaimed by every one of them, by the greateſt of our kings, Edward the Firſt and Third, and Henry the Eighth, with ſuch candour and free will, as inforced confidence in them; by the others, in truth, becauſe they could not help it. I hope I ſhall ſtand excuſed, if I add, that the majority of thoſe who engaged in the civil war, either for king Charles, or againſt him, were of the ſame opinion. For, had he not given up this point, (and indeed he did it with all the appearances of the greateſt ſincerity) he would not have got three thouſand men to appear for him in the field. But, unfortunately for his family, and us, (for we ſtill feel the effects of it from the popiſh education his offspring got abroad) his conceſſion came too late. He had loſt the confidence of too many of his people, and a party of republicans were formed; all reaſonable ſecurities were certainly given; but upon pretence that he could not be depended upon, his enemies prevailed on too many to inſiſt on ſuch conditions, as would have left him but a king in name, and unhinged the whole frame of government. Thus did the partizans of abſolute monarchy on one ſide, and the republicans, with a parcel of crafty ambitious men, who for their own private views affected that character, on the other, rend the kingdom between them, and obliged the honeſt, and the friends to the old conſtitution, to take ſide either with one party or other, and they were accordingly, for their moderation and deſire of peace, and a legal ſettlement, equally deſpiſed which ever they joined with.

I ſhall make but one obſervation more; that though it is very falſe reaſoning to argue from events when referred to the deciſion of God, as to the matter of right in queſtion; I cannot help being ſtruck with obſerving, that though this has been a queſtion of five hundred years ſtanding in England, the deciſion of providence hath conſtantly been in favour of the people. If it has not been ſo in other countries for two hundred or two hundred and fifty years paſt, which is the utmoſt, let us inveſtigate the cauſes of the difference, and act accordingly. The ancients tell us it is impoſſible that a brave and virtuous nation can ever be ſlaves, and, on the contrary, that no nation that is cowardly, or generally vitious, can be free. Let us bleſs God, who hath for ſo long a time favoured theſe realms. Let us act towards the family that reigns over us, as becomes free ſubjects, to the guardians of liberty, and of the natural rights to mankind; but above all, let us train poſterity, ſo as to be deſerving of the continuance of theſe bleſſings, that Monteſquieu's prophecy may never appear to be juſtly founded.

"England (ſays he) in the courſe of things, *muſt* loſe her liberties, and then ſhe will be a greater ſlave than any of her neighbours."

The true Enjoyments of Life. From Moral Tales, &c. by Dr. Percival.

MAY he ſurvive his relatives and friends! was the imprecation of a Roman, on the perſon who ſhould deſtroy the monument

of his anceſtors.* A more dreadful curſe could ſcarcely be denounced. I remember to have ſeen it ſomewhere recorded, that an emperor of China, on his acceſſion to the throne, commanded a general releaſe from the priſons, of all that were confined for debt. Amongſt the number was an old man, who had been an early victim to adverſity; and whoſe days of impriſonment, reckoned by the notches which he had cut on the door of his gloomy cell, expreſſed the annual revolution of more than fifty ſuns. With faultering ſteps, he departed from his manſion of ſorrow: his eyes were dazzled with the ſplendor of light; and the face of nature preſented to his view a perfect paradiſe. The gaol, in which he had been impriſoned, was at ſome diſtance from Pekin; and he directed his courſe to that city, impatient to enjoy the gratulations of his wife, his children, and his friends.

With difficulty he found his way to the ſtreet, in which formerly ſtood his decent habitation; and his heart became more and more elated at every ſtep which he advanced. He proceeded, and looked with earneſtneſs around; but ſaw few of thoſe objects with which he was formerly converſant. A magnificent edifice was erected on the ſite of the houſe which he had inhabited. The dwellings of his neighbours had aſſumed new forms; and he beheld not a ſingle face of which he had the leaſt recollection. An aged pauper, who ſtood with trembling knees at the gate of a portico, from which he had been thruſt by the inſolent menial who guarded it, ſtruck his attention. He ſtopped to give him a pittance out of the bounty, with which he had been ſupplied by the emperor's liberality; and received, in return, the ſad tidings that his wife had fallen a lingering ſacrifice to penury and ſorrow; that his children were gone to ſeek their fortunes in unknown climes; and that the grave contained his neareſt and moſt valuable friends. Overwhelmed with anguiſh, he haſtened to the palace of his ſovereign, into whoſe preſence his hoary locks and mournful viſage ſoon obtained admiſſion; and caſting himſelf at the feet of the emperor, Great prince, he cried, remand me to the priſon, from which miſtaken mercy hath delivered me! I have ſurvived my family and friends; and in the midſt of this populous city, I find myſelf in dreary ſolitude. The cell of my dungeon protected me from the gazers at my wretchedneſs; and whilſt ſecluded from ſociety, I was leſs ſenſible of the loſs of ſocial enjoyments. I am now tortured with the view of pleaſures in which I cannot participate; and die with thirſt, though ſtreams of delight ſurround me.

If the horrors of a dungeon, my

* The author alludes to an ancient monumental inſcription found at Rome.

QUISQUIS HOC SUSTULERIT
AUT JUSSERIT
ULTIMUS SUORUM MORIATUR.
Fleetwood's Inſcript. Antiq.

Alexis,

Alexis, be preferred to the world at large, by the man who is bereft of his kindred and friends, how highly ſhould you prize, how tenderly ſhould you love, and how ſtudious ſhould you be to pleaſe thoſe dear and dear relations, whom a more indulgent providence has yet preſerved to you! Liſten to the affectionate counſels of your parents; treaſure up their precepts; reſpect their riper judgment; and enjoy, with gratitude and delight, the advantages reſulting from their ſociety. Bind to your boſom, by the moſt endearing ties, your brothers and ſiſters; cheriſh them as your beſt companions, through the variegated journey of life; and ſuffer no jealouſies or feuds to interrupt the harmony which now reigns, and, I truſt, will ever reign in this happy family. Cultivate the friendſhip of your father's friends; merit the approbation of the wiſe and good; qualify yourſelf, by the acquiſition of knowledge and the exerciſe of the benevolent affections, for the intercourſe of mankind; and you will at once be an ornament to ſociety, and derive from it the higheſt felicity.

Philoſophical Attention and Sagacity; by the ſame.

AN attentive and inquiſitive mind often derives very important inſtruction from appearances and events, which the generality of mankind regard as trivial and inſignificant. Permit me, Alexis, to offer to you a few examples, of the truth of this obſervation. You have frequently remarked, and perhaps admired, the volubility and luſtre of the globules of rain, that lie upon the leaves of colewort, and of other vegetables; but I dare ſay, you have never taken the trouble of inſpecting them narrowly. Mr. Melville, a young philoſopher of uncommon genius, was ſtruck with the phenomenon, and applied his attention to the inveſtigation of it. He diſcovered that the luſtre of the drop is owing to a copious reflection of light, from the flattened part of its ſurface, contiguous to the plant; and that when the drop rolls over a part, which has been wetted, it inſtantly loſes all its brightneſs, the green leaf being ſeen through it. From theſe two obſervations he concludes, that the drop does not really *touch* the plant, whilſt it retains a mercurial appearance, but is ſuſpended by the force of a repulſive power. For there could not be any copious reflection of white light, from its under ſurface, unleſs there was a real interval between it and the plant. And if no contact be ſuppoſed, it is eaſy to account for the wonderful volubility of the drop, and why no traces of moiſture are left wherever it rolls.

From this reaſoning we may conclude, that when a poliſhed needle is made to ſwim on water, it does not touch the water, but forms around it, by a repulſive power, a bed, whoſe concavity is much larger than the bulk of the needle. And this affords a much better explanation of the fact, than the common one, deduced from the tenacity of the water. For the needle may be well conceived to ſwim upon a fluid lighter than itſelf, ſince the quantity of water thus diſplaced,

displaced, by repulſion, muſt be equal to the weight of it. And this inſtance leads us to a juſt and neceſſary correction of the hydroſtatical law, that the *whole ſwimming body is equal in weight to a quantity of the fluid, whoſe bulk is equal to that of the part immerſed.* For it ſhould be expreſſed, that *the weight of the ſwimming body is equal to that of the weight of the quantity of fluid displaced by it.*

A very ingenious friend of mine, during his reſidence at the univerſity, undertook a courſe of experiments, to aſcertain the heat or cold produced by the ſolution of certain ſubſtances in ſpirit of wine. Whenever he withdrew the thermometer from the ſpirit, and ſuſpended it in the air, he uniformly obſerved, that the mercury ſunk two or three degrees, although the ſpirit of wine, in which the inſtrument had been immerſed, was even colder than the ſurrounding atmoſphere. This fact he communicated to the profeſſor of chemiſtry; who immediately ſuſpected, that *fluids by evaporation generate cold*; an hypotheſis, which he afterwards verified by a variety of beautiful, and deciſive trials.

When Sir John Pringle and Dr. Franklin were travelling together in Holland, they remarked, that the track-ſchuyt, or barge, in one of the ſtages, moved ſlower than uſual, and inquired the reaſon of it. The boatman informed them, that it had been a dry ſeaſon, and that the water was low in the canal. He was aſked, if the water was ſo low that the boat touched the muddy bottom of the canal; to which he anſwered in the negative, adding, however, that the difference in the quantity of water, was ſufficient to render the draught more difficult to the horſe. The travellers, at firſt, were at a loſs to conceive, how the depth of the water could affect the motion of the boat, provided that it ſwam clear of the bottom. But Dr. Franklin, having ſatisfied himſelf of the truth of the boatman's obſervation, began to conſider it attentively; and endeavoured to account for it in the following manner. The barge, in proceeding along the canal, muſt regularly diſplace a body of water, equal in bulk to the ſpace which ſhe occupies; and the water ſo removed muſt paſs underneath, and on each ſide of her. Hence if the paſſage, under her bottom, be ſtraitned by the ſhallows, more of the water muſt paſs by her ſides, and with greater velocity, which will retard her courſe, becauſe ſhe moves the contrary way. The water, alſo, becoming lower behind than before the boat, ſhe will be preſſed back by the weight of its difference in height; and her paſſage will be obſtructed by having that weight conſtantly to overcome.

However ſatisfactory this reaſoning might appear to be, Dr. Franklin determined to aſcertain the truth of it by experiment; deeming the ſubject of conſiderable importance to the inhabitants of a country, in which ſo many projects for navigable canals have been adopted. And he concludes, from many well concerted trials, the relation of which would now be tedious to you, that if four men or horſes be required to draw a boat, in *deep water*, four leagues in four hours; five will be neceſſary to draw

the boat, the ſame diſtance
e ſame time, in *ſhallow wa-*

ſhall give you one inſtance
: of the advantages of ſagaci-
attention, which may, per-
, be more amuſing to you,
thoſe which I have recited.
playful boy, whoſe buſineſs it
to open and cloſe alternately,
communication between the
r and the cylinder of a fire en-
, perceived that this trouble
it readily be ſaved. Whenever,
fore, he wiſhed to be at li-
to divert himſelf with his
panions, he tied a ſtring from
handle of the valve, which
ed the communication, to an-
part of the machine that was
otion; and the valve then
rmed its office without aſſiſt-
The boy's idleneſs being
rked, his contrivance ſoon
ne known, and the improve-
is now adopted in every fire
ne.

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*he Alterations that have hap-
ed in the Characters of Nations,
d of the Cauſes by which they
re produced. From* Helve-
s's *Treatiſe on Man.*

EACH nation has its particular manner of ſeeing and feeling, h forms it character: and in nation its character either ges on a ſudden, or alters by es, according to the ſudden ſenſible alterations in the form s government, and conſe-tly of its public education.* nat of the French, which has been for a long time regarded as gay, was not always ſo. The emperor Julian ſays of the Pariſians, "I like them, becauſe their character, like mine, is auſtere and ſerious."

The characters of nations therefore change: but at what period is the alteration moſt perceptible? At the moment of revolution, when a people paſs on a ſudden from liberty to ſlavery. Then from bold and haughty they become weak and puſillanimous: they dare not look on the man in office: they are inthralled, and it is of little conſequence by whom they are inthralled. This dejected people ſay, like the aſs in the fable, *whoever be my maſter, I cannot carry a heavier load.* As much as a free citizen is zealous for the glory of his nation, ſo much is a ſlave indifferent to the public welfare. His heart, deprived of activity and energy, is without virtue, without ſpirit, and without talents; the faculties of his ſoul are ſtupified; he becomes indifferent to the arts, commerce, agriculture, &c. It is not for ſervile hands, ſay the Engliſh, to till and fertiliſe the land. Simonides entered the empire of a deſpotic ſovereign, and found there no traces of men. A free people are courageous, open, humane, and loyal. A nation of ſlaves are baſe, perfidious, malicious, and barbarous: they puſh their cruelty to the greateſt exceſs. If the ſevere officer has all to fear from the reſentment of the injured ſoldier on the day of battle, that of ſedition is in like manner for the ſlave oppreſſed, the long expected

* The form of government under which we live always makes a part of our tion.

day.

day of vengeance; and he is the more enraged in proportion as fear has kept his fury the longer restrained."

What a striking picture of a sudden change in the character of a nation does the Roman history present us! What people, before the elevation of the Cæsars, shewed more force, more virtue, more love for liberty, and horror for slavery? And what people, when the throne of the Cæsars was established, shewed more weakness and depravity? Their baseness disgusted Tiberius.

Indifferent to liberty, when Trajan offered it, they refused it: they disdained that liberty their ancestors had purchased with so much blood. All things were then changed in Rome: and that determined and grave character which distinguished its first inhabitants, was succeeded by that light and frivolous disposition with which Juvenal reproaches them in his tenth satire.

Let us exemplify this matter by a more recent change. Compare the English of the present day with those under Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth: this people, now so humane, indulgent, learned, free, and industrious, such lovers of the arts and of philosophy, were then nothing more than a nation of slaves, inhuman and superstitious; without arts and without industry.

When a prince usurps over his people a boundless authority, he is sure to change their character, to enervate their souls; to render them timid and base. From that moment, indifferent to glory, his subjects lose that character of boldness and constancy proper to support all labours and brave all dangers: the weight of arbitrary power destroys the spring of their emulation.

Does a prince, impatient of contradiction, give the name of factious to the man of veracity? He substitutes in his nation the character of falsity for that of frankness. If in those critical moments the prince, giving himself up to flatterers, find that he is surrounded by men void of all merit, whom should he blame? Himself: for it is he that has made them such.

Who could believe, when he considers the evils of servitude, that there were still princes mean enough to wish to reign over slaves; and stupid enough to be ignorant of the fatal changes that despotism produces in the character of their subjects?

What is arbitrary power? The seed of calamities, that sown in the bosom of a state springs up to bear the fruit of misery and devastation. Let us hear the King of Prussia: *Nothing is better*, said he, in a discourse pronounced to the academy of Berlin, *than an arbitrary government, under princes just, humane, and virtuous: nothing worse, under the common race of kings.* Now how many kings are there of the latter sort? and how many such as Titus, Trajan, and Antoninus? These are the thoughts of a great man. What elevation of mind, what knowledge does not such a declara-

* The deposition of Nabob-Jaffier-Ali Kan, related in the Leyden Gazette of the 23d of June, 1761, is a proof of this.

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tion ſuppoſe in a monarch? What in fact does a deſpotic power announce? Often ruin to the deſpot, and always to his poſterity. The founder of ſuch a power, ſets his kingdom on a ſandy foundation. It is only a tranſient, ill-judged notion of royalty, that is, of pride, idleneſs, or ſome ſimilar paſſion, which prefers the exerciſe of an unjuſt and cruel deſpotiſm over wretched ſlaves, to that of a legitimate and friendly power, over a free and happy people. Arbitrary power is a thoughtleſs child, who continually ſacrifices the future to the preſent.

The moſt redoubtable enemy of the public welfare, is not riot or ſedition, but deſpotiſm: it changes the character of a nation, and always for the worſe: it produces nothing but vices. Whatever might be the power of an Indian ſultan, he could never form magnanimous ſubjects; he would never find among his ſlaves the virtues of free men. Chymiſtry can extract no more gold from a mixed body than it includes; and the moſt arbitrary power can draw nothing from a ſlave but the baſeneſs he contains.

Experience then proves that the character and ſpirit of a people change with the form of government; and that a different government gives by turns, to the ſame nation, a character noble or baſe, firm or fickle, courageous or cowardly. Men therefore are endowed at their birth, either with no diſpoſition, or with diſpoſitions to all vices and all virtues; they are therefore nothing more than the produce of their education. If the Perſian have no idea of liberty, and the ſavage no idea of ſervitude, it is the effect of their different inſtruction.

Why, ſay ſtrangers, do we perceive at once, in all the French, the ſame ſpirit, and the ſame character, like the ſame phyſiognomy in all Negroes? Becauſe the French do not judge or think for themſelves, but after the people in power. Their manner of judging for this reaſon muſt be ſufficiently uniform. It is with Frenchmen as with their wives: when they paint themſelves, and go to a public ſhow, they all ſeem of the ſame complexion. I know that with attention we can always diſcover between the characters and underſtandings of individuals; but to do this requires time.

The ignorance of the French, the iniquity of their police, and the influence of their clergy, render them in general more like each other than men of other countries. Now if ſuch be the influence of the form of government on the manners and character of a people, what alteration in the ideas and characters of individuals ought not to be produced by the alterations that happen in their fortune and ſituation!

On the Cauſes of the Decadency of an Empire; from the ſame.

THE introduction and improvement of the arts and ſciences in an empire do not occaſion its decadency; but the ſame cauſes that accelerate the progreſs of the ſciences, ſometimes produce the moſt fatal effects.

There are nations where, by a peculiar ſeries of circumſtances, the ſeeds of the arts and ſciences do not

not ſpring up till the moment the manners begin to corrupt.

A certain number of men aſſemble to form a ſociety. Theſe men found a city: their neighbours ſee it riſe up, with a jealous eye. The inhabitants of that city, forced to be at once labourers and ſoldiers, make uſe by turns of the ſpade and the ſword. What in ſuch a country is the neceſſary ſcience and virtue? The military art and valour; they alone are there reſpected. Every other ſcience and virtue is there unknown. Such was the ſtate of riſing Rome: when weak and ſurrounded by warlike nations, it with difficulty ſuſtained their attacks. Its glory and power extended over the whole earth; it acquired however the one and the other but ſlowly: ages of triumphs were neceſſary to ſubject their neighbours. Now when the ſurrounding nations were ſubdued, there aroſe, from the form of their government, civil wars, which were ſucceeded by thoſe with foreigners; ſo that it cannot be imagined, while the citizens were engaged in the different employments of magiſtrates and ſoldiers, and inceſſantly agitated with ſtrong hopes and fears, they could enjoy the leiſure and tranquility neceſſary to the ſtudy of the ſciences.

In every country where theſe events ſucceed each other in a regular ſeries, the only period favourable to letters is, unfortunately, that when the civil wars, the troubles and factions being extinguiſhed, liberty is expiring, as in the time of Auguſtus, under the ſtrokes of deſpotiſm. Now this period precedes, but a ſhort time, the decadency of an empire. The arts and ſciences however then flouriſh; and that for two reaſons.

The firſt is the force of men's paſſions. In the firſt moments of ſlavery, their minds, ſtill agitated by the remembrance of their loſt liberty, are like the ſea after a tempeſt. The citizen ſtill burns with a deſire to render himſelf illuſtrious; but his ſituation is altered. He cannot have his buſt placed by that of Timoleon, Pelopidas, or Brutus. He cannot deliver his name down to poſterity as the deſtroyer of tyrants, and the avenger of liberty. His ſtatue may however be placed by thoſe of Homer, Epicurus, or Archimedes. This he knows, and therefore if there be but one ſort of glory to which he can aſpire, if it be with the laurels of the Muſes alone that he can be crowned, it is in the career of the arts and ſciences he prepares to ſeek them, and it is then that ariſe illuſtrious men of every literary profeſſion.

The ſecond of theſe cauſes is the intereſt ſovereigns then have to encourage the progreſs of the ſciences. At the moment that deſpotiſm is eſtabliſhed, what does the monarch deſire? To inſpire his ſubjects with a love of the arts and ſciences. What does he fear? That they ſhould reflect on their fetters, bluſh at their ſervitude, and again turn their looks toward liberty. He would therefore by employing their minds make them forget their baſe condition. He conſequently preſents them with new objects of glory. As an hypocritical fautor of the arts and ſciences,

ſciences, he ſhows the more regard to the man of genius the more he feels the want of his eulogies.

The manners of a nation do not change the moment deſpotiſm is eſtabliſhed. The ſpirit of the people is free ſome time after their hands are tied. During theſe firſt moments illuſtrious men ſtill preſerve ſome conſideration. The tyrant therefore loads them with favours, that they may load him with praiſes, and men of great talents are too often ſeduced to become the panegyriſts of uſurpation and tyranny.

What motives can induce them to it? Sometimes meanneſs, and frequently gratitude. It muſt be confeſſed, that every great revolution in an empire ſuppoſes great talents in him by whom it is produced, or at leaſt ſome brilliant vice, that aſtoniſhment and gratitude metamorphoſe into virtue.

Such is, at the time of the eſtabliſhment of deſpotiſm, the productive cauſe of great accompliſhments in the arts and ſciences. The firſt moments paſt, if the ſame country become barren in men of talent, it is becauſe the tyrant being then well eſtabliſhed on his throne is no longer in want of their aſſiſtance. So that the reign of the arts and ſciences in a ſta e ſeldom extends above a century or two. The aloe is an emblem of the production of the ſciences in every ſtate: a hundred years are neceſſary to ſtrengthen its root and and make it put forth its branches, it then ſhoots up, flowers, and dies.

If in each empire the ſciences juſt ſhoot up and then wither, it is becauſe the motives proper to produce men of genius, do not commonly exert themſelves there more than once. It is at the higheſt period of grandeur, that a nation commonly produces the fruits of the arts and ſciences. While three or four generations of illuſtrious men paſs away, the people change their manners, and ſink into ſervitude; their minds have loſt their energy; there is no ſtrong paſſion remains to put them in action. The tyrant no longer excites the people to the purſuit of any kind of glory. It is not talents, but baſeneſs, he now honours: and genius, if it ſtill remain, lives and dies unknown to its own country: it is like the orange-tree, that flouriſhes, perfumes the air, and dies in a deſart.

Deſpotiſm, while it is gaining ground, ſuffers men to ſay what they will, while they ſuffer it to do what it will: but once eſtabliſhed, it forbids all talking, writing, or thinking. The minds of men then ſink into an apathy: all the inhabitants become ſlaves, curſe the breaſt that gave them milk, and under ſuch a government, every new birth is an increaſe of miſery.

Genius, there chained, drags its irons heavily along; it does not fly, it creeps. The ſciences are neglected; ignorance is honoured, and every man of diſcernment declared an enemy to the ſtate. In the kingdom of the blind, who is the moſt odious? He that can ſee clearly. If the blind ſeize him, his deſtruction is certain. Now, in the empire of ignorance, the ſame fate attends the enlightened inhabitant. The preſs is there the more reſtrained, as the

views of the miniſter are more confined. Under the reign of a Frederick, or an Antoninus, we may ſay what we will, think and write what we will: under other reigns we muſt be ſilent.

The underſtanding of the prince is always manifeſted by the eſteem and conſideration he pays to talents. The favour he ſhows them, far from injuring, benefits the ſtate.

The arts and ſciences are the glory of a nation, and increaſe its proſperity. It is, therefore, to deſpotiſm alone, which is intereſted at firſt in protecting them, and not to the ſciences themſelves, we ſhould attribute the decadence of an empire. When the ſovereign of a mighty nation has put on the crown of arbitrary power, the people become daily more enfeebled.

The pomp of an Eaſtern empire, can without doubt impoſe on the vulgar, who may eſtimate the force of the nation, by the magnificence of its palaces. The wiſe man judges differently; it is by that very magnificence, he eſtimates its weakneſs. He ſees nothing more in that impoſing pomp, in the midſt of which the tyrant ſits enthroned, than a ſumptuous and mournful decoration of the dead; than the apparatus of a faſtuous funeral, in the center of which is a cold and lifeleſs body, a lump of unanimated earth: in ſhort, a phantom of power, ready to diſappear before the enemy by whom it is deſpiſed. A great nation, where deſpotic power is at laſt eſtabliſhed, reſembles an oak that has been crowned by ages. Its majeſtic trunk, and the largeneſs of its branches, ſtill declare its priſtine force, and grandeur; it ſeems ſtill to be the monarch of the woods, but its true ſtate is that of decadency; its branches deſpoiled of their leaves, and deſtitute of the ſpirit of life, are half-withered, and ſome of them continually broken off by the wind. Such is the ſtate of a nation ſubdued by arbitrary power.

Letters from Lord Cheſterfield *to Alderman* George Faulkner.

MY GOOD FRIEND, Bath, Nov. 11. 1752.

I ALWAYS expect your packets with impatience, and receive them with pleaſure; but that pleaſure would be much more compleat, if ſome productions of your own now and then accompanied the excellent ones which you ſend me of other people. I muſt freely tell you, that you have been long enough the celebrated and ſucceſsful man-midwife of other people's conceptions, and it is now high time that you ſhould take up the other end of the buſineſs, and beget, conceive, and bear fruit yourſelf. The moſt illuſtrious of your predeceſſors did ſo. The Stephens's, the Aldules, and many others, acted as men-midwives to the greateſt authors; but then they acted as men too, and begot, as well as delivered: and indeed there is ſuch a relation and connection between thoſe two operations, that it is next to impoſſible that one who has been ſo able as you have been in the one, ſhould be deficient in the other. You have moreover one advantage which the greateſt of your typographical predeceſſors had not. They were ne-

ver perſonally acquainted with Horace, Virgil, Cicero, and others, whoſe productions they brought to light, but were obliged to exhibit them in the always-imperfect, often-deformed, ſtate in which they found them, in ragged and worm-eaten vellum and parchment. Whereas you have been always at the fountain head; you have not only printed and read, but you have heard Swift, Berkeley, and all the beſt authors of the Iriſh Auguſtan age. You have converſed with, you have been informed, and to my knowledge conſulted by them. Should you aſk me, my friend, what ſort of work I would particularly point out to you, I can only anſwer, conſult your genius, which will beſt direct you; if it does not lead you, or rather hurry you, whether you will or not, into poetry, do not attempt verſe, but take the more common manner of writing, which is proſe. Cicero himſelf had better have done ſo. A *Typographia Hibernica*, which no man in the kingdom is more capable of doing well than yourſelf, would be a uſeful work, and becoming your character. I do not recommend to you any ludicrous performances: they muſt flow naturally, or they are good for nothing; and though, were it only by your long and amicable colliſion with Sheridan, Delany, Swift, and others, you muſt be very ſtrongly impregnated with particles of wit and humour, yet I take your natural turn to be grave and philoſophical. A collection of *Anas* would admit of all ſubjects, and, in a volume or two of Swiftiana, you might both give and take a ſample of yourſelf, by ſlipping in ſome Faulkneriana; the ſucceſs of which would, I am perſuaded, engage you to go further. Biography ſhould, in my mind, be your next ſtep, or which you appear to be thoroughly qualified; by the clear and impartial accounts, which your hebdomadal labours give of the deaths of all people of note. Hiſtory would ſoon follow, which in truth you have been writing theſe many years, though perhaps without thinking ſo: what is hiſtory but a collection of facts and dates? your Journal is a collection of facts and dates; then, what is your Journal but hiſtory? Our friend, the chief baron, with whom I have often talked upon this ſubject, has always agreed with me, that, in the fitneſs of things, it was neceſſary you ſhould be an author, and I am very ſure that, if you conſult him, he will join with me in exhorting you to ſet about it forthwith. Whenever you aſſume that character, I claim a very ſtrong dedication with the firſt copy of the work, as an old friend, which, joking apart, I ſincerely am, and

Your humble ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

My worthy Friend, Blackheath, Sept. 15, 1753.

THOUGH I am very ſorry for your quarrels in Ireland, by which I am ſure the public muſt ſuffer, let who will prevail, I gladly accept your kind offer of ſending me the controverſial productions of the belligerant parties. Pray do not think any of thoſe polemical pieces too low, too grub-ſtreet, or too ſcurrilous to ſend me; for I have leiſure to read them all, and prefer them infinitely to all other

controverſial performances. I have often wiſhed, and wiſh it now more than ever, that you were in parliament, where, in my opinion, your coolneſs, gravity, and impartiality, would greatly contribute to calm if not to cure thoſe animoſities. Virgil ſeems prophetically to have pointed at you, in his deſcription of a perſon qualified to ſooth and moderate popular tumults. Theſe are the lines, which will perhaps be more intelligent to us both in Dryden's tranſlation, than in the original:

If then ſome grave and pious man appear,
They huſh their noiſe, and lend a liſtening ear;
He ſooths, with ſober words, their angry mood,
And quenches their innate deſire of blood.

I am not very ſuperſtitious; but I am perſuaded that, if you were to try the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, you would open the book at the very place. That incomparable and religious prince, king Charles the firſt, conſulted them with great faith, and to his great information.

There is one thing which I would rather know, than all the contending parties in Ireland ſay or write againſt each other, and that is, your real ſentiments upon the whole; but all that I know of them is, that I ſhall never know them; ſuch is your candour, and ſuch is your caution. The celebrated Atticus ſeems to have been your prototype. He kept well with all parties, ſo do you; he was truſted and conſulted by individuals on all ſides, ſo are you; he wrote ſome hiſtories, ſo have you; he was the moſt eminent bookſeller of the age he lived in, ſo are you; and he died immenſely rich, and ſo will you. It is true he was a knight, and you are not, but that you know is your own fault; and he was an epicurean, and you are a ſtoic.

For the next ſeven weeks pray direct your pacquets to me at Bath, where I am going next week, as deaf as ever your friend the dean was, and full as much, though not ſo profitably,

Your friend and ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

Pray make my compliments to your friend Mr. Briſtow when you ſee him.

My worthy Friend, London, Jan. 4, 1763.

MANY thanks to you for your letter, many thanks to you for your almanack, and more thanks to you for your friend Swift's Works, in which laſt, to borrow an expreſſion of Cibber's, you have outdone your uſual outdoings; for the paper is whit-iſh, and the ink is black-iſh. I only wiſh that the margin had been a little broader; however, without flattery, its beats Elziver, Aldus, Vaſcoſan, and I make no doubt but that, in ſeven or eight hundred years, the learned and the curious in thoſe times, will, like the learned and curious in theſe, who prefer the impreſſion of a book to the matter of it, collect with pains and expence all the books that were publiſhed ex Typographia Faulkneriana. — But I am impatient to congratulate you upon your late triumph; you have made (if you will forgive a quibble upon ſo ſerious a ſubject) your enemy your foot-ſtool; a victory which the divine Socrates had not influence

influence enough to obtain at Athens over Ariſtophanes, nor the great Pompey at Rome, over the actor who had the inſolence to abuſe him under the name of Magnus, by which he was univerſally known, and to tell him from the ſtage, *Miſeriis noſtris Magnus Magnus es.* A man of leſs philoſophy than yourſelf, would, perhaps, have chaſtiſed Mr. Foote corporally, and have made him feel that your wooden leg which he mimicked, had an avenging arm to protect it; but you ſcorned ſo inglorious a victory, and called juſtice and the laws of your country to puniſh the criminal, and to avenge your cauſe. You triumphed; and I heartily join my weak voice to the loud acclamations of the good citizens of Dublin upon this occaſion. I take it for granted that ſome of your many tributary wits have already preſented you with gratulatory poems, odes, &c. upon this ſubject: I own I had ſome thoughts myſelf of inſcribing a ſhort poem to you upon your triumph: but to tell you the truth, when I had writ not above two thouſand verſes of it, my muſe forſook me, my poetic vein ſtopped, I threw away my pen, and I burned my poem, to the irreparable loſs not only of the preſent age, but alſo of lateſt poſterity.

I very ſeriouſly and ſincerely wiſh you a great many very happy new years, and am

Your moſt faithful
friend and ſervant,
CHESTERFIELD.

I like your meſſenger, young Dunkin, mightily: he is a very ſenſible well-behaved young man.

An EPITAPH, *by Dr.* PERCI

To the Memory
of
SYLVIA ——,
A chearful companion;
faithful friend;
and
real Philoſopher,
if
Obedience to God,
Conformity to Nature,
and Benevolence to Man;
with unaffected indifference
to
Profit, Power, or Fame,
be true Philoſophy.
She
mingled in all companies,
yet preſerved
her native ſimplicity of manners;
and
was careſſed by the profligate,
whilſt ſhe reproved their
Vices,
by her good example.
Her Religion
was untainted with Bigotry,
although ſhe doubted of no
Articles of Faith;
and
ſhe ſteadily maintained
Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſta
without becoming
a Partizan in Politics.
Spotleſs as a Saint
ſhe lived; and died a Martyr.*
This Monument
blazons no feigned Virtues of t
Dead,
to flatter the Vanity of the
Living;
for it is erected not to a
WOMAN,
but
a SPANIEL.†

* To the apprehenſions of canine madneſs; ſee Dr. Percival's Moral Tales, vol. pag. 62.

† A monument, in Lord Temple's gardens at Stowe, ſuggeſted this inſcriptio

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW-YEAR, 1777.

Written by W. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq.*

AGAIN imperial Winter's ſway
Bids the earth and air obey,
Throws o'er yon hoſtile lakes his icy bar,
And, for a while, ſuſpends the rage of war.
O may it ne'er revive!——Ye wiſe,
Ye juſt, ye virtuous, and ye brave,
Leave fell contention to the ſons of vice,
And join your powers to ſave.

Enough of ſlaughter have ye known,
Ye wayward children of a diſtant clime;
For you we heave the kindred groan,
We pity your misfortune and your crime.
Stop, parricides, the blow,
O find another foe!
And hear a parent's dear requeſt,
Who longs to claſp you to her yielding breaſt.

What change would ye require? What form
Ideal, floats in fancy's ſky?
Ye fond enthuſiaſts, break the charm,
And let cool reaſon clear the mental eye.
On Britain's well-mix'd ſtate alone
True liberty has fix'd her throne,
Where law, not man, an equal rule maintains:
Can freedom e'er be found where many a tyrant reigns?

United, let us all thoſe bleſſings find,
The God of nature meant mankind.
Whate'er of error, ill redreſt,
Whate'er of paſſion, ill repreſt,
Whate'er the wicked have conceived,
And folly's heedleſs ſons believ'd,
Let all lie buried in oblivion's flood,
And our great cement be, the public good.

ODE

ODE *for his* MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, 1777.

Written by W. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq.*

DRIVEN out from Heav'n's etherial domes,
On earth inſatiate Diſcord roams,
And ſpreads her baleful influence far:
On wretched man her ſcorpion ſtings
Around th' inſidious fury flings,
Corroding every bliſs, and ſharp'ning every care.
Hence, demon, hence! in tenfold night
Thy Stygian ſpells employ,
Nor with thy preſence blaſt the light
Of that auſpicious day, which Britain gives to joy.

But come, thou ſofter deity,
Faireſt Unanimity!
Not more fair the ſtar that leads
Bright Aurora's glowing ſteeds,
Or on Heſper's front that ſhines
When the gariſh day declines;
Bring thy uſual train along,
Feſtive dance and choral ſong,
Looſe-rob'd ſport, from folly free,
And mirth, chaſtis'd by decency.

Enough of war the penſive Muſe has ſung,
Enough of ſlaughter trembled on her tongue;
Fairer proſpects let her bring,
Than hoſtile fields and ſcenes of blood;
If happier hours are on the wing,
Wherefore damp the coming good?
If again our tears muſt flow,
Why foreſtal the future woe?
Bright-eye'd Hope, thy pleaſing power
Gilds at leaſt the preſent hour,
Every anxious thought beguiles,
Dreſſes every face in ſmiles,
Nor lets one tranſient cloud the bliſs deſtroy
Of that auſpicious day, which Britain gives to joy.

EPILOGUE *to the Tragedy of* SEMIRAMIS.

Written by R. B. SHERIDAN, *Eſq.*

Spoken by Mrs. YATES.

DISHEVELL'D ſtill, like Aſia's bleeding Queen,
Shall I with jeſts deride the tragic ſcene?

No, beauteous mourners!—from whoſe downcaſt eyes—
The Muſe has drawn her nobleſt ſacrifice!
Whoſe gentle boſoms, Pity's Altars—bear
The cryſtal incenſe of each falling tear!—
There lives the Poets praiſe! no Critic art
Can match the comment of a feeling heart!

When gen'ral plaudits ſpeak the Fable o'er—
Which mute attention had approv'd before,
Tho' ruder ſpirits love th' accuſtom'd jeſt
Which chaſes ſorrow from the vulgar breaſt,
Still hearts refin'd their ſadden'd tint retain—
The ſigh is pleaſure! and the jeſt is pain!—
Scarce have they ſmiles, to honour grace, or wit,
—Tho' Roſcius ſpoke the verſe himſelf had writ!
Thus thro' the time, when vernal fruits receive
The grateful ſhow'rs that hang on April's eve;
Tho' every coarſer ſtem of Foreſt birth
Throws with the morning beam its dews to earth,
—Ne'er does the gentle Roſe revive ſo ſoon,
But, bath'd in nature's tears, it droops 'till noon.

O could the Muſe one ſimple moral teach!
From ſcenes like theſe, which all who heard might reach!—
Thou child of ſympathy—whoe'er thou art,
Who with Aſſyria's Queen haſt wept thy part,—
Go ſearch, where keener woes demand relief,
Go—while thy heart yet beats with fancy'd grief;
Thy lip ſtill conſcious of the recent ſigh,
The graceful tear ſtill ling'ring in thy eye,—
Go—and on real miſery beſtow
The bleſs'd effuſion of fictitious woe!

So ſhall our Muſe, ſupreme of all the nine,
Deſerve, indeed, the title of—Divine—
Virtue ſhall own her favour'd from above,
And Pity—greet her—with a ſiſter's love.

PROLOGUE *to the* WORD TO THE WISE, *performed for the Benefit of Mrs.* KELLY *and her Children. By Dr.* JOHNSON.

Spoken by Mr. HULL.

THIS night preſents a play, which public rage,
Or right, or wrong, once hooted from the ſtage.
From zeal or malice now no more we dread,
For Engliſh vengeance *wars not with the dead.*
A generous foe regards, with pitying eye,
The man whom Fate has laid where all muſt lie.

To

To wit, reviving from its author's duſt,
Be kind, ye judges, or at leaſt be juſt;
For no renew'd hoſtilities invade
Th' oblivious grave's inviolable ſhade.
Let one great payment every claim appeaſe,
And him who cannot hurt, allow to pleaſe;
To pleaſe by ſcenes unconſcious of offence,
By harmleſs merriment, or uſeful ſenſe.
Where aught of bright, or fair, the piece diſplays,
Approve it only—'tis too late to praiſe.
If want of ſkill, or want of care, appear,
Forbear to hiſs—the poet cannot hear.
By all, like him, muſt praiſe and blame be found,
At beſt, a fleeting gleam, or empty ſound.
Yet then ſhall calm reflection bleſs the night,
When liberal pity dignify'd delight;
When Pleaſure fir'd her torch at Virtue's flame,
And Mirth was Bounty with a humbler name.

PROLOGUE *to the* SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL. *By Mr.* GARRICK.

Spoken by Mr. KING.

A SCHOOL for Scandal! Tell me, I beſeech you,
Needs there a School—this modiſh art to teach you?
No need of leſſons now—the knowing think
We might as well be taught to eat and drink.
Caus'd by a dearth of Scandal, ſhould the vapours
Diſtreſs our fair-ones—let 'em read the papers:
Their pow'rful mixtures ſuch diſorders hit,
Crave what they will, there's *quantum ſufficit.*
Lord! cries my *Lady Wormwood,* (who loves tattle,
And puts much ſalt and pepper in her prattle)
Juſt ris'n at noon, all night at cards, when threſhing
Strong tea and Scandal—bleſs me, how refreſhing!
Give me the papers, Liſp—how bold and free—*(ſips)*—
"Laſt night Lord L.—*(ſips)*—was caught with Lady D."
—For aching heads, what charming ſalvolatile!—*(ſips)*—
"If Mrs. B. will ſtill continue flirting,
"We hope ſhe'll *draw,* or we'll *undraw,* the curtain.'
Fine ſatire, poz—In public all abuſe it,
But by ourſelves—*(ſips)*—our praiſe we can't refuſe it.
Now, Liſp, read *you*—there at that daſh and ſtar—
Yes, Ma'am—"A certain Lord had beſt beware,
"Who lives not twenty miles from Groſv'nor-ſquare;
"For ſhould he Lady W—— find willing—
"*Wormwood* is bitter."—Oh! that's me—the villain!

Throw it behind the fire, and never more
Let that vile paper come within my door.
  Thus at our friends we laugh, who feel the dart;
To reach *our* feelings, we ourselves muſt ſmart.
Is our young bard ſo young—to think that he
Can ſtop the full ſpring-tide of calumny?
Knows he the world ſo little, and its trade?
Alas! the Devil's ſooner rais'd than *laid*.
So ſtrong, ſo ſwift, the monſter, there's no gagging;
Cut Scandal's head off—ſtill the tongue is wagging.
Proud of your ſmiles, once lavishly beſtow'd,
Again your young Don Quixote takes the road;
To chace his gratitude—he draws his pen,
And ſeeks this Hydra Scandal in its den;
From his fell gripe the frighted fair to ſave,
Tho' he ſhould fall—tis' attempt muſt pleaſe the brave;
For your applauſe, all perils he would thro',
He'll fight—that's write—a cavalliero true,
'Till ev'ry drop of blood—that's ink—is ſpilt for you.

EPILOGUE *to the* SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL.

Written by G. COLMAN, *Eſq*;

And ſpoken by Mrs. ABINGTON, *in the Character of* Lady Teazel.

I Who was late ſo volatile and gay,
Like a trade-wind, muſt now blow all one way,
Bend all my cares, my ſtudies, and my vows,
To one old ruſty weather-cock—my ſpouſe;
So wills our virtuous bard!—the pyebald Bayes
Of crying epilogues and laughing plays.
  Old batchelors, who marry ſmart young wives,
Learn from our play to regulate your lives!
Each bring his dear to town—all faults upon her—
London will prove the very ſource of honour;
Plung'd fairly in, like a cold bath, it ſerves
When principles relax, to brace the nerves.
Such is my caſe—and yet I muſt deplore
That the gay dream of diſſipation's o'er;
And ſay, ye fair, was ever lively wife,
Born with a genius for the higheſt life,
Like me, untimely blaſted in her bloom,
Like me, condemn'd to ſuch a diſmal doom?
Save money—when I juſt knew how to *waſte* it!
Leave London—juſt as I began to *taſte* it!

Muſt

Muſt I then watch the early-crowing cock?
The melancholy ticking of a clock?
In the lone ruſtic hall for ever pounded,
With dogs, cats, rats, and ſqualling brats, ſurrounded?
With humble Curates can I now retire?
(While good Sir Peter boozes with the 'Squire,)
And at back-gammon mortify my ſoul,
That pants for loo, or flutters at a vole?
Seven's the main!—dear ſound!—that muſt expire,
Loſt at hot-cockles round a Chriſtmas fire!
T' tranſient hour of faſhion too ſoon ſpent,
" Farewel the tranquil mind, farewel content!
" Farewel the *plumed* head—the cuſhion'd *tete*,
" That takes the cuſhion from its proper ſeat!
" The ſpirit-ſtirring drum!—card-drums I mean—
" Spadille, odd trick, pam, baſto, king and queen!
" And you, ye knockers, that with brazen throat
" The welcome viſitor's approach denote,
" Farewel!—all *quality* of high renown,
" Pride, pomp, and circumſtance, of glorious town,
" Farewel!—your revels I partake no more,
" And Lady Teazel's occupation's o'er."
—All this I told our bard—he ſmil'd, and ſaid 'twas clear
I ought to play deep tragedy next year:
Meanwhile he drew wiſe morals from his play,
And in theſe ſolemn periods ſtalk'd away:
" Bleſt were the fair, like you her faults who ſtopt,
" And clos'd her follies when the curtain dropt!
" No more in vice or error to engage,
" Or play the fool at large on life's great ſtage!"

EPITAPH, *by Mr.* GARRICK, *on* PAUL WHITEHEAD, *Eſq; who was born* Jan. 25, 1710, *and died* Dec. 30, 1774.

HERE lies a man misfortune could not bend,*
Prais'd as a poet, honoured as a friend!
Tho' his youth kindled with the love of fame,
Within his boſom glow'd a brighter flame!
Whene'er his friends with ſharp afflictions bled,
And from the wounded deer the herd was fled,
Whitehead ſtood forth, the healing balm applied,
Nor quitted their diſtreſſes—till he died.

D. G.

* Alluding, it is imagined, to his long impriſonment for Mr. Fleetwood.

To a LADY *who loved Dancing.*

Written by the late Judge BURNET.

MAY I preſume, in humble lays,
My *dancing* fair, thy ſteps to praiſe?—
While this grand maxim I advance,
That all the world is but a *dance.*
That human-kind, both man and woman,
Do *dance*, is evident and common;
David himſelf, that God-like King,
We know could *dance* as well as *ſing:*
Folks who at Court would keep their ground
Muſt *dance* the year attendance round:
Whole nations *dance*; gay friſking France
Has led the nation many a *dance*;
And ſome believe both France and Spain
Reſolve to take us out again.
All Nature is *one ball*, we find;
The water *dances* to the wind;
The ſea itſelf, at night and noon,
Riſes and capers to the moon;
The moon around the earth does tread
A Cheſhire round in buxom red;
The earth and planets round the ſun
Dance; nor will their *dance* be done
Till Nature in one maſs is blended;
Then we may ſay, the *ball is ended.*

BATH; *its* BEAUTIES *and* AMUSEMENTS.

Parve (nec invideo) ſine me liber ibis in ignem.

O Thou, who erſt from *Baia*'s ſmoking plain,
Didſt to theſe rocks transfer thy healing reign!
Lord of each ſtagnant and ſulphureous ditch,
Great foe to vegetation and the itch!
Aſſiſt my ſong, inſpire my votive lays,
For Bath demands, and Bath deſerves my praiſe.
Bath, the divine *Hygeia*'s favour'd child,
Where Pigs were once, and Princes now are boil'd,
Where Arts and Elegance have fix'd their ſeat,
And Graces ply, like chairmen,—in the ſtreet;
Where free from ling'ring Education's plan,
By which the brute is poliſh'd into man,
We learn a ſhorter and more pleaſing road,
And grow (like beef) by ſtewing—Alamode.

'Ti

'Tis here alone that Architecture frames
Such ſolid buildings, with ſuch ſounding names:
A *Circus*, that three ranks of columns boaſts—
Three ranks of columns, like three rows of poſts;
Where none to dang'rous merit make pretence,
Or ſeek a painful ſad pre-eminence.
No kind pilaſter at that giddy height
Diſpels our terrors or relieves our ſight,
Becauſe we're told (tho' different the name)
That maſſive and majeſtic are the ſame.
Not thus the *Creſcent* towers thro' the air,
The proud Ionic reigns unrival'd there;
Her pedeſtals are eas'd of half their trouble,
Like gen'rous ſteeds, unfit to carry double.
But then that *Square*—within whoſe center rail'd
Like Taſte upon an obeliſk impal'd;
Mark, how from ſervile ſqueamiſh order free,
The different buildings ſweetly *diſ*agree!
This boaſts a richer, that an humbler grace,
Like courtiers in, and courtiers out of place!
But while the Muſe thro' lifeleſs rubbiſh ſtrays,
Say, can no living wonders claim her lays?
What names, what titles might ſhe not rehearſe!
'Twould almoſt make a chronicle in verſe.
What *Peers* laſt night were melted drop by drop,
To ſhew how well Right Honourables hop,
(While thinly ſcatter'd, poor Plebeians ſtare,
And wonder how the devil they came there.)
What *Nabobs*, rich in every thing but ſenſe,
Diſplay their haughty dull magnificence:
What *Beaux*, whom Heaven had ſent us for our ſins,
To teach us graces, and to kick our ſhins;
What cloud capt *Belles*—But ſhall the honeſt Muſe
Accept that talk which Envy would refuſe?
Shall ſhe 'gainſt Heav'n exert her impious ſkill?
For tho' conceal'd by clouds, 'tis Heaven ſtill.
To you, ye ſnarling, ſcribbling, ſceptic crew,
Who in perfection's ſelf ſome flaw can view;
You, who unmov'd on Julia's ſelf can gaze,
"While o'er her cheek the ſoft ſmile trembling plays*;"
Whom, nor the piercing glance of conſcious ſenſe,
Nor the meek eye of anxious diffidence;
To ſomething like humanity can move—
Whom gods might fear, and devils cannot love—
To you th' unmanly cenſure I reſign,—
To love, to pity, to protect, be mine.

* Camoens.

But

But ſoft—behold new game appears in view—
Obſerve that buſy, fluttering, noiſy crew!
They're all Apollo's ſon from top to bottom—
Tho' poor Apollo wonders where he got them!
See how they hurry to that hallow'd ſhrine—
That ſacred ſeat of Sappho and the Nine;
Where plac'd on quarries of the pureſt ſtone,
The red brick ſhines unrival'd and alone:
Bleſs us—what toil, what coſt has been beſtow'd,
To give that proſpect—of the London road!
Our admiration knows not where to fix—
Here a caſcade, and there a coach and fix!
Within a myſtic vaſe with laurel crown'd—
Hence ye profane!—'tis conſecrated ground!
Here Sappho's hands the laſt ſad rites diſpenſe
To mangled poetry and murder'd ſenſe;
Here jeſts were heard, "at which even Juno ſmil'd,
"When crack'd by Jove magnificently mild *,"
Jeſts, ſo ſublimely void of ſenſe and thought,
Poor ſimple mortals cannot find them out;
Rhime,—like Scotch couſins,—in ſuch order plac'd,
The firſt ſcarce claims acquaintance with the laſt!
But ſee, at length the cold dull ſcene to cheer,
Kind Nature bids her Jerningham appear.
See on the bed of ſickneſs and deſpair,
Eliza form and Yorick's alter'd air;
The laſt tear gliſtens in his ſleepleſs eye,
While on his lip hangs quiv'ring the cold ſigh!
At ev'ry pang our tears unbidden flow,
Till the heart ſickens at the pictur'd woe.
But now 'tis paſt—the dream is done away,
And baniſh'd *Dulneſs* reaſſumes her ſway.
Go then, my Muſe! to her direct thy lays,
Be dull, be noiſy, and expect the bays.
No more ſhall merit ſtrive that prize to win,
"She was a ſtranger, and was taken in †."
Go—with M'Pherſon in Teutonic ſoar,
With Mallet whine, with bluſt'ring K— roar;
Retail like Cumberland the holy writ,
And bid the Ten Commandments paſs for wit.
Should all Parnaſſus 'gainſt thy efforts join,
Vain were the force of Phœbus and the Nine;
E'ven Sappho's ſelf before thy pow'r ſhall bend,
And crown thy nonſenſe—tho' ſhe can't commend.

* ——————— Jove magnificently mild,
Crack'd his blythe jeſts, at which e'en Juno ſmiled. *Judgment of Apollo.*
† Sappho's ſpeech to Lord Abingdon.

The

The END *of* WRITING; *an Imitation of ſome* French *Verſes: Addreſſed to Authors.*

THESE fair ſheets of *foolſcap* which thus ye are ſoiling,
Still cutting, and ſcribbling, and blotting, and ſpoiling;
This paper, I ſay, had an honeſt beginning,
Being born of good flax, and begotten by ſpinning;
To the loom in due time, and the ragſhop it paſt,
Into leaves of fine *foolſcap* converted at laſt.
Now, ſeiz'd by the Wits, it inceſſantly teems
Or with viſions in verſe, or political dreams;
Till his Worſhip, juſt rous'd from his afternoon's doze,
With a pipe of Virginia regaleth his noſe:
Then twiſted, and twirl'd, and condemn'd to the taper,
In a puff is conſum'd this unfortunate paper.
It is thus, my good friends, that Truth ſetteth before ye,
Of your boaſted employment—the tragical ſtory:
Your choiceſt productions, whate'er be their name,
Will end, at the beſt, in the vapour of fame:
That vapour, my friends, do ye think it will ſtay?
—Like his *Worſhip's laſt whiff*, it will vaniſh away.

VERSES *ſent by a Gentleman to his Lady with a Preſent of a Knife.*

A Knife, dear girl, cuts love, they ſay;—
Mere modiſh love, perhaps, it may:
For any tool of any kind,
Can ſep'rate what was never join'd.
The knife that cuts our love in two
Will have much tougher work to do:
Muſt cut your ſoftneſs, worth and ſpirit,
Down to the vulgar ſize of merit;
To level yours with modern taſte,
Muſt cut a world of ſenſe to waſte;
And from your ſingle beauty's ſtore,
Clip what would dizen out a ſcore.
The ſelf-ſame blade from me muſt ſever
Senſation, judgment, ſight for ever;
All mem'ry of endearments paſt,
All hope of comforts long to laſt,
All that makes fourteen years with you
A ſummer;—and a ſhort one too:
All that affection feels and fears
When hours, without you, ſeem like years.—
Till that be done (and I'd as ſoon
Believe this knife will chip the moon)

Accept

Accept my preſent undeterr'd,
And leave their proverbs to the herd.
If in a kiſs—delicious treat!—
Your lips acknowledge the receipt;
Love, fond of ſuch ſubſtantial fare,
And proud to play the glutton there,
All thoughts of cutting will diſdain,
Save only—*cut and come again.*

PROLOGUE *ſpoken by Sir* GEORGE BEAUMONT, *Bart. at the Opening of the new Theatre at* North Aſton, Oxon.

Written by WM. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq*; 1776.

SURE ſome infection hovers in the air!
For every man and woman is turn'd play'r!
No age eſcapes it—antiquated dames
And reverend Romeos breathe fictitious flames;
Pale miſſes antedate love's future force,
And ſchool-boy Richards liſp "a horſe, a horſe!"
No rank eſcapes it—with a Garrick art
Right Honourable Hamlets ſtare and ſtart;
And Lady Belvideras every where,
Pat the ſtarch'd handkerchief, and ſqueeze a tear.
What wonder then, in this theatric age,
If we too catch the epidemic rage?
If with the reſt we play the mimic's part,
And drive to our own barn the Theſpian cart;
For we confeſs this pageant pomp you ſee
Was once a barn—the ſeat of induſtry;
And time may come, when all this glittering ſhow
Of canvas, paint, and plaſter, ſhall lie low;
Theſe gorgeous palaces, yon cloud-capt ſcene,
This barn itſelf, may be a barn again:
The ſpirit-ſtirring drum may ceaſe to roar,
The prompter's whiſtle may be heard no more;
But echoing ſounds of ruſtic toil prevail,
The winnowing hiſs and clapping of the flail;
Hither once more may unhous'd vagrants fly,
To ſhun th' inclement blaſt and pelting ſky;
On Lear's own ſtraw may gypſies reſt their head,
And trulls lie ſnug in Deſdemona's bed.

JUPITER *and* MERCURY. *A Fable.*

Written ſome Time ſince by D. G——, *Eſq*;

HERE, *Hermes*, ſays *Jove*, who with nectar was mellow,
Go fetch me ſome clay—I will make an *odd fellow*;—
Right and wrong ſhall be jumbled,—much gold and ſome droſs;
Without cauſe be he pleas'd, without cauſe be he croſs;

Be ſure, as I work, to throw in contradictions,
A great love of truth, yet a mind turn'd to fictions;
Now mix theſe ingredients, which, warm'd in the baking,
Turn to *learning* and *gaming*, *religion* and *raking*.
With the love of a wench, let his writings be chaſte;
Tip his tongue with ſtrange matter, his pen with fine taſte;
That the rake and the poet o'er all may prevail,
Set fire to the head, and ſet fire to the tail:
For the joy of each ſex, on the world I'll beſtow it,
This *Scholar*, *Rake*, *Chriſtian*, *Dupe*, *Gameſter* and *Poet*;
Tho' a mixture ſo odd, he ſhall merit great fame,
And among brother mortals—be GOLDSMITH his name!
When on earth this ſtrange meteor no more ſhall appear,
You, *Hermes*, ſhall fetch him,—to make us ſport here!

D. G.

On Dr. GOLDSMITH's CHARACTERISTICAL COOKERY.

A Jeu D'Eſprit.

By D. G. *Eſq;*

ARE theſe the choice diſhes the Doctor has ſent us?
Is this the great poet whoſe works ſo content us?
This Goldſmith's fine feaſt, who has written fine books?
Heaven ſends us good *meat*—but the *Devil finds cooks*.

D. G.

LINES *from Dr.* BARNARD, *Dean of* Derry, *to Dr.* GOLDSMITH *and Mr.* CUMBERLAND.

DEAR Noll and dear Dick, ſince you've made us ſo merry,
Accept the beſt thanks of the poor Dean of Derry!
Tho' I here muſt confeſs, that your meat and your wine
Are not quite to my taſte, tho' they're both very fine;
For ſherry's a liquor monaſtic, you own;
Now there's nothing I hate ſo—as drinking alone.
It may do for your monks, or your curates and vicars,
But, for my part, I'm fond of more ſociable liquors.
Your ven'ſon's delicious—tho' too ſweet your ſauce is—
Sed non ego maculis offendar paucis.
So ſoon as you pleaſe, you may ſerve me your diſh up,
But inſtead of your ſherry, pray make me a—*Biſhop!*

Biſhop CORBET * *to his Son* VINCENT CORBET, *two Years of Age.*

WHAT I ſhall leave thee none can tell,
But all ſhall ſay I wiſh you well;
I wiſh thee, Vin. before all wealth,
Both bodily and ghoſtly health:
Not too much wealth nor wit come to thee—
Too much of either may undo thee.
I wiſh thee learning, not for ſhow,
Enough for to inſtruct and know;
Not ſuch as gentlemen require,
To prate at table and at fire.
I wiſh thee all thy mother's graces,
Thy father's fortunes and his places.
I wiſh thee friends, and one at Court,
Not to build on, but ſupport;
To keep thee not in doing many
Oppreſſions, but from ſuff'ring any.
I wiſh thee peace in all thy ways,
Nor lazy nor contentious days;
And when thy ſoul and body part,
As innocent as now thou art.

CHARACTERS *of Mr.* GRANVILLE, *(Nephew to Lord* Landſdown,) *and of* WILLIAM HARRISON, *Eſq; from an Epiſtle of Dr.* YOUNG's, *not yet inſerted among his Works.*

YET ſtill one bliſs, one glory, I forbear,
A darling friend whom near your heart you wear:
That lovely youth, my Lord, whom you muſt blame,
That I grow thus familiar with your name.
He's friendly, open, in his conduct nice,
Nor ſerve theſe virtues to atone for vice;
Vice he has none, or ſuch as none wiſh leſs,
But friends indeed, good-nature in exceſs.
You cannot boaſt the merit of a choice
In making him your own, 'twas Nature's voice,
Which call'd too loud by man to be withſtood,
Pleading a tie far nearer than of blood;
Similitude of manners, ſuch a mind,
As makes you leſs the wonder of mankind.
Such eaſe his common converſe recommends,
As he ne'er felt a paſſion, but his friends;

* Made Biſhop of Norwich in 1632.

Yet fix'd his principles, beyond the force
Of all beneath the ſun to bend his courſe *.
Thus the tall cedar, beautiful and fair,
Flatters the motions of the wanton air;
Salutes each paſſing breeze with head reclin'd;
The pliant branches dance in every wind:
But fix'd the ſtem her upright ſtate maintains,
And all the fury of the North diſdains.
How are you bleſs'd in ſuch a matchleſs friend!
Alas! with me the joys of friendſhip end;
O Harriſon! I muſt, I will complain;
Tears ſoothe the ſoul's diſtreſs, tho' ſhed in vain:
Didſt thou return, and bleſs thy native ſhore
With welcome peace, and is my friend no more?—
Thy taſk was early done, and I muſt own
Death kind to thee, but, ah! to thee alone.
But 'tis in me a vanity to mourn,
The ſorrows of the great thy tomb adorn;
Strafford and Bolingbroke the loſs perceive,
They grieve, and make thee envy'd in thy grave.
With aching heart, and a foreboding mind,
I night to day in painful journey join'd,
When firſt inform'd of his approaching fate,
But reach'd the partner of my ſoul too late †;
'Twas paſt; his cheek was cold; that tuneful tongue,
Which Iſis charm'd with its melodious ſong,
Now languiſh'd, wanted ſtrength to ſpeak his pain,
Scarce rais'd a feeble groan, and ſunk again:
Each art of life, in which he bore a part,
Shot like an arrow thro' my bleeding heart.
To what ſerv'd all his promis'd wealth and pow'r,
But more to load that moſt unhappy hour?
Yet ſtill prevail'd the greatneſs of his mind;
That, not in health, or life itſelf, confin'd,
Felt thro' his mortal pangs Britannia's peace,
Mounted to joy, and ſmil'd in Death's embrace.
His ſpirit now juſt ready to reſign,
No longer now his own, no longer mine,
He graſps my hand, his ſwimming eye-balls roll,
My hand he graſps, and enters in my ſoul;
Then with a groan—ſupport me, O! beware
Of holding worth, however great, too dear!

* His Lordſhip's nephew, who took orders.

† Swift gives a ſimilar affecting account of his calling on him *too late* in his *Journal to Stella*.

Extract from MASON'S *Engliſh Garden.*

NOR is that Cot, of which fond Fancy draws
This caſual picture, alien from our theme.
Reviſit it at morn; its opening latch,
Tho' Penury and Toil within reſide,
Shall pour thee forth a youthful progeny
Glowing with health and beauty: (ſuch the dower
Of equal heav'n) ſee how the ruddy tribe
Throng round the threſhold, and, with vacant gaze,
Salute thee; call the loiterers into uſe,
And form of theſe thy fence, the living fence
That graces what it guards. Thou think'ſt, perchance,
That, ſkill'd in nature's heraldry, thy art
Has, in the limits of yon fragant tuft,
Marſhall'd each roſe, that to the eye of June
Spreads its peculiar crimſon; do not err,
The lovelieſt ſtill is wanting; the freſh roſe
Of Innocence, it bloſſoms on their cheek,
And, lo, to thee they bear it! ſtriving each,
In panting race, who firſt ſhall reach the lawn,
Proud to be call'd thy ſhepherds. Want, alas!
Has o'er their little limbs her livery hung,
In many a tatter'd fold, yet ſtill thoſe limbs
Are ſhapely; their rude locks ſtart from their brow,
Yet, on that open brow, its deareſt throne,
Sits ſweet Simplicity. Ah, clothe the troop
In ſuch a ruſſet garb as beſt befits
Their paſtoral office; let the leathern ſcrip
Swing at their ſide, tip thou their crook with ſteel,
And braid their hat with ruſhes, then to each
Aſſign his ſtation; at the cloſe of eve,
Be it their care to pen in hurdled cote
The flock, and when the matin prime returns,
Their care to ſet them free; yet watching ſtill
The liberty they lend, oft ſhalt thou hear
Their whiſtle ſhrill, and oft their faithful dog
Shall with obedient barkings fright the flock
From wrong or robbery. The livelong day
Meantime rolls lightly o'er their happy heads;
They baſk on ſunny hillocks, or diſport
In ruſtic paſtime, while that lovelieſt grace,
Which only lives in action unreſtrain'd,
To ev'ry ſimple geſture lends a charm.

A NEW

A NEW YEAR's ODE, *To Queen* Mary, 1562. *The Poet,* ALEXANDER SCOTT.

To Queen Mary, *when ſhe firſt came Home.*

WELCUM, illuſtrat lady, and our Quene,
Welcum our Lyone with the Floure-dy-Lyce;
Welcum our Thiſtle with the Lorane Grene,
Welcum our rubent roſe upon the ryce:

Welcum our Jem and joyfull Gentryce,
Welcum our Beil of Albion to beir;
Welcum our pleaſand Princes maiſt of prayce;
God give you grace againſ this gude NEW YIER.

Found on the firſt four *Vertues Cardinall,*
On Wiſdom, Juſtice, Force, and Temperance,
Aplaud to prudent folk, and principall
Of verteous life, thy glory to advance:

Wey Juſtice equal with Diſcrepance!
Strengthen thy State, with ſtedfaſtneſs to ſteir,
To temper Tyme with true continuance,
God give thee grace againſ this gude NEW YIER.

Freſch, fulgent, fluriſt, fragrant flower formoſe!
Lantern to luve, of lady's lamp and lot:
Cherry maiſt ſweet! cheif carbuncle and choiſe:
Chaſt ſmiling Sovragin! ſhining beautie ſpot!

Bleſt! beautifull! benygn! and beſt begot!
To this indyte pleaſe to incline thine eir,
Sent by thy ſimple ſervant, Sanders Scott,
Greiting, God grant thy Grace a gude NEW YIER.

EPITAPH *on a* Lady, *who died of a* Conſumption *at* Briſtol Wells. *By her* HUSBAND.

WHOE'ER, like me, with trembling anguiſh brings,
His heart's whole treaſure to fair Briſtol's ſprings;
Whoe'er, like me, to ſoothe diſeaſe and pain,
Shall pour thoſe ſalutary ſprings in vain;
Condemn'd, like me, to hear the faint reply,
To mark the fading cheek, the ſinking eye,
From the chill'd brow to wipe the damps of death,
And watch in dumb deſpair the ſhort'ning breath;
If chance directs him to this artleſs line,
Let the ſad mourner know his pangs were mine:

Ordain'd to loſe the partner of my breaſt,
Whoſe virtue warm'd me, and whoſe beauty bleſt,
Framed ev'ry tie, that binds the ſoul, to prove,
Her duty friendſhip, and her friendſhip love—
But yet remembering that the parting ſigh,
Appoints the juſt to ſlumber, not to die,
The ſtarting tear I check'd, I kiſs'd the rod,
And not to earth reſign'd her,—but to God.

SONNET *by Mr.* WARTON, *To the River* Lodon.

AH! what a weary race my feet have run,
Since firſt I trod thy banks with alders crown'd,
And thought my way was all through fairy ground,
Beneath thy azure ſky, and golden ſun:
Where firſt my Muſe to liſp her notes begun!
While penſive memory traces back the round,
Which fills the varied interval between;
Much pleaſure, more of ſorrow, marks the ſcene.
Sweet native ſtream! whoſe ſkies and ſuns ſo pure
No more return, to chear my evening road!
Yet ſtill one joy remains, that not obſcure,
Nor uſeleſs, all my vacant days have flowed,
From youth's gay dawn to manhood's prime mature;
Nor with the Muſe's laurel unbeſtowed—

The two following additional ODES *of the Firſt Book of* HORACE *made their firſt Appearance in the* Gentleman's Magazine, *and are there ſaid to have been lately diſcovered in the* Palatine Library, *and communicated by* GASPER PALLAVICINI, Sub-Librarian.

CARMINUM, LIB. I. ODE 39. *Ad Julium Florum.*

DISCOLOR grandem gravat uva ramum;
Inſtat Autumnus: glacialis anno
Mox Hyems volvente aderit, capillis
Horrida canis.

Jam licet Nymphas trepidè fugaces
Inſequi, lento pede detinendas;
Et labris captæ, ſimulantis iram,
Oſcula figi.

Jam licet vino madidos vetuſto
De die lætum recitare carmen;
Flore, ſi te des hilarem, licebit
Sumere noctem.

Jam

Jam vide Curas Aquilone ſparſas!
Mens viri fortis ſibi conſtat, utrum
Serius lethi, citiusve triſtis
Advolat hora.

QU. HORATII FLACCI, Ode 40. *Ad Librum ſuum.*

DULCI libello nemo ſodalium
Forſan meorum charior extitit:
De te merenti quid fidelis
Officium Domino rependes?

Te Roma cautum territat ardua!
Depone vanos invidiæ metus;
Urbisque, fidens dignitati,
Per plateas animoſus audi.

En quo furentes Eumenidum choros
Disjecit almo fulmine Jupiter!
Huic ara ſtabit, fama canta
Perpetuo celebranda creſcet.

CHARTAM unicam hanc Libri certè vetuſtiſſimi in Bibliothecâ Palatinâ repertam accuratiſſimè tranſcripſi, verbum de verbo, et literam de literâ. Chartam ipſam in Archivis tutiſſimè recondidi; tranſcriptionem tibi amoris ergo committo. Clariſſimè apparet è titulis ſupernè paginæ notis, aliisque indiciis laceratam excerptamque ex aliquâ editione Horatianâ olim fuiſſe, et forſitan primâ, quando nuſquam alibi, vel anteà has Odas in memoriam revocare poſſum. Mecum ergo literatos omnes gratulari videbitur, recuperatis his elegantiſſimis carminibus Horatianis. Vale & fruere.

Gaspar Pallavicini,
Palat. Bibl. Sub-Libr.

An Account of Books for 1777.

The History of America. *By* William Robertſon, *D. D. Principal of the Univerſity of* Edinburgh, *and Hiſtoriographer to his Majeſty for* Scotland. 2 Vols. Quarto.

THERE have been few literary works which excited the curioſity, or raiſed the expectation of the public, in a greater degree than the preſent. The nature of the ſubject, the high reputation of the writer, with the long and general knowledge of the deſign, all concurred in calling forth the attention of the learned and curious at home and abroad. Such a ſituation would have been alarming, if not dangerous, to an author leſs ſecure of ſatisfying that expectation which he had raiſed, and of doing juſtice to the intereſting ſubject which he had undertaken.

The ſubject, indeed, demanded all the writer's abilities; but it afforded, at the ſame time, a full ſcope to his genius. It repreſents ſplendid, romantic, and poetical ſcenes. All the marvellous of ancient fable, excepting when it departs from nature and reaſon, is here realized or exceeded. The great events of hiſtory are blended with the adventure of travel, and all the ſurprize, novelty, and pleaſure of diſcovery. Nature here appears in her grandeſt manner. All her works are bold, great, and magnificent. Her oceans are boundleſs, her mountains ſtupendous, her rivers appear like great arms of the ocean, and her lakes are large ſeas of freſh water.

With reſpect to our own ſpecies, the diſcovery, indeed, is not flattering to our vanity; it is not, however, the leſs intereſting. We are brought acquainted with man in every ſtate of his exiſtence. We view, at this day, what our anceſtors once were. We ſee the firſt rudiments of ſociety, and behold nations in every ſtage of their progreſs, from infancy to adoleſcence. Our own continent ſupplies the reſt. The hiſtory of man was ſtill imperfect, and the memorials of his tranſactions of a late date. He was far advanced in ſociety and cultivation, before he was capable of making any obſervation on his condition, or of tranſmitting his ideas or tranſactions to poſterity. Poets, philoſophers, and politicians, had in vain exerted their genius, wiſdom, and talents, to deſcribe or diſcover the ſtate of ſimplicity, innocence, and nature, the origin of ſociety, and the ſource of laws. As they all wandered in the dark, their ſongs and theories were equally erroneous. That chaſm is now filled up. That age, which was ſuppoſed to be golden, we now behold; and diſcover that it

it affords only a ſtate of weakneſs, imperfection, and wretchedneſs, equally void of innocence, and incapable of happineſs. If we find man without property, and feeding on acorns, we alſo find him a ſullen, ſuſpicious, ſolitary, and unhappy being; a creature endued with few good, and curſed with numberleſs ill qualities; unjuſt and cruel from nature and habit, treacherous on ſyſtem, implacable in revenge, and incapable of gratitude, friendſhip, or natural affection.

The conſequences attending the diſcovery of the New World, are among the moſt important, extenſive, and, from their nature, muſt be among the moſt permanent, of thoſe produced by any event in the hiſtory of mankind. It has produced ſuch a revolution in the affairs of both the hemiſpheres, that it may not be eaſy to determine which has undergone the greater alteration. If the cultivation, arts, and violence of the Europeans, has changed the face of Nature, thinned the race of man, and eſtabliſhed new varieties of the ſpecies in the one, the torrents of gold and ſilver poured out by America, the variety, bulk, and quantity of new commodities which it affords, the length and nature of the navigation, the wonderful commerce which ſprung from theſe circumſtances, with the new intereſts and connections formed by colonial juriſdiction, has cauſed a wonderful change in the manners, habits, modes of life, and ſtate of policy, in the other. As new ſources of power were diſcovered, all ancient ſyſtems of policy were of courſe deranged or done away. The comparative political importance, the relative ſtrength of nations, no longer depend on their ancient extent or properties. Commerce has pervaded the globe, and has changed the affairs of men, and the ſtate of nations, almoſt every where. In a word, whatever America originally ſuffered from the power and violence of the Europeans, it ſeems not now improbable, that ſhe will to all future times have a great ſhare in influencing the affairs, and perhaps in controlling the deſtiny of Europe.

Such was the extent and importance of the ſubject that was to be delineated. The number, variety, and richneſs of the materials, did not, however, leſſen the difficulty of the execution. It required the ability of a great maſter, to arrange the different parts of this magnificent picture in their proper places, to beſtow on each its due proportion of light, ſhade and colouring, and to oblige the ſmalleſt to contribute its exact ſhare, and no more, to the great effect of the whole. The delineation of human nature in ſuch a variety of new ſituations, and the nice diſcrimination of thoſe ſhades that mingle imperceptibly in ſo many different gradations of ſavage life, required no common combination of qualities. Beſides a great degree of penetration and ſagacity, and an extenſive knowledge of man in his artificial ſtate, this part of the ſubject required a mind turned, and accuſtomed to philoſophical diſquiſition, an acute, critical, and diſcriminating ſpirit, with a temper capable of the moſt patient inveſtigation and reſearch.

It will be ſufficient to ſay, that our author was equal to the undertaking, and that this hiſtory of

America will not be found at all inferior to the former works of this celebrated writer. We find the pen of the writer equal to the dignity, and ſuited to the nature of his ſubject; and whilſt the majeſty of hiſtory is blended with the truth, philanthropy, and diſcernment of philoſophy, the whole is enriched and beautified with a manly and flowing eloquence.

Our author's induſtry, in procuring all poſſible information relative to his ſubject, deſerves much commendation. The celebrity of his name, and the high rank he holds in the republic of letters, greatly facilitated his ſucceſs in this reſearch. Spain contains a large ſtock of valuable materials, conſiſting in ſcarce books and manuſcripts. Queries too were addreſſed to perſons of diſtinction, who had held eminent offices in the New World, and in many particulars ſatisfactory anſwers were received. No aſſiſtance from public authority was, however, afforded; the court ſtill proceeding in that narrow ſyſtem of policy, of endeavouring to keep all matters relative to America wrapt up in ſilence and obſcurity. The courts of Vienna and Peterſburg were more liberal, and entered with good will, and a becoming grace, into the views of literature. He has alſo received liberal aids and communications from men of letters of different nations. As Dr. Robertſon has upon many occaſions departed from the accounts given by former hiſtorians, places characters and events in a new light, and relates facts, which either contradict, or ſeem to have been unknown to them, he thought it neceſſary to acquaint the public with the ſources of his information. For this purpoſe, beſides the obligations he acknowledges to particular perſons, he has ſubjoined to the ſecond volume a catalogue of the Spaniſh books which he conſulted.

We doubt not but other readers have participated in the regret we experienced, upon diſcovering that the preſent work is only a part of the whole, and that the two volumes before us contain no more than an account of the diſcovery of the New World, and of the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms and colonies. The preſent ſtate of the Britiſh colonies, induced our author to alter his reſolution upon this ſubject. He was of opinion, and with very good reaſon, that while they are engaged in civil war with Great Britain, enquiries and ſpeculations concerning ancient forms of policy and laws, which now no longer exiſt, could not be intereſting. That the attention and expectation of mankind are now turned towards their future condition. And that in whatever manner this unhappy conteſt may terminate, a new order of things muſt ariſe in North America, and its affairs aſſume another aſpect. He waits, he ſays, with the ſolicitude of a good citizen, until the ferment ſubſides, and regular government be re-eſtabliſhed; when he will return to that part of his work, in which he had already made ſome progreſs. The hiſtory of the Britiſh colonies, together with that of Portugueſe America, and of the ſettlements made by the ſeveral nations of Europe in the Weſt-Indian iſlands, will complete our author's plan, and be the ſubject of the remaining hiſtory.

Dr. Robertſon has divided the preſent

preſent hiſtory into eight books, and has added a copious and moſt valuable collection of notes and illuſtrations at the end of each volume.

In the firſt book, he takes a moſt comprehenſive, learned, and accurate view, of the progreſs of navigation from the earlieſt ages, tracing all that is known of its hiſtory, and of the attempts or improvements made by the Egyptians, Phenicians, Jews, Carthaginians, Greeks, and Romans. In ſtating the revival of commerce and navigation by the modern nations of Europe, he delineates the cauſes which led to that ſpirit of diſcovery, that operated ſo ſtrongly in the fifteenth century. Our author attributes much of this to the Cruſades, which brought the Europeans acquainted with the weſtern parts of Aſia, to the wars of the Portugueſe with the Moors of Barbary, and, above all, to the diſcovery of the mariners compaſs. Having traced the operation of theſe cauſes with equal accuracy and brevity, through the great and ſpirited efforts of the Portugueſe in exploring the coaſts of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope, we are led almoſt to the opening of their laſt great effect, in the diſcovery of the New World, and of the paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies.

The ſecond book gives a curious ſketch of the hiſtory of Columbus; proceeds with him to the diſcovery of the New World; relates his different voyages thither; his eſtabliſhment of the firſt Spaniſh colony in Hiſpaniola; and after recounting his various adventures, and unparalleled hardſhips and ſufferings, concludes with his death. It alſo includes the other great diſcovery of the ſame period, the firſt voyage of the Portugueſe to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, under the conduct of Vaſco de Gama.

The third book contains an account of various diſcoveries and ſettlements made by the Spaniards; of their wars, cruelties, and the extraordinary diminution of the Indians under their ſubjection; of the conqueſt of Cuba, diſcovery of the South Sea, and preparation for the invaſion of Mexico.

In the fourth book, which concludes the firſt volume, our author makes a pauſe in his narrative, to take a view of the ſtate of the New World at its firſt diſcovery. In this he conſiders America, with reſpect to its extent, the grandeur of the objects which it preſents to view, the favourable circumſtances attending its form, in regard to commerce, with its climate, ſoil, animals, and various natural properties. He enters into the enquiry how America was peopled; examines the various theories upon that ſubject; and lays down that which appears to himſelf the moſt probable. He then proceeds to a a moſt curious and philoſophical enquiry into the manners, policy, condition, and character, of the various ſavage tribes which were ſcattered over the continent and iſlands of the New World, reſerving the ſtate of the more civilized inhabitants of the two empires of Mexico and Peru, to be the ſubject of future inveſtigation. In this enquiry, he adopts an arrangement of the ſubject equally ſimple and luminous, and places it under the following heads of conſideration.—The bodily conſtitution of the Ame-

Americans—The qualities of their minds—Their domeſtic ſtate—Their political ſtate and inſtitutions—Their ſyſtem of war and public ſecurity—The arts with which they were acquainted—Their religious ideas and inſtitutions—Such ſingular and detached cuſtoms as are not reducible to any of the former heads—With a general review and eſtimate of their virtues and defects.

The fifth book includes the hiſtory of the conqueſt of Mexico, or New Spain, by Cortes, and contains many curious particulars of that enterprizing conqueror, who, with very extraordinary abilities, and uncommon qualities, poſſeſſed a greatneſs of ſoul, which ſeems incompatible with thoſe cruelties that ſo much diſgrace his character.

The ſixth book gives an account of the conqueſt of Peru, by Pizarro and his aſſociates. Theſe inhuman ſubverters of the empire of the Incas, deſtitute of the genius and greatneſs of mind of Cortes, exceeded him ſo far in cruelty, that their barbarous actions, if they cannot leſſen the enormity, at leaſt take away from the effect produced by the recital of the worſt parts of his conduct. Theſe cruelties appear the more lamentable, as the manners, diſpoſition, government, the civil and religious inſtitutions of the Peruvians, were moderate, mild, and equitable; far removed from the harſhneſs of government, fierceneſs of diſpoſition, gloomy ſuperſtitions, and bloody rites of the Mexicans.

In the ſeventh book, Dr. Robertſon takes a curious and valuable view of the inſtitutions and manners of the Mexicans and Peruvians; of their policy in its various branches; progreſs in civilization; genius of their religion; ſingular effects produced by the policy of the Peruvian monarchy being founded on religion; peculiar ſtate of property among the Peruvians; their public works and arts; roads; bridges; buildings; and unwarlike ſpirit. This book and the fourth will be conſidered by readers of a philoſophical turn, as the moſt valuable parts of the whole, and are undoubtedly a great acquiſition to our knowledge of the hiſtory of mankind.

In the eighth book, which to politicians and men of the world will appear as curious, and perhaps more intereſting than any of the former, our author gives an accurate account of the Spaniſh ſyſtem of colonization, and of the interior government and preſent ſtate of Spaniſh America.

Such is the comprehenſive plan, and judicious arrangement, of the preſent work. It has been regretted, and indeed is an omiſſion which cannot fail to excite ſome ſurprize, that Dr. Robertſon has taken no notice of the eloquence or poetry of the Americans, which are among the moſt diſtinguiſhed properties of mankind in a ſtate of ſavage nature. This omiſſion is the more extraordinary, as the North-American Indians are celebrated for a peculiar kind of eloquence.

Some of this ingenious author's theories will undoubtedly be controverted. It is impoſſible that mankind ſhould ever agree in matters of mere opinion. But theſe theories, however ingenious and rational, are ſtill mere theories, and are ſo ſtated. They are not laid

laid down as dogmas. They are too numerous not to admit of miſtakes in ſome of their parts. And if they were totally free from error, it is probable that the ſame, or an equal degree, of difference of opinion, would ſtill continue. Upon the whole, there cannot be a doubt, that the work before us will ever hold a high rank among the hiſtories of mankind.

We ſhall conclude our obſervations with an extract from this work, and as we have already in another part, given ſeveral curious particulars from our author, of the manners of the ſavage tribes which were ſcattered over the continent of America, we ſhall now lay before our readers ſome ſketches from the account which he gives of the ſtate of improvement, in the comparatively highly civilized empires of Mexico and Peru.

"The right of private property was perfectly underſtood, and eſtabliſhed in its full extent. Among ſeveral ſavage tribes, we have ſeen, that the idea of a title to the ſeparate and excluſive poſſeſſion of any object was hardly known; and that among all, it was extremely limited and ill-defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and induſtry had made ſome progreſs, the diſtinction between real and moveable poſſeſſions, between property in land and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred from one perſon to another by ſale or barter; both might deſcend by inheritance. Every perſon who could be denominated a free man, had property in land. This, however, they held by various tenures. Some poſſeſſed it in full right, and it deſcended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they loſt poſſeſſion of the former. Both theſe modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the higheſt claſs. The tenure, by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every diſtrict a certain quantity of land was meaſured out, in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was depoſited in a common ſtorehouſe, and divided among them according to their reſpective exigencies. The members of the *Calpullee*, or aſſociations, could not alienate their ſhare of the common eſtate; it was an indiviſible permanent property, deſtined for the ſupport of their families. In conſequence of this diſtribution of the territory of the ſtate, every man had an intereſt in its welfare, and the happineſs of the individual was connected with the public ſecurity.

"The number and greatneſs of the cities in the Mexican empire is one of the moſt ſtriking circumſtances, that diſtinguiſh it from thoſe nations in America which we have already deſcribed. While ſociety continues in a rude ſtate, the wants of men are ſo few, and they ſtand ſo little in need of mutual aſſiſtance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their induſtry at the ſame time is ſo imperfect, that it cannot ſecure ſubſiſtence for any conſiderable number of families ſettled in one ſpot. They live diſperſed, at this period, from choice as well as from neceſſity, or

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at the utmoſt aſſemble in ſmall hamlets on the banks of the river which ſupplies them with food, or on the border of ſome plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labour. The Spaniards, accuſtomed to this mode of habitation among all the ſavage tribes with which they were then acquainted, were aſtoniſhed, on entering New Spain, to find the natives reſiding in towns of ſuch extent as reſembled thoſe of Europe. In the firſt fervour of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the ſecond or third ſize, to the cities of greateſt note in their own country. When, afterwards, they viſited in ſucceſſion Tlaſcala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco, and Mexico itſelf, their amazement increaſed ſo much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populouſneſs bordering on what is incredible. Even where there is leiſure for obſervation, and no intereſt that leads to deceive, conjectural eſtimates of the number of people in cities are extremely looſe, and uſually much exaggerated. It is not ſurprizing, then, that Cortes and his companions, little accuſtomed to ſuch computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own diſcoveries and conqueſts, ſhould have been betrayed into this common error, and have raiſed their deſcriptions conſiderably above truth. For this reaſon, ſome conſiderable abatement ought to be made from their calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the ſtandard of their population much lower than they have done; but ſtill they will appear to be cities of ſuch conſequence, as are not to be found but among people who have made ſome conſiderable progreſs in the arts of ſocial life.*

"The ſeparation of profeſſions among the Mexicans is a ſymptom of improvement no leſs remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of ſociety, are ſo few and ſo ſimple, that each man is ſufficiently maſter of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited deſires. The ſavage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more ſkilful

* The early Spaniſh writers were ſo haſty and inaccurate in eſtimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impoſſible to aſcertain that of Mexico itſelf with any degree of preciſion. Cortes deſcribes the extent and populouſneſs of Mexico in general terms, which imply, that it was not inferior to the greateſt cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houſes, or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion. Dec. ii. lib. vii. c. 13; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or ſcruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico muſt have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his uſual propenſity to the marvellous, aſſerts, that there were a hundred and twenty thouſand houſes or families in Mexico, and conſequently about ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramuſio, iii. 309, A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

than

than his own. Time muſt have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art become ſo complicated in their ſtructure, or ſo curious in their fabric, that a particular courſe of education is requiſite towards forming the artificer to expertneſs in contrivance and workmanſhip. In proportion as refinement ſpreads, the diſtinction of profeſſions increaſes, and they branch out into more numerous and minute ſubdiviſions. Among the Mexicans, this ſeparation of the arts neceſſary in life had taken place to a conſiderable extent. The functions of the maſon, the weaver, the goldſmith, the painter, and of ſeveral other crafts, were carried on by different perſons. Each was regularly inſtructed in his calling. To it alone his induſtry was confined; and by aſſiduous application to one object, together with the perſevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artizans attained to a degree of neatneſs and perfection in work far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the ſtated markets held in the cities, their mutual wants were ſupplied, in ſuch orderly intercourſe as characteriſes an improved ſtate of ſociety.

"The diſtinction of ranks eſtabliſhed in the Mexican empire is the next circumſtance that merits attention. In ſurveying the ſavage tribes of America, we obſerved, that conſciouſneſs of equality, and impatience of ſubordination, are ſentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a ſuperior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition reſulting from it is unknown, Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by perſonal merit and accompliſhments that it can be acquired. The form of ſociety was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people were in a moſt humiliating ſtate. A conſiderable number, known by the name of *Mayeques*, nearly reſembled in condition thoſe peaſants who, under various denominations, were conſidered, during the prevalence of the feudal ſyſtem, as inſtruments of labour attached to the ſoil. The *Mayeques* could not change their place of reſidence without permiſſion of the ſuperior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were ſettled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform ſeveral kinds of ſervile work. Others were reduced to the loweſt form of ſubjection, that of domeſtic ſervitude, and felt the utmoſt rigour of that wretched ſtate. Their condition was held to be ſo vile, and their lives deemed to be of ſo little value, that a perſon who killed one of thoſe ſlaves was not ſubjected to any puniſhment. Even thoſe conſidered as freemen, were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior ſpecies. The nobles, poſſeſſed of ample territories, were divided into various claſſes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged. Some of theſe titles, like their lands, deſcended from father to ſon in perpe-

tual ſucceſſion. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of perſonal diſtinction. The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extenſive power, and ſupreme dignity. Thus the diſtinction of ranks was completely eſtabliſhed, in a line of regular ſubordination, reaching from the higheſt to the loweſt member of the community. Each of theſe knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dreſs of the ſame faſhion, or to dwell in houſes of a form ſimilar to thoſe of the nobles, accoſted them with the moſt ſubmiſſive reverence. In the preſence of their ſovereign, they durſt not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face. The nobles themſelves, when admitted to an audience of their ſovereign, entered bare-footed, in mean garments, and, as his ſlaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This reſpect due from inferiors to thoſe above them in rank, was eſtabliſhed with ſuch ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with their language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expreſſions of reverence and courteſy. The ſtile and appellations, uſed in the intercourſe between equals, would have been ſo unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower ſphere, when he accoſted a perſon in higher rank, as to be deemed an inſult. It is only in ſocieties, which time and the inſtitution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find ſuch an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and ſuch nice attention paid to their various rights.

"The ſpirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized and bended to ſubordination, was prepared for ſubmitting to monarchical government. But the deſcriptions of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are ſo inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their conſtitution with any preciſion. Sometimes they repreſent the monarchs of Mexico as abſolute, deciding according to their pleaſure, with reſpect to every operation of the ſtate. On other occaſions, we diſcover the traces of eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and laws, framed in order to circumſcribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which ſeem to be oppoſed as barriers againſt its encroachments. This appearance of inconſiſtency has ariſen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aſpiring ambition ſubverted the ancient ſyſtem of government, and introduced a pure deſpotiſm. He diſregarded their laws, violated their privileges, and reduced his ſubjects of every order to the level of ſlaves. The chiefs, or nobles of the firſt rank, ſubmitted to the yoke with ſuch reluctance, that, from impatience to ſhake it off, and hope of recovering their original rights, many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power againſt their domeſtic oppreſſor. It is not then under the reign of Montezuma, but under thoſe of his predeceſſors, that we can diſcover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it ſeems to have ſubſiſted

ſiſted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of nobility, formed the chief and moſt reſpectable order in the ſtate. They were of various ranks, as has already been obſerved, and their honours were acquired and tranſmitted in different manners. Their number ſeems to have been great. According to an author accuſtomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom had in his territories about a hundred thouſand people, and ſubordinate to theſe, there were about three thouſand nobles of a lower claſs. The territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba, were hardly inferior in extent to thoſe of the Mexican monarch. Each of theſe poſſeſſed complete territorial juriſdiction, and levied taxes from their own vaſſals. But all followed the ſtandard of Mexico in war, ſerving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and moſt of them paid tribute to its monarch as their ſuperior lord.

"In tracing thoſe great lines of the Mexican conſtitution, an image of feudal policy in its moſt rigid form riſes to view, and we diſcern its three diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics, a nobility poſſeſſing almoſt independent authority, a people depreſſed into the loweſt ſtate of ſubjection, and a king entruſted with the executive power of the ſtate. Its ſpirit and principles ſeem to have operated in the New World in the ſame manner, as in the ancient. The juriſdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the ſhadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to exceſs of their own rights, they guarded with moſt vigilant anxiety againſt the encroachments of their ſovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided that the king ſhould not determine concerning any point of general importance, without the approbation of a council compoſed of the prime nobility. Unleſs he obtained their conſent he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he diſpoſe of the moſt conſiderable branch of the public revenue at pleaſure, it was appropriated to certain purpoſes from which it could not be diverted by the regal authority. In order to ſecure full effect to thoſe conſtitutional reſtraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to deſcend by inheritance, but diſpoſed of it by election. The right of election ſeems to have been originally veſted in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to ſix electors, of whom the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were always two. From reſpect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon ſome perſon ſprung from it. But as the activity and valour of their prince was of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a ſtrict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or diſtinguiſhed merit were often preferred to thoſe who were nearer the throne in direct deſcent. To this maxim, in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for ſuch a ſucceſſion of able and warlike princes, as raiſed their empire in a ſhort period to that extraordinary height of power, which

it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

"While the juriſdiction of the Mexican monarchs continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exerciſed with little oſtentation. But as their authority became more extenſive, the ſplendour of their government augmented. It was in this laſt ſtate that the Spaniards beheld it, and ſtruck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they deſcribe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the ſilence, and the reverence with which they ſerved him; the vaſt extent of his royal manſion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the oſtentation with which his grandeur was diſplayed, whenever he permitted his ſubjects to behold him, ſeem to reſemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Aſia, rather than the ſimplicity of the infant ſtates in the New World.

"But it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power, they manifeſted it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal adminiſtration and police of their dominions. Complete juriſdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vaſſals, was veſted in the crown. Judges were appointed for each department, and if we may rely on the account which the Spaniſh writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their deciſions with reſpect to the diſtribution of property and the puniſhment of crimes, juſtice was adminiſtered in the Mexican empire, with a degree of order and equity, reſembling what takes place in ſocieties highly civilized.

"Their attention in providing for the ſupport of government was not leſs ſagacious. Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquiſitions of induſtry, and upon commodities of every kind expoſed to ſale in the public markets. Theſe duties, though conſiderable, were not arbitrary, or unequal. They were impoſed according to eſtabliſhed rules, and each knew what ſhare of the common burden he had to bear. As the uſe of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every ſpecies of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art were collected in the public ſtore-houſes. From thoſe the emperor ſupplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with cloaths, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither poſſeſſing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various ſervices. By their ſtated labour the crown-lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houſes belonging to the emperor were built, and kept in repair.

"The improved ſtate of government among the Mexicans is conſpicuous not only in points eſſential to the being of a well-ordered ſociety, but in ſeveral regulations of inferior conſequence with reſpect to police. The inſtitution, which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, ſtationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police

police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The ſtructure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and cauſeways of great length, which ſerved as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water with no leſs ingenuity than labour, ſeems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The ſame obſervation may be applied to the ſtructure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they conveyed a ſtream of freſh water, from a conſiderable diſtance, into the city, along one of the cauſeways*. The appointment of a conſiderable number of perſons to clean the ſtreets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrole as watchmen during the night, diſcovers a degree of attention which even poliſhed nations are late in acquiring.

"The progreſs of the Mexicans in various arts is conſidered as the moſt deciſive proof of their ſuperior refinement. Cortes, and the early Spaniſh authors, deſcribe this with rapture, and maintain, that the moſt celebrated European artiſts could not ſurpaſs or even equal them in ingenuity and neatneſs of workmanſhip. They repreſented men, animals, and other objects, by ſuch a diſpoſition of various coloured feathers, as is ſaid to have produced all the effects of light and ſhade; and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and ſilver have been deſcribed to be of a fabric no leſs curious. But in forming any idea, from general deſcriptions, concerning the ſtate of arts among nations imperfectly poliſhed, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whoſe advances in improvement are nearly the ſame with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conſcious of our own ſuperiority, we ſurvey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are aſtoniſhed at works executed by them under ſuch manifeſt diſadvantages, and in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to repreſent them as productions more finiſhed than they really are. To the influence of this illuſion, without ſuppoſing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of ſome Spaniſh authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts."

Our author, after an enquiry into the ſtate of their arts, and ſeve-

* Cortes, who ſeems to have been as much aſtoniſhed with this, as with any inſtance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular deſcription of it. Along one of the cauſeways, ſays he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, compoſed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raiſed about ſix feet. In one of them is conveyed a ſtream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it ſupplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is neceſſary to clean, or repair the former, the ſtream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit paſſes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the cauſeway, through which the ſalt-water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and ſold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramuſ. 241, A.

ral curious particulars of the method of *Picture Writing*, practiſed by the Mexicans, gives the following inſtance of even a philoſophical obſervation with reſpect to the order of time and the face of the heavens.

"Their mode of computing time may be conſidered as a more deciſive evidence of their progreſs in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each conſiſting of twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and ſixty. But as they obſerved that the courſe of the ſun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. Theſe, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *ſupernumerary* or *waſte*; and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no ſacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to feſtivity and paſtime. This near approach to philoſophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had beſtowed ſome attention upon inquiries and ſpeculations, to which men in a very rude ſtate never turn their thoughts."

We ſhall now ſelect ſome curious particulars from our author's account of the policy and civilization of the empire of the Incas.

"The people of Peru, as I have already obſerved, had not advanced beyond the rudeſt form of ſavage life, when Manco Capac, and his conſort Mama Ocollo, appeared to inſtruct and civilize them. Who theſe extraordinary perſonages were, whether they imported their ſyſtem of legiſlation and knowledge of arts from ſome country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas ſo far ſuperior to thoſe of the people whom they addreſſed, are circumſtances with reſpect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his conſort, taking advantage of the propenſity in the Peruvians to ſuperſtition, and particularly of their veneration for the ſun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their inſtructions in his name and authority. The multitude liſtened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians aſcribe to thoſe founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his conſort, their anceſtors gradually acquired ſome knowledge of thoſe arts, and ſome reliſh for that induſtry, which render ſubſiſtence ſecure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Thoſe bleſſings were originally confined within narrow precincts; for the authority of the firſt Inca did not reach many leagues beyond Cuzco. But, in proceſs of time, his ſucceſſors extended their dominion over all the regions that ſtretch to the weſt of the Andes from Chili to Quito, eſtabliſhing in every province their peculiar policy and religious inſtitutions.

"The moſt ſingular and ſtriking circumſtance in the Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make ſuch a feeble impreſſion on the mind of a ſavage, that their effect upon his ſentiments and manners are hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular ſyſtem, and holding a conſiderable place in their public inſtitutions, operated with conſpicuous efficacy in

in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole ſyſtem of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legiſlator, but as the meſſenger of heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a ſuperior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was held to be ſacred; and in order to preſerve it diſtinct, without being polluted by any mixture of inferior blood, the ſons of Manco Capac married their own ſiſters, and no perſon was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by ſuch a pure deſcent. To thoſe *Children of the Sun*, for that was the appellation beſtowed upon all the offspring of the firſt Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a ſuperior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they iſſued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was ſuppoſed to be dictated.

"From thoſe ideas two conſequences reſulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and abſolute, in the moſt extenſive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are conſidered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to diſpute or oppoſe his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to controul a monarch under the guidance of Heaven, and preſumptuous to adviſe him, nothing remains but to ſubmit with implicit reſpect. This muſt neceſſarily be the effect of every government eſtabliſhed on pretenſions of intercourſe with ſuperior powers. Such accordingly was the blind ſubmiſſion which the Peruvians yielded to their ſovereigns. The perſons of higheſt rank and greateſt power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in teſtimony of this, when admitted into their preſence, they entered with a burden upon their ſhoulders, as an emblem of their ſervitude, and willingneſs to bear whatever the Inca was pleaſed to impoſe. Among their ſubjects, force was not requiſite to ſecond their commands. Every officer entruſted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent obſerver of Peruvian manners, might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another, without meeting oppoſition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal *Borla*, an ornament peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his diſpoſal.

"Another conſequence of eſtabliſhing government in Peru on the foundation of religion, was, that all crimes were puniſhed capitally. They were not conſidered as tranſgreſſions of human laws, but as inſults offered to the Deity. Each, without any diſtinction between ſuch as were ſlight and ſuch as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Conſonantly to the ſame ideas, puniſhment followed the treſpaſs with inevitable certainty, becauſe an offence againſt Heaven was deemed ſuch an high enormity as could not be pardoned. Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of juriſprudence ſo ſevere and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and deſperate, would be more

apt to multiply crimes than to reſtrain them. But the Peruvians, of ſimple manners and unſuſpicious faith, were held in ſuch awe by this rigid diſcipline, that the number of offenders were extremely ſmall. Veneration for monarchs, enlightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of puniſhment, which they were taught to conſider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

"The ſyſtem of ſuperſtition on which the Incas ingrafted their pretenſions to ſuch high authority, was of a genius very different from that eſtabliſhed among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The ſun, as the great ſource of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The moon and ſtars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to ſecondary honours. Wherever the propenſity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore ſome ſuperior power, takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exiſt in nature, the ſpirit of ſuperſtition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are ſuppoſed to preſide in nature, and become the objects of worſhip, ſuperſtition always aſſumes a wilder and more atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. They had not, indeed, made ſuch progreſs in obſervation or inquiry, as to have attained juſt conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the world. But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its univerſal and vivifying energy, is the beſt emblem of divine beneficence, the rites and obſervances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the ſun a part of thoſe productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the boſom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They ſacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, ſome of the animals who were indebted to his influence for nouriſhment. They preſented to him choice ſpecimens of thoſe works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never ſtained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father the ſun would be delighted with ſuch horrid victims. Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with thoſe barbarous rites which extinguiſh ſenſibility, and ſuppreſs the feelings of nature at the ſight of human ſufferings, were formed, by the ſpirit of the ſuperſtition which they had adopted, to a national character more gentle than that of any people in America.

"Its influence operated even upon their civil inſtitutions, and tended to correct in them any thing that was adverſe to gentleneſs of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the moſt abſolute of all deſpotiſms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion. The mind was not humbled and depreſſed

preſſed by the idea of a forced ſubjection to the will of a ſuperior; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be clothed with divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The ſovereign, conſcious that the ſubmiſſive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly deſcent, was continually reminded of a diſtinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was ſuppoſed to repreſent. In conſequence of thoſe impreſſions, there hardly occurs in the traditional hiſtory of Peru, any inſtance of rebellion againſt the reigning prince, and, among twelve ſucceſſive monarchs, there was not one tyrant.

"Even the wars in which the Incas engaged, were carried on with a ſpirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like ſavages, to deſtroy and exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirſty divinities with human ſacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquiſhed, and to diffuſe the knowledge of their own inſtitutions and arts. Priſoners ſeem not to have been expoſed to the inſults and tortures, which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they ſubdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original ſubjects. This practice, ſo repugnant to American ferocity, and reſembling the humanity of the moſt poliſhed nations, muſt be aſcribed, like other peculiarities which we have obſerved in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, conſidering the homage paid to any object but the heavenly powers which they adored, as impious, were fond of gaining proſelytes to their favourite ſyſtem. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco, and placed there as trophies of the ſuperior power of the divinity who was the protector of the empire. The people were treated with lenity, and inſtructed in the religious tenets of their new maſters, that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

"The ſtate of property in Peru was no leſs ſingular than that of religion, and contributed, likewiſe, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three ſhares. One was conſecrated to the ſun, and whatever it produced was applied towards the erection of temples, and furniſhing what was requiſite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The other belonged to the Inca, and was ſet apart as the proviſion made by the community for the ſupport of government. The third and largeſt ſhare was reſerved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. No perſon, however, had a right of excluſive property in the portion allotted to him. He poſſeſſed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new diviſion was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All thoſe lands were cultivated by the joint induſtry of the community. The people, ſummoned by a proper officer,

repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common taſk, while ſongs and muſical inſtruments cheered them to their labour. By this ſingular diſtribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common intereſt, and of mutual ſubſerviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connection with thoſe around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increaſe he was to reap. A ſtate thus conſtituted may be conſidered as one great family, in which the union of members was ſo complete, and the exchange of good offices ſo perceptible, as to create ſtronger attachment, and to bind man to man in cloſer intercourſe, than ſubſiſted under any form of ſociety eſtabliſhed in America. From this reſulted gentle manners, and mild virtues unknown in the ſavage ſtate, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

" But, though the inſtitutions of the Incas were ſo framed as to ſtrengthen the bonds of affection among their ſubjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The diſtinction of ranks was fully eſtabliſhed in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of *Yanaconas*, were held in a ſtate of ſervitude. Their garb and houſes were of a form different from thoſe of free-men. Like the *Tamemes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery. Next to them in rank, were ſuch of the people as were free, but diſtinguiſhed by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raiſed, thoſe whom the Spaniards call *Orejones*, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace, as well as war, held every office of power or truſt. At the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high deſcent, and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the Orejones, as theſe were elevated beyond the people.

" Such a form of ſociety, from the union of its members, as well as from the diſtinction in their ranks, was favourable to progreſs in the arts. But the Spaniards having been acquainted with the improved ſtate of various arts in Mexico, ſeveral years before they diſcovered Peru, were not ſo much ſtruck with what they obſerved in the latter country, and deſcribe the appearances of ingenuity there with leſs warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheleſs, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the neceſſary arts of life, and in ſuch as have ſome title to the name of elegant.

" In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary neceſſity in ſocial life, was more extenſive, and carried on with greater ſkill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progreſs through the country, were ſo fully ſupplied with proviſions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with none of thoſe diſmal ſcenes of diſtreſs occaſioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were ſo often involved. The quantity of ſoil under cultivation was not left to the diſcretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful ſeaſon

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was but little felt, for the product of the lands conſecrated to the Sun, as well as thoſe ſet apart for the Inca, being depoſited in the *tambos*, or public ſtorehouſes, it remained there as a ſtated proviſion for times of ſcarcity. As the extent of cultivation was determined with ſuch provident attention to the demands of the ſtate, the invention and induſtry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and ſoil. All the vaſt rivers that flow from the Andes take their courſe eaſtward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is watered only by ſome ſtreams which ruſh down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low-country is ſandy and barren, and never refreſhed with rain. In order to render ſuch an unpromiſing region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourſe to various expedients. By means of artificial canals conducted, with much patience and conſiderable art, from the torrents that poured acroſs their country, they conveyed a regular ſupply of moiſture to their fields. They enriched the ſoil by manuring it with the dung of ſea-fowls, of which they found an inexhauſtible ſtore on all the iſlands ſcattered along their coaſts. In deſcribing the cuſtoms of any nation thoroughly civilized, ſuch practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable, but in the hiſtory of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as ſingular proofs of induſtry and of art. The uſe of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood. Nor was this labour deemed ſo degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both ſexes joined in performing this neceſſary work. Even the children of the Sun ſet an example of induſtry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth.

"The ſuperior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewiſe, in the conſtruction of their houſes and public buildings. In the extenſive plains which ſtretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the ſky is perpetually ſerene, and the climate mild, their houſes were very properly of a fabric extremely ſlight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the viciſſitude of ſeaſons is known, and their rigour felt, they were conſtructed with greater ſolidity. They were generally of a ſquare form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the ſun, the door low and ſtrait, and without any windows. Simple as theſe ſtructures were, and rude as the materials may ſeem to be of which they were formed, they were ſo durable, that many of them ſtill ſubſiſt in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domeſtic ſtate of the other American nations has vaniſhed from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples conſecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings deſtined for the reſidence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians diſplayed the utmoſt extent of their art and contrivance. The deſcriptions of them by ſuch of the Spa-

niſh writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them while, in ſome meaſure, entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which ſtill remain, did not vouch the truth of their relations. Theſe ruins of ſacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonſtrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who muſt have ſubſiſted, during a period of ſome extent, in a ſtate of no inconſiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimenſions. Some of a moderate ſize, many of immenſe extent, all remarkable for ſolidity, and reſembling each other in the ſtile of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace of the Inca, and a fortreſs, were ſo connected toge her as to form one great ſtructure, above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the ſame ſingular taſte in building is conſpicuous as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the uſe of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large ſtones and bricks which they employed in building to any conſiderable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they ſeem to have made their greateſt effort towards magnificence, did not riſe above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not diſcovered the uſe of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or ſtones were joined with ſo much nicety, that the ſeams can hardly be diſcerned. The apartments, as far as the diſtribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill-diſpoſed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a ſingle window in any part of the building, and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largeſt dimenſion muſt either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by ſome other means. But with all theſe and many other imperfections that might be mentioned, in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which ſtill remain muſt be conſidered as ſtupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the uſe of iron, and convey to us an high idea of the power poſſeſſed by their ancient monarchs.

"Theſe, however, were not the nobleſt or moſt uſeful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted ſtretch above five hundred leagues, are entitled to ſtill higher praiſe. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the ſea-coaſt. From the language of admiration in which ſome of the early writers expreſs their aſtoniſhment when they firſt viewed thoſe roads, and from the more pompous deſcriptions of later writers, who labour to ſupport ſome favourite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power: but in a country where there was no tame animal except the Llama, which was never uſed for draught, and but little as a beaſt of burden, where the high roads were ſeldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labour and art was requiſite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet

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in breadth, and in many places ſo ſlightly formed, that time ſoon effaced every veſtige of the courſe in which they ran. In the low-country little more ſeems to have been done, than to plant trees or to fix poſts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous taſk. Eminencies were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preſervation of the road, it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper diſtances, Tambos, or ſtorehouſes, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progreſs through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its courſe may ſtill be traced. Such was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this deſcription, diveſted of every circumſtance of manifeſt exaggeration, or of ſuſpicious aſpect, it muſt be conſidered as a ſtriking proof of an extraordinary progreſs in improvement and policy. To the ſavage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a diſtance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the moſt civilized countries of Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national police to form ſuch roads as render intercourſe commodious.

"The formation of thoſe roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the reſt of America. In its courſe from ſouth to north, the road of the Incas was interſected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Weſtern Ocean. From the rapidity of their courſe, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, theſe were unnavigable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for paſſing them. The Peruvians, from their unacquaintance with the uſe of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not conſtruct bridges either of ſtone or timber. But neceſſity, the parent of invention, ſuggeſted a device which ſupplied that defect. They formed cables of great ſtrength, by twiſting together ſome of the pliable withs or oſiers, with which their country abounds; ſix of which they ſtretched acroſs the ſtream parallel to one another, and made them faſt on each ſide. Theſe they bound firmly together by interweaving ſmaller ropes ſo cloſe, as to form a compact piece of network, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they paſſed along it with tolerable ſecurity *. Proper perſons were appointed

* The appearance of thoſe bridges, which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are conſiderably agitated by the motion of every perſon who paſſes along them, is very frightful at firſt. But the Spaniards have found them to be the eaſieſt mode of paſſing the torrents of Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more ſolid ſtructures either of ſtone or timber. They form thoſe hanging bridges ſo ſtrong and broad that loaded mules paſs along

pointed to attend at each bridge, to keep them in repair, and to aſſiſt paſſengers. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and ſtill, they are paſſed in *Balzas*, or floats; in the conſtruction, as well as navigation of which, the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far ſuperior to that of any people in America. Theſe had advanced no farther in naval ſkill than the uſe of the paddle, or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raiſe a maſt, and ſpread a ſail, by means of which their balzas not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity."

A Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World. Performed in his Majeſty's Ships the Reſolution *and* Adventure, *in the Years* 1772, 1773, 1774, *and* 1775. *Written by* James Cook, *Commander of the* Reſolution. *In which is included Captain* Furneaux's *Narrative of his Proceedings in the* Adventure *during the Separation of the Ships. Illuſtrated with Maps and Charts, and a Variety of Portraits of Perſons and Views of Places, drawn during the Voyage by Mr.* Hodges, *and engraved by the moſt eminent Maſters.* In 2 Vols. 4to.

THE former attempts that had been made under the auſpices of his preſent majeſty, for extending the knowledge and intercourſe of mankind, by the diſcovery of the unknown regions of the ſouthern world, are freſh in every memory. Of theſe, the three years voyage round the world, performed in the Adventure by the author of the preſent work, and in which he was accompanied by thoſe celebrated naturaliſts, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, was upon many accounts particularly intereſting. Though the obſervation of the tranſit of the planet Venus over the ſun, which was taken in the newly diſcovered iſland of Otaheite, was the leading object of that voyage in the outſet, it became in its progreſs not leſs valuable in other reſpects, by the fund of knowledge and ſpeculation which it opened to the navigator, the naturaliſt, and the philoſopher.

Notwithſtanding the ability and ſpirit of enterprize which eminently diſtinguiſhed our late diſcoverers, one important point of enquiry with reſpect to the ſouthern part of the globe ſtill remained undetermined. It had long been a ſubject of diſcuſſion with the learned, whether the unexplored parts of the ſouthern hemiſphere contained another continent, or whether ſo great a part of the globe exhibited only an immenſe maſs of water. The former opinion prevailed, and was ſo well ſupported by philoſophical reaſoning, and inferences drawn from analogy, that the exiſtence of a vaſt continent, which was ſuppoſed to extend far within the temperate climates of the ſouthern hemi-

along them. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of ſuch a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, tom. i. 358. A more ſimple contrivance was employed in paſſing ſmaller ſtreams: a baſket, in which the traveller was placed, being ſuſpended from a ſtrong rope ſtretched acroſs the ſtream, it was puſhed or drawn from one ſide to the other. Ibid.

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ſphere, became generally believed. This new world naturally became an object of conſideration with the maritime and commercial powers who hold poſſeſſions in America, and has at different periods, for near two hundred years paſt, excited, by turns, the ſpirit of enterprize and diſcovery, in the Spaniards, Dutch, Engliſh, and French.

Though theſe navigators failed in their principal object, the purſuit led to other diſcoveries, and there was always matter of encouragement left for the further proſecution of the original deſign. New Zealand, and other iſlands, were at different times ſuppoſed to be parts of the New Continent; and fog banks, and floating ice, were at others miſtaken and marked for land. Theſe errors of navigators received a ſanction from the hypothetical concluſions of philoſophers, who held ſuch a continent to be neceſſary, in order to counterbalance the immenſe weight of earth in the northern hemiſphere, whilſt, on the other hand, the imaginary diſcoveries of the former, ſerved in turn to ſupport the philoſophic ſyſtem.

The late Britiſh navigators were too accurate, and too fully determined in the proſecution of their deſign, to take any thing upon truſt, or to be deceived by appearances; and they traverſed the Pacific Ocean in ſo many directions, without falling in with any part of the expected continent, that its exiſtence became more problematical than it had been hitherto conſidered. It was at leaſt pretty evident, that if it exiſted in the vaſt extent that had been ſuppoſed, it muſt ſpread more under the frozen ſkies of the ſouthern pole, than within the range of the moderate climates. The queſtion was, however, ſtill undecided; the new continent held its place in a ſpeculative geography, and its numerous abettors were by no means diſpoſed to relinquiſh their favourite ſyſtem.

The preſent voyage was undertaken with the ſame enlarged and liberal views of promoting knowledge, ſcience, and the intereſts of philoſophy, that the former were; but particularly to aſcertain the fact, and put an end to all diverſity of opinion upon the queſtion, relative to the exiſtence of the ſuppoſed continent. The proviſion of every ſort, exceeded all that had been known upon any ſimilar occaſion. Every circumſtance and ſituation that could be foreſeen or apprehended was provided for; and nothing was omitted, which could be deemed neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence, ſecurity, health, or comfort, of the voyagers. A conſiderable ſum of money was allotted by parliament to encourage two gentlemen eminent in natural philoſophy, to ſacrifice their time, and encounter the toils and dangers of ſuch a voyage. In the ſame ſcientific ſpirit, a landſcape painter of merit, and two able aſtronomers, were alſo engaged.

Capt. Cook, already ſo much diſtinguiſhed by his experience and ability, was, with great propriety, appointed to conduct this expedition; and Capt. Furneaux, who had gone round the world as lieutenant to Capt. Wallis, commanded the ſecond veſſel, the Adventure. The general plan of the voyage was, to explore the ſouthern latitudes of the temperate zone with ſuch accuracy, as to aſcertain whether any conſiderable body of

of land lay in that range, to penetrate as far as it was poſſible towards the antarctic pole; and if it could be done, to diſcover whether the paſſage to it was barred up by land, or only guarded by an ocean, rendered impracticable by the ſeverity of the climate.

Such ſplendid and extraordinary events as attended the diſcoveries of Columbus, de Gama, and other early navigators, who had not only a new world before them to explore, but a great part of the old continent, which was equally hid from the knowledge of Europeans, are not to be expected at the preſent day. This voyage was not undertaken to explore a certain, though unknown, region. Its great object was to decide a queſtion; to determine a nullity, or to eſtabliſh a reality. This object has been fully attained; but it has been attained in the former ſenſe, by determining the nullity; it muſt therefore of courſe be deficient in that glare, which the oppoſite reſult would have afforded. It is now evident, that no ſuch continent, as was ſuppoſed, exiſts in the Southern Pacific Ocean. That there may be a continent within the antarctic circle, and perhaps extending to the pole, ſeems not improbable; but if there be, nature has moſt effectually guarded it from human enquiry or obſervation.

This voyage is, however, peculiarly intereſting and valuable, upon many other accounts beſides the attainment of its principal object. Some conſiderable diſcoveries have been made; and many places which had been barely touched at or ſeen by former navigators, have been explored, traced, and deſcribed, with an accuracy and care which carry the merit of original diſcovery. Many miſtakes have been rectified, and ſeveral ſuppoſed diſcoveries ſhewn to have been founded only in error. If we are not brought acquainted with many new people, we acquire a much better knowledge of thoſe, who had before appeared to us through the medium of a doubtful or imperfect information. We find the author every where actuated by a ſpirit of enterprize and enquiry, which can neither be ſubdued by toil, nor diſmayed by danger; whilſt his unwearied zeal for the promotion of general, as well as nautical knowledge, deſerves every commendation.

It is now pretty generally known, that the ſeverity of the climate in the high ſouthern latitudes, ſo far exceeds what is experienced under equal parallels in the northern hemiſphere, as ſcarcely to admit of compariſon. Yet ſuch was the induſtry and ſpirit, the contempt of toil, danger, and cold, ſhewn by our preſent navigators, that they penetrated at three different periods within the antarctic polar circle, and, at the laſt time, advanced to the latitude of 71 degrees, 10 minutes ſouth; which was probably a much nearer approach to the ſouthern pole, than any mortal had ever ventured before.

Their progreſs was at length ſtopped by an apparently boundleſs tract of ſolid ice, which ſtretched from the northward towards the pole, and carried the appearance of a vaſt continent. It exhibited a level margin to the open ſea, from whence it roſe gradually, at firſt into ſmaller hills, and at length into ſtupendous mountains

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of ice, which aſcended in great ridges one above another to the ſouth, until their tops were loſt in the clouds. It is ſaid, that no known part of the northern ſeas produce any phenomena at all equal, or even approaching in point of magnitude, and as a natural wonder, to theſe prodigious ice mountains. Our navigators concluded, that this vaſt tract of ice either extended to the pole, or that it adhered to ſome more ſouthern frozen continent, to which it had been fixed from the earlieſt times. In either caſe, all farther diſcovery to the ſouth would be equally hopeleſs or fruitleſs; for if the land could even be approached in any other part, it muſt ſtill be as impracticable, and as impervious to human obſervation and enquiry, as the ice.

It being impoſſible to penetrate any higher to the ſouth in this quarter, and evidently uſeleſs, if it could be done in any other, our navigators returned to explore with greater accuracy the temperate and tropical climates of the Pacific Ocean. In this courſe, they diſcovered a very conſiderable iſland, being in point of extent the next to New Zealand, of any yet known in that ſea, to which they gave the name of New Caledonia. They alſo completed the diſcovery, and explored with accuracy a conſiderable Archipelago of iſlands, to which, from theſe circumſtances, they thought themſelves entitled to give a name, and accordingly called them the New Hebrides. One of theſe had been firſt touched at in the year 1606, by the celebrated Spaniſh navigator, Quiros, who took it to be a part of the unknown continent, which he was then ſeeking; and they were lately ſailed through by M. de Bougainville, who called them the Great Cyclades.

The purpoſes of the voyage with reſpect to the Pacific Ocean being now fully attained, and the non-exiſtence of a continent in its practicable parts clearly decided, Capt. Cook proceeded to examine the Magellanic regions, and by exploring the ſouthern parts of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, to complete the knowledge of the ſouthern hemiſphere. Here they ſoon encountered winter under its moſt dreary aſpect, and in its moſt hideous form, both of which it here diſplayed, more than ten degrees of latitude earlier than in the Pacific Ocean. Between the latitude of 54 and 55 ſouth, they diſcovered and landed at an iſland, which they named South Georgia. It is not eaſy to conceive any thing more diſmal than the face of nature in this iſland. Though it was in the midſt of the ſummer of that climate, the iſland ſeemed in a manner walled round with ice, and muſt have been nearly inacceſſible in any other ſeaſon. Yet this iſland, which exhibited ſuch ſpecimens of antarctic cold at ſo great a diſtance from the pole, is not above ſeventy leagues in compaſs.

Between the latitudes of 59 and 60 ſouth, they diſcovered a ſtill more frozen land, which preſented an elevated coaſt, whoſe lofty ſnow clad ſummits were ſeen above the clouds. To this land they gave the name of the Southern Thule, as the moſt ſouthern land that ever has, or that, poſſibly, ever may be diſcovered. Nothing can be conceived more inexpreſſibly horrid than the aſpect of this country;

country; a country doomed by nature never to feel the warmth of the ſun's rays; and where all life and vegetation are for ever ſhut up in eternal froſt. The forbidden coaſt admitted of no anchorage; every place that looked like a port or harbour was blocked or filled up with ice.

Such were ſome of the ſeas and regions which our navigators explored or diſcovered in the ſouthern hemiſphere. We ſhall be enabled to form ſome idea of their induſtry in reſearch, and perſeverance in toil, by the immenſe quantity of ſpace which they traverſed in this circumnavigation of the globe. From the 22d of November 1772, which was the day of their departure from the Cape of Good Hope, to the 22d of March 1775, which was that of their return to the ſame place, being exactly two years and four months, they ſailed no leſs than twenty thouſand leagues; an extent of voyage, nearly equal to three times the equatorial circumference of the earth, and which it is highly probable was never ſailed by any other ſhip in an equal ſpace of time.

This voyage was happily diſtinguiſhed by the eſtabliſhment of a fact of the greateſt importance, and which there is every reaſon to hope will prove of the greateſt benefit to mankind. It has ſhewn, by the cleareſt evidence, that a ſeafaring life is not neceſſarily inimical to man, nor pernicious to his health; and it demonſtrates experimentally, that thoſe long voyages and diſtant navigations, which had hitherto proved ſo deſtructive to the human race, might, with proper care, and under neceſſary regulations, be proſecuted with as great ſecurity to the health of the undertakers, as any other courſe of life equally laborious could be purſued on ſhore. In a voyage of above three years, in which the navigators had experienced every variety of climate, from 52 degrees north latitude, to 71 ſouth, and were continually expoſed to every ſpecies of fatigue and hardſhip, the numerous ſhip's company on board the Reſolution, preſerved a more uninterrupted ſtate of good health, than perhaps could have been ſhewn on ſhore in the moſt temperate climates of the earth. In that long courſe, of near 120 perſons, only four were loſt; and of that four, only one fell a victim to ſickneſs. A fact unparalleled in the hiſtory of navigation.

This voyage was alſo diſtinguiſhed by another diſcovery of ſingular importance, as well as curioſity, and which, like the former, reflects the greateſt honour on Capt. Cook, for his induſtry, ingenuity, and the unremitting attention which he paid to the preſervation and comfort of his people, as well as to the general objects of his expedition. Under all the rigour of the antarctic ſky, and encloſed in the dangers of its frozen ſea, during ſeveral months abſence from land, and cut off from it by a prodigious expanſe of ocean, he procured for his people inexhauſtible ſources of excellent freſh water, from thoſe iſlands of ice which ſeemed to threat them with nothing leſs than deſtruction. It is true, that Crantz had ſome years ago advanced, that thoſe great maſſes, called Ice Iſlands, diſſolved into freſh water, from whence he inferred that they owed their origin to the vaſt rivers of the northern regions; but it was reſerved for the preſent voyage to eſtabliſh the know-

knowledge, that the freezing of ſea-water into ice, not only deprives it of all its ſalt particles, but that it will thaw into ſoft, potable, and moſt wholeſome water, and to apply that knowledge experimentally to the moſt uſeful practice. It has alſo ſhewn, that the bad qualities which had for many ages been attributed to melted ſnow and ice-water were totally unfounded. This happy method of obtaining freſh water without limitation at the greateſt diſtance from land, not only enabled our navigators to perſevere in their diſcoveries for a length of time which would have been otherwiſe impoſſible, but it contributed wonderfully to that unparalleled degree of health which they preſerved during the voyage.

Before we attempt to give any account of the execution of this work, it may not be amiſs to recite in his own words what our author ſays upon the ſubject.

"And now it may be neceſſary to ſay, that, as I am on the point of ſailing on a third expedition, I leave this account of my laſt voyage in the hands of ſome friends, who in my abſence have kindly accepted the office of correcting the preſs for me; who are pleaſed to think, that what I have here to relate is better to be given in my own words, than in the words of another perſon; eſpecially as it is a work deſigned for information, and not merely for amuſement; in which, it is their opinion, that candour and fidelity will counterbalance the want of ornament.

"I ſhall therefore conclude this introductory diſcourſe with deſiring the reader to excuſe the inaccuracies of ſtyle, which doubtleſs he will frequently meet with in the following narrative; and that, when ſuch occur, he will recollect that it is the production of a man, who has not had the advantage of much ſchool education, but who has been conſtantly at ſea from his youth; and though, with the aſſiſtance of a few good friends, he has paſſed through all the ſtations belonging to a ſeaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade, to a Poſt Captain in the Royal Navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters. After this account of myſelf, the Public muſt not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plauſibility of a profeſſed book-maker; but will, I hope, conſider me as a plain man, zealouſly exerting himſelf in the ſervice of his country, and determined to give the beſt account he is able of his proceedings."

The work itſelf will be the beſt comment upon this apology; and will afford ſufficient cauſe for acknowledging the modeſty of the writer. It is highly embelliſhed and illuſtrated with ſixty-three copper-plates, of which fourteen are charts and plans; ſeven are repreſentations of boats, weapons, and utenſils; five are filled with ſubjects of natural hiſtory; eighteen are portraits of the natives of various iſlands; and nineteen are views and landſcapes. The portraits, views, and landſcapes, were taken upon the ſpot by Mr. Hodges, the painter who went out in the Reſolution, and have been elegantly engraved by the moſt eminent artiſts. Many of theſe plates have great merit; but through ſome unaccountable omiſſion, there are no explanations of them, nor references to them in the text. This defect is, however,

in ſome degree rectified, by a liſt of them prefixed to the firſt volume, in which they are numbered, and the page pointed out to which they ſeparately refer; but even this remedy is far from being ſatisfactory.

As we have in former volumes given large extracts from the journals of our ſouthern navigators, and curious deſcriptions of the cuſtoms and manners of the natives of the newly diſcovered iſlands, as well as of the inhabitants of New Zealand and other places, it will be the leſs neceſſary to be diffuſe in the preſent article. Perhaps we could not ſelect for ſo much, any thing that will appear more curious to many of our readers, than an account of the naval force of Otaheite, in its ſtate of preparation for the invaſion of a neighbouring iſland. From ſome jealouſy of our people, they deferred proceeding on the expedition during their ſtay, which, with ſome miſtakes and miſapprehenſions on both ſides, prevented the following accounts from being ſo perfect as they might otherwiſe have been. Their marine will, however, appear much more conſiderable, than could have been well imagined, from any ideas we had hitherto conceived of theſe people.

Our author ſays, "In the morning of the 26th, I went down to Oparree, accompanied by ſome of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a viſit by appointment. As we drew near, we obſerved a number of large canoes in motion; but were ſurprized, when we arrived, to ſee upwards of three hundred ranged in order, for ſome diſtance, along the ſhore, all completely equipped, and manned, beſides a vaſt number of armed men upon the ſhore. So unexpected an armament collected together in our neighbourhood, in the ſpace of one night, gave riſe to various conjectures. We landed, however, in the midſt of them, and were received by a vaſt multitude, many of them under arms, and many not. The cry of the latter was *Tiyo no Otoo*, and that of the former *Tiyo no Towha*. This chief, we afterwards learnt, was admiral or commander of the fleet and troops preſent. The moment we landed, I was met by a chief whoſe name was Tee, uncle to the king, and one of his prime miniſters, of whom I enquired for Otoo. Preſently after, we were met by Towha, who received me with great courteſy. He took me by the one hand, and Tee by the other; and, without my knowing where they intended to carry me, dragged me, as it were, through the crowd that was divided into two parties, both of which profeſſed themſelves my friends by crying out *Tiyo no Tootee*. One party wanted me to go to Otoo, and the other to remain with Towha. Coming to the uſual place of audience, a mat was ſpread for me to ſit down upon, and Tee left me to go and bring the king. Towha was unwilling I ſhould ſit down, partly inſiſting on my going with him; but, as I knew nothing of this chief, I refuſed to comply. Preſently Tee returned, and wanted to conduct me to the king, taking hold of my hand for that purpoſe. This Towha oppoſed: ſo that, between the one party and the other, I was like to have been torn in pieces; and was obliged to deſire Tee to deſiſt, and to leave me to the admiral and his

party, who conducted me down to the fleet. As ſoon as we came before the admiral's veſſel, we found two lines of armed men drawn up before her, to keep off the crowd, as I ſuppoſed, and to clear the way for me to go in. But, as I was determined not to go, I made the water, which was between me and her, an excuſe. This did not anſwer; for a man immediately ſquatted himſelf down at my feet, offering to carry me; and then I declared I would not go. That very moment Towha quitted me, without my ſeeing which way he went, nor would any one inform me. Turning myſelf round I ſaw Tee, who, I believe, had never loſt ſight of me. Inquiring of him for the king, he told me he was gone into the country *Mataou*, and adviſed me to go to my boat; which we accordingly did, as ſoon as we could get collected together. For Mr. Edgcumbe was the only perſon that could keep with me; the others being joſtled about in the crowd, in the ſame manner we had been.

"When we got into our boat, we took our time to view this grand fleet. The veſſels of war conſiſted of an hundred and ſixty large double canoes, very well equipped, manned, and armed. But I am not ſure that they had their full complement of men or rowers; I rather think not. The chiefs, and all thoſe on the fighting ſtages, were dreſſed in their war habits; that is, in a vaſt quantity of cloth, turbans, breaſt-plates, and helmets. Some of the latter were of ſuch a length as greatly to incumber the wearer. Indeed, their whole dreſs ſeemed to be ill calculated for the day of battle, and to be deſigned more for ſhew than uſe. Be this as it may, it certainly added grandeur to the proſpect, as they were ſo complaiſant as to ſhew themſelves to the beſt advantage. The veſſels were decorated with flags, ſtreamers, &c.; ſo that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, ſuch as we had never ſeen before in this ſea, and what no one would have expected. Their inſtruments of war were clubs, ſpears, and ſtones. The veſſels were ranged cloſe along-ſide of each other, with their heads aſhore, and their ſtern to the ſea; the admiral's veſſel being nearly in the centre. Beſides the veſſels of war, there were an hundred and ſeventy ſail of ſmaller double canoes, all with a little houſe upon them, and rigged with maſt and ſail, which the war canoes had not. Theſe, we judged, were deſigned for tranſports, victuallers, &c.; for in the war canoes was no ſort of proviſions whatever. In theſe three hundred and thirty veſſels I gueſſed there were no leſs than ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty men; a number which appears incredible, eſpecially as we were told they all belonged to the diſtricts of Attahourou and Ahopatea. In this computation I allow to each war canoe forty men, troops and rowers, and to each of the ſmall canoes eight. Moſt of the gentlemen who were with me, thought the number of men belonging to the war canoes exceeded this. It is certain, that the moſt of them were fitted to row with more paddles than I have allowed them men; but, at this time, I think they were not complete. Tupia informed us, when I was firſt here, that the whole

iſland raiſed only between ſix and ſeven thouſand men; but we now ſaw two diſtricts only raiſe that number; ſo that he muſt have taken his account from ſome old eſtabliſhment; or elſe he only meant *Tatatous*, that is warriors, or men trained from their infancy to arms, and did not include the rowers, and thoſe neceſſary to navigate the other veſſels. I ſhould think he only ſpoke of this number as the ſtanding troops or militia of the iſland, and not their whole force. This point I ſhall leave to be diſcuſſed in another place, and return to the ſubject.

"After we had well viewed this fleet, I wanted much to have ſeen the admiral, to have gone with him on board the war canoes. We inquired for him as we rowed paſt the fleet to no purpoſe. We put aſhore and inquired; but the noiſe and crowd was ſo great that no one attended to what we ſaid. At laſt Tee came and whiſpered us in the ear, that Otoo was gone to Matavai, adviſing us to return thither, and not to land where we were. We, accordingly, proceeded for the ſhip; and this intelligence and advice received from Tee, gave riſe to new conjectures. In ſhort, we concluded that this Towha was ſome powerful diſaffected chief, who was upon the point of making war againſt his ſovereign; for we could not imagine Otoo had any other reaſon for leaving Oparree in the manner he did.

"We had not been long gone from Oparree, before the whole fleet was in motion, to the weſtward, from whence it came. When we got to Matavai, our friends there told us, that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go againſt Eimeo, whoſe chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite, and aſſumed an independency. We were likewiſe informed that Otoo neither was nor had been at Matavai; ſo that we were ſtill at a loſs to know why he fled from Oparree. This occaſioned another trip thither in the afternoon, where we found him, and now underſtood that the reaſon of his not ſeeing me in the morning, was that ſome of his people having ſtolen a quantity of my clothes which were on ſhore waſhing, he was afraid I ſhould demand reſtitution. He repeatedly aſked me if I was not angry; and when I aſſured him that I was not, and that they might keep what they had got, he was ſatisfied. Towha was alarmed, partly on the ſame account. He thought I was diſpleaſed when I refuſed to go aboard his veſſel; and I was jealous of ſeeing ſuch a force in our neighbourhood without being able to know any thing of its deſign. Thus, by miſtaking one another, I loſt the opportunity of examining more narrowly into part of the naval force of this iſle, and making myſelf better acquainted with its manœuvres. Such an opportunity may never occur; as it was commanded by a brave, ſenſible, and intelligent chief, who would have ſatisfied us in all the queſtions we had thought proper to aſk; and, as the objects were before us, we could not well have miſunderſtood each other. It happened unluckily that Oedidee was not with us in the morning; for Tee, who was the only man we could depend on, ſerved only to perplex us. Matters being thus cleared up, and mutual preſents having paſſed between Otoo and

me, we took leave and returned on board."

We ſhall enlarge and conclude this article, with our author's review of another war ſquadron, and his computation of the naval ſtrength of the iſland.

"We had no ſooner diſpatched our friends than we ſaw a number of war canoes coming round the point of Oparree. Being deſirous of having a nearer view of them, accompanied by ſome of the officers and gentlemen, I haſtened down to Oparree, which we reached before all the canoes were landed, and had an opportunity of ſeeing in what manner they approached the ſhore. When they got before the place where they intended to land, they formed themſelves into diviſions, conſiſting of three or four, or perhaps more, laſhed ſquare and cloſe along-ſide of each other; and then each diviſion, one after the other, paddled in for the ſhore with all their might, and conducted in ſo judicious a manner that they formed, and cloſed a line, along the ſhore, to an inch. The rowers were encouraged to exert their ſtrength by their leaders on the ſtages, and directed by a man who ſtood with a wand in his hand in the fore-part of the middlemoſt veſſel. This man, by words and actions, directed the paddlers when all ſhould paddle, when either the one ſide or the other ſhould ceaſe, &c.; for the ſteering paddles alone were not ſufficient to direct them. All theſe motions they obſerved with ſuch quickneſs as clearly ſhewed them to be expert in their buſineſs. After Mr. Hodges had made a drawing of them, as they lay ranged along the ſhore, we landed, and took a nearer view of them by going on board ſeveral. This fleet conſiſted of forty ſail; equipped in the ſame manner as thoſe we had ſeen before, belonged to the little diſtrict of Tettaha, and were come to Oparree to be reviewed before the king, as the former fleet had been. There were attending on this fleet ſome ſmall double canoes, which they called *Marais*, having on their fore-part a kind of double bed-place laid over with green leaves, each juſt ſufficient to hold one man. Theſe, they told us, were to lay their dead upon; their chiefs, I ſuppoſe they meant, otherwiſe their ſlain muſt be few. Otoo, who was preſent, cauſed, at my requeſt, ſome of their troops to go through their exerciſe on ſhore. Two parties firſt began with clubs; but this was over almoſt as ſoon as begun; ſo that I had no time to make my obſervations upon it. They then went to ſingle combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting with great alertneſs; parrying off the blows and puſhes, which each combatant aimed at the other, with great dexterity. Their arms were clubs and ſpears; the latter they alſo uſe as darts. In fighting with the club, all blows intended to be given the legs, were evaded by leaping over it; and thoſe intended for the head, by couching a little and leaping on one ſide; thus the blow would fall to the ground. The ſpear or dart was parried, by fixing the point of a ſpear in the ground right before them, holding it in an inclined poſition, more or leſs elevated according to the part of the body they ſaw their antagoniſt intending to make a puſh, or throw his dart at, and by moving the hand

a little to the right or left, either the one or the other was turned off with great eaſe. I thought that when one combatant had parried off the blows, &c. of the other, he did not uſe the advantage which ſeemed to me to accrue. As, for inſtance; after he had parried off a dart, he ſtill ſtood on the defenſive, and ſuffered his antagoniſt to take up another, when I thought there was time to run him through the body. Theſe combatants had no ſuperfluous dreſs upon them; an unneceſſary piece of cloth or two, which they had on when they began, were preſently torn off by the by-ſtanders, and given to ſome of our gentlemen preſent. This being over, the fleet departed; not in any order, but as faſt as they could be got afloat; and we went with Otoo to one of his dock-yards, where the two large *pahies* or canoes were building, each of which was an hundred and eight feet long. They were almoſt ready to launch, and were intended to make one joint double *pahie* or canoe. The king begged of me a grappling and rope, to which I added an Engliſh jack and pendant (with the uſe of which he was well acquainted), and deſired the *pahie* might be called Britannia. This he very readily agreed to; and ſhe was named accordingly.

"I never could learn what number of veſſels were to go on this expedition. We knew of no more than two hundred and ten, beſides ſmaller canoes to ſerve as tranſports, &c. and the fleet of Tiarabou, the ſtrength of which we never learnt. Nor could I ever learn the number of men neceſſary to man this fleet; and whenever I aſked the queſtion, the anſwer was, *Warou, warou, warou te Tata*, that is, many, many, many men; as if the number far exceeded their arithmetic. If we allow forty men to each war canoe, and four to each of the others, which is thought a moderate computation, the number will amount to nine thouſand. An aſtoniſhing number to be raiſed in four diſtricts; and one of them, viz. Matavai, did not equip a fourth part of its fleet. The fleet of Tiarabou is not included in this account; and many other diſtricts might be arming which we knew nothing of. I, however, believe, that the whole iſle did not arm on this occaſion; for we ſaw not the leaſt preparations making in Oparree. From what we ſaw and could learn, I am clearly of opinion that the chief, or chiefs, of each diſtrict ſuperintended the equipping of the fleet belonging to that diſtrict; but, after they are equipped, they muſt paſs in review before the king, and be approved of by him. By this means he knows the ſtate of the whole, before they aſſemble to go on ſervice.

"It hath been already obſerved, that the number of war canoes belonging to Attahourou and Ahopata was an hundred and ſixty, to Tettaha forty, and to Matavai ten, and that this diſtrict did not equip one-fourth part of their number. If we ſuppoſe every diſtrict in the iſland, of which there are forty-three, to raiſe and equip the ſame number of war canoes as Tettaha, we ſhall find, by this eſtimate, that the whole iſland can raiſe and equip one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty war canoes, and ſixty-eight thouſand able men; allowing forty men to each canoe. And, as theſe cannot amount to

above one-third part of the number of both ſexes, children included, the whole iſland cannot contain leſs than two hundred and four thouſand inhabitants; a number which, at firſt ſight, exceeded my belief. But, when I came to reflect on the vaſt ſwarms which appeared wherever we came, I was convinced that this eſtimate was not much, if at all, too great. There cannot be a greater proof of the richneſs and fertility of Otaheite (not forty leagues in circuit) than its ſupporting ſuch a number of inhabitants."

A Code of Gentoo *Laws or Ordinations of the* Pundits. *From a* Perſian *Tranſlation, made from the Original, written in the* Shanſcrit *Language.*

THE extent and population of our territorial acquiſitions in the Eaſt Indies far exceed every thing that in Europe has been hitherto generally conceived of them. The provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, are ſaid to contain near ten millions of inhabitants, and the other ſettlements are ſuppoſed to contain two millions more. But it is not the magnitude alone of this great branch of our empire that deſerves our attention.—The manners, the hiſtory, the religion, of the natives, are all of them objects worthy the moſt minute inveſtigation.

The Hindoos are of a timorous, mild, and peaceable diſpoſition. Before the invaſion of the Mahomedans they were governed by laws, to which they uniformly aſcribe the moſt remote and divine origin. Their Mahomedan conquerors eſtabliſhed, as far as their ravages extended, both the religion and laws of Mahomet.—"Hence," as the Pundits expreſs themſelves in the prefatory diſcourſe, "a contrariety of cuſtoms aroſe, and all affairs were tranſacted according to the principles of faith in the conquering party; upon which, perpetual oppoſitions were engendered, and continual differences in the decrees of juſtice; ſo that in every place the immediate magiſtrate decided all cauſes according to his own religion; and the laws of Mahomed were the ſtandard of judgment for the Hindoos: hence terror and confuſion found a way to all the people, and juſtice was not impartially adminiſtered." The ſettlement of European nations in India did not contribute to leſſen theſe diſorders. On the contrary, as they too were deſirous of introducing their ſeveral ſyſtems of juriſprudence, the diſorder has been augmented, and the confuſion worſe confounded.

Such has been one claſs of hardſhips under which that unhappy country has laboured. We are, however, glad to find, that it has at length been thought an object worthy of the moſt ſerious attention of the company, to adopt ſome mode of conciliating the affections, by paying a proper regard to the inſtitutions, the cuſtoms and prejudices of the natives. With a view of forwarding ſo laudable an intention, a thought ſuggeſted itſelf to Mr. Haſtings, of procuring a code of the laws and cuſtoms of the Gentoos. For this purpoſe bramins, learned in the Shaſter, were invited from all parts of the kingdom to Fort-William in Calcutta, which is the

capital of Bengal and Bahar; and the moſt authentic books, both ancient and modern, (a liſt of which is given in the work) were collected, and the original text, delivered in the Hindoo language, was faithfully tranſlated into the Perſian idiom. They began their work May 1773, and finiſhed it by the end of February 1775.

Such is the account given us of the riſe and execution of this curious and intereſting volume, from which, to uſe the tranſlator's words, "a preciſe idea may be formed of the cuſtoms and manners of theſe people, which, to their great injury, have been long miſrepreſented in the weſtern world." From hence alſo materials may be collected towards the legal accompliſhment of a new ſyſtem of government in Bengal, wherein the Britiſh laws may in ſome degree be ſoftened and tempered by a moderate attention to the peculiar and national prejudices of the Hindoo; ſome of whoſe inſtitutes, however fanciful and unaccountable, may perhaps be preferable to any which could be ſubſtituted in their room. They are interwoven with the religion of the country, and are therefore revered as of the higheſt authority; they are conditions by which they hold their rank in ſociety: long uſage has perſuaded them of their equity, and they will always gladly embrace the permiſſion to obey them; to be obliged to renounce their obedience would probably be eſteemed amongſt them a real hardſhip."

In the preliminary diſcourſe, after a few general and introductory obſervations upon the mythology of the Gentoos, the tranſlator has given a ſhort account of the Shanſcrit language, and an explanation of ſuch paſſages in the body of the code as might appear by their peculiarity or repugnance to our ſentiments, to lie moſt open to objection. Amongſt theſe, we could have wiſhed, as we ſhould be ſorry to entertain, in any reſpect, a leſs favourable opinion of the author's underſtanding, than his great ingenuity ſeems to deſerve, that he had not profeſſed himſelf ſo ſerious an advocate for the wild and extravagant chronology of the bramins.

The Hindoos, he ſays, reckon the duration of the world by four joques or diſtinct ages. The 1ſt is ſaid to have laſted 3,200,000 years, and they hold, that the life of man was in that age extended to 100,000 years, and that his ſtature was 21 cubits.

	laſted.	Life of man.
2d,	2,400,000	10,000
3d,	1,600,000	1,000
4th,	400,000	100

Of this laſt or preſent age 5000 years are ſuppoſed to be paſt. Computation, as the author juſtly obſerves, is loſt, and conjecture overwhelmed in the attempt to adjuſt ſuch aſtoniſhing ſpaces of time to our own confined notions of the world's epoch. And yet, extravagant as this may appear, the tranſlator ſeems inclined to think that it comes recommended to us with at leaſt equal marks of authenticity with any other hiſtory of the creation. We are afterwards told of one Munnoo, an author who flouriſhed early in the ſuttee joque, or firſt age, and of Jage Bulk who lived at the beginning of the tirtal, or ſecond age, whoſe works are ſtill extant, and from which a conſiderable part of the preſent compilation has been made. It does not fall in with our deſign to attempt

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to convince Mr. Halhed of the extravagancy of theſe aſſertions. Had he given himſelf but a little time to reflect upon the abſurdities of their geography (Vid. page civ.) with regard to which I apprehend he would not be thought to entertain any doubts, it might have led him at leaſt to have ſuſpected that a people who could be ſo groſsly ignorant in things which lay perpetually before them, and which were palpable to their ſenſes, might be equally extravagant in a ſcience, the object of which is fleeting and tranſient.

The code is divided into twenty-one chapters, the heads of which are as follows. 1. Lending and borrowing. 2. The diviſion of inheritable property. 3. Juſtice. 4. Truſt or depoſit. 5. Selling a ſtranger's property. 6. Shares. 7. Gift. 8. Servitude. 9. Wages. 10. Rent. 11. Purchaſe. 12. Boundaries. 13. Shares in the cultivation of lands. 14. Cities and towns. 15. Scandal. 16. Aſſault. 17. Theft. 18. Violence. 19. Adultery. 20. Women. 21. Sundry articles.

Amongſt many other curious particulars, the reader, no doubt, will be aſtoniſhed to meet with a prohibition of the uſe of fire arms in records, which lay a claim to ſuch unfathomable antiquity. It certainly gives ſome colour to the conjectures of thoſe commentators, who have ſuppoſed, from a well known paſſage in Quintus Curtius, that Alexander abſolutely met with ſome weapons of that kind in India: and the extraordinary accounts which are given of the *Feu Gregeois* of the Cruſades, will alſo gain ſome degree of probability from the deſcription given of the Indian *Agnee-Aſter*.

We might tranſcribe the whole book, were we to attempt to give an account of all the peculiarities contained in this code of bramidical juriſprudence. The laws, as might be imagined, are for the moſt part local and characteriſtic. They frequently bear ſtrong marks of the remoteſt antiquity, and ſeem in many inſtances calculated for the crude conceptions of an almoſt illiterate people, upon their firſt civilization. We muſt therefore be content with laying before our readers as a ſpecimen of the ingenious tranſlator's abilities, his obſervations upon ſome of the moſt remarkable paſſages in the work.

"The rights of inheritance, in the ſecond chapter, are laid down with the utmoſt preciſion, and with the ſtricteſt attention to the natural claim of the inheritor in the ſeveral degrees of affinity. A man is herein conſidered but as tenant for life in his own property; and, as all opportunity of diſtributing his effects by will, after his death, is precluded, hardly any mention is made of ſuch kind of bequeſt. By theſe ordinances alſo, he is hindered from diſpoſſeſſing his children of his property in favour of aliens, and from making a blind and partial allotment in behalf of a favourite child, to the prejudice of the reſt; by which the weakneſs of parental affection, or of a miſguided mind in its dotage, is admirably remedied. Theſe laws alſo ſtrongly elucidate the ſtory of the prodigal ſon in the Scriptures, ſince it appears from hence to have been an immemorial cuſtom in the eaſt for ſons to demand their portion of inheritance during their father's life-time, and that the parent, however aware of the diſſipated inclinations of his child,

could not legally refuſe to comply with the application.

" Though polygamy has been conſtantly practiſed and univerſally allowed under all the religions that have obtained in Aſia, we meet with very few inſtances of permitted polyandry, or a plurality of huſbands, ſuch as mentioned in the fourteenth ſection of this chapter: but a gentleman, who has lately viſited the kingdoms of Boutan and Thibet, has obſerved, that the ſame cuſtom is almoſt general to this day in thoſe countries; where one wife frequently ſerves all the males of a whole family, without being the cauſe of any uncommon jealouſy or diſunion among them.

" The chapter of juſtice, in its general tendency, ſeems to be one of the beſt in the whole code. The neceſſary qualifications for the arbitrator, the rules for the examination of witneſſes, and the requiſites for propriety of evidence, are ſtated with as much accuracy and depth of judgment as the generality of thoſe in our own courts. In this chapter mention is made of the Purrekeh, or trial by ordeal, which is one of the moſt ancient inſtitutes for the diſtinguiſhing criterion of guilt and innocence that hath been handed down to us by ſacred or profane hiſtory: fire or water were the uſual reſources upon theſe occaſions, and they were conſtantly prepared and ſanctified by the ſolemnities of a religious ceremonial. The modes of this ordeal are various in India, according to the choice of the parties or the nature of the offence; but the infallibility of the reſult is to this day as implicitly believed, as it could have been in the darkeſt ages of antiquity.

" We find a particular injunction and deſcription of a certain water ordeal among the firſt laws dictated to Moſes by God himſelf; it is contained in the fifth chapter of Numbers, from the twelfth to the thirtieth verſe, and is for the ſatisfaction of jealous huſbands, in the immediate detection, or acquittal of their wives.

" In the two ſucceeding chapters no unuſual matter occurs, but ſuch as good ſenſe and a freedom from prejudice will eaſily develope: but, in the ſecond ſection of the ſixth chapter, a paſſage appears, which, upon a ſlight examination, might give the reader a very indifferent opinion of the Gentoo ſyſtem of government, viz. " A law to regulate the ſhares of robbers." This ordinance by no means reſpects the domeſtic diſturbers of the tranquillity of their own countrymen, or violators of the firſt principles of ſociety, but only ſuch bold and hardy adventurers as ſally forth to levy contributions in a foreign province. Unjuſt as this behaviour may appear in the eye of equity, it bears the moſt genuine ſtamp of antiquity, and correſponds entirely with the manners of the early Grecians, at or before the period of the Trojan war, and of the weſtern nations, before their emerſion from barbariſm; a practice ſtill kept up among the pyratic ſtates of Barbary to its fulleſt extent by ſea, and probably among many herds of Tartars and Arabian banditti by land. However, the known exiſtence and originality of this ſavage ſyſtem will juſtify the Gentoo magiſtrate of thoſe ancient

periods

periods in aſſiſting the freebooters with his advice, and participating in their plunder, when, at that time, ſuch expeditions were eſteemed both legal and honourable.

"The many rules laid down in the 20th chapter, for the preſervation of domeſtic authority to the huſband, are relics of that characteriſtic diſcipline of Aſia, which ſacred and profane writers teſtify to have exiſted from all antiquity; where women have ever been the ſubjects, not the partners of their lords, confined within the walls of a haram, or buſied without doors in drudgeries little becoming their delicacy. The Trojan princeſſes were employed in waſhing linen; and Rebecca was firſt diſcovered by Abraham's ſervant with a pitcher upon her ſhoulder to water camels. "Two women ſhall be grinding at the mill," ſays the prophet; but the notoriety of this fact obviates the neceſſity of quotations: it may juſt be obſerved, that Solomon, in praiſing a good wife, mentions, that "She riſes while it is yet night," which we muſt ſuppoſe to be before her huſband; and we find this to be one of the qualifications for a good Gentoo wife alſo.

"The latter part of this chapter relates to the extraordinary circumſtance of womens burning themſelves with their deceaſed huſbands:—The terms of the injunction as there ſet forth are plain, moderate and conditional: "It is proper for a woman to burn with her huſband's corps;" and a proportionate reward is offered in compenſation for her ſufferings. Notwithſtanding the ordinance is not in the abſolute ſtyle of a command, it is ſurely ſufficiently direct to ſtand for a religious duty; the only proof that it is not poſitive is the propoſal of inviolable chaſtity as an alternative, though it is not to be taken for an equivalent. The bramins ſeem to look upon this ſacrifice as one of the firſt principles of their religion, the cauſe of which it would hardly be orthodox to inveſtigate. There are, however, ſeveral reſtrictions with reſpect to it, as that a woman muſt not burn herſelf if ſhe is with child, nor if her huſband died at a diſtance from her, unleſs ſhe can procure his turban and girdle to put on at the pile, with other exceptions of the ſame nature, which they cloſely conceal from the eyes of the world, among the other myſteries of their faith: but we are convinced equally by information and experience, that the cuſtom has not for the moſt part fallen into diſuetude in India, as a celebrated writer has ſuppoſed."

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